

Print

Will. Sanderson

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(No. 297)

Folio 1st Raleighs History — — —
Holy Court — — —
88^m *Archer*

Folio 1^m of Cleopatra Compt — — —
Sporus on ye Psalmes — — —
Hanshuus Poems — — —
Monmouth Politch Discourses
& Hist of Justinian — — —
Schroder Chymicall discourse

*Henry
Calan*

13366

For. D. - History of y^e Grand Lemor
Dayall Agt Brownel ———
Temple of Idols ———
Deacon on y^e Psal ———
Warning to y^e Dragon ———
Arnold and Lucinda ———
Defence of Religion ———
Manzmus discourses ———
Knox History of Scotland ———
Norlons orthodox Euangelist
ion College Catalogue ———

II

L. D. - Loy Gournes Arthmit ———
Wilford's Chart ———
Robert on y^e Sacrament ———
Hamond of Measuring ———
Beluors m. Dwelling in ———
Howells Letter, 4th ———
Gannua Linguarum ——— [Eng.]

20 9/5

2 French Schoole Mr
2 Howells Historiall discourse
2 Clarkes phrases —
4 Toveys sermons —
2 Bugars Rudiments —
4 Youngers view of Eng —
4 Rushworth Dialogues —
4 Hamys sermons —
2 ourd De clre Amants Eng
4 digby of plant —
2 Geomet of Reatitudes —
4 Sutton Memento Mori —

40

20 6d -

Gordon of Edon —
Goodwins xth fort —
Graham Wighams Riches —
Haddons De Arctica —
Description of West indies —
Hust mans Defense —
Mills Poem —
Panegyric of Sweden —
Bolton on y^e sacrament —
Cato Major —
Hooker on y^e prayer —
Robinsons Escape —
Requests and Experiments —
Rotters Coniuration —
Bales Volary —
Dauonards Mayasca —
Communion of M^r —
Collops Works —
Chymicall Medecines —

8000 ~~Dr~~ Barbas Small Worker —
Apology of Tunnies —
Cue of Error —
Bolton on ye Sacramt —
Byfoiles Marras —

28

40



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS



MARY STUART QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

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A C O M P L E A T
HISTORY
 O F
 The LIVES and REIGNS
 O F
 M A R Y Queen of
SCOTLAND,
 And of Her Son and Successor,
J A M E S

The Sixth, K I N G of S C O T L A N D;
 And (*After Queen Elizabeth*) King of
 GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND,
 The First, (*Of ever Blessed Memory.*)

Reconciling several Opinions, In Testimony of Her, and
 Confuting others, in Vindication of Him, against two scandalous
 Authors;

1. *The Court and Character of King James,*
2. *The History of Great Britain.*

Herein is expressed, The particular Affairs of Church and State:

*The Reformation of the One,
 The Policies and Passages of the Other.
 The frequent Disturbances of Both,*

*By Wars, Conspiracies, Tumults, and Treasons, with the contem-
 porary actions of Neighbor Nations, in reference to this whole
 Island. Faithfully performed,*

By WILLIAM SANDERSON, Esq;

London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley, Richard Tomlins, and George
 Sawbridge, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard, at Py-Corner, and on
 Lud-Gate-Hill. MDCLVI.

HISTORY

OF

THE LIVES AND REIGNS

OF

MARY QUEEN OF

SCOTLAND



JAMES

THE SIXTH KING OF SCOTLAND

AND FIRST HUSBAND KING OF

GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, AND FRANCE

THE FIRST OF HIS NAME

RECORDING SEVERAL OPINIONS IN TESTIMONY OF HIS AND
CONTAINING ALSO A VINDICATION OF HIS VIRTUES AND

1. THE COURT AND CHARACTER OF KING JAMES

2. THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

THESE ARE THE PARTICULARS OF HIS REIGN AND DEATH

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH

THE REFORMATION OF THE STATE

THE REFORMATION OF THE PEOPLE

BY WILLIAM SANDERSON, ESQ.

Partially corrected

By WILLIAM SANDERSON, ESQ.

Printed for Humphrey Mosley, Richard Tothill, and George
and the said Tothill, at the sign of the Crown, and on
the 10th of May, 1701.



THE
P R O E M E
TO THE
First Part.



O be in print without a *Preface* is not the *Mode* now; and though it intends to let in the Reader, as the *Porch* to a *Palace*, yet it seems to be built up after the Book. For usually it discovers the weakness of the *Work*, by an ingenuous Confession of more faults than some other man may find out, and so craves favour.

I prefix this really before I write more of the matter; And therefore to pretend excuse for what shall follow amiss, might seem a presumptuous sin, as if I meant to offend: Not, but that Offences will come, and may be found out hereafter, more properly then to be summ'd up in the end of all, and added to the Escapes of the Presse, and so to plead the *Generall Pardon*.

Our Design is *History*; commonly divided into 3. Kinds.

1. *Memorials*, A naked Narrative without contextrure of Things and Actions.

2. *Antiquity*, The Shipwrack of *History*, somewhat saved from

The Proeme to the first part.

from the Deluge of *Distruction*, and so subject to question, as that excellent *History of the World*, done by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with exact diligence; which yet induces the examination of his Errours, by One, who in truth took much pains to worst it the more (that *Master-peice*) by the *Epitomy*, which (besides the injury to the Work it self) becomes unprofitable to the Readers expectation. With these two kinds we mean not to meddle.

3. But with *Perfect History*, being in truth that which comprehends a *Chronocled Time*, representing the life of a Prince, with the Narrative of actions relative; therefore with little favour of different opinions, may be accounted the most compleat for Estimation, Profit and Use in the magnitude of Affairs, *Men and Matter*.

And of this nature, Our *Histories of England* are said to be defective in the Main; And for that of *Scotland*, too too partial as done by different affections and interest in matters *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*. Therefore it hath been accounted worthy the labour, to mold them both into one Body joined to these times from their first conjunction in Union of the *Roses*, to the uniting of the *Kingdomes*.

The latter hath been in some sort set out (single) to our hand by a *Compendium* of the 5. King *James's*, immediately succeeding each other, and lately done by *William Drummond*.

After whom we intend to take up the *Remain*; Beginning where he leaves, with the birth of *Mary* instantly succeeding the Death of her Father *James* the fifth with the contemporary actions of neighbour Princes. And so to her Son and Successor *James* the sixth; and (after the death of *Queen Elizabeth*) of *Great Brittain*, *France* and *Ireland* the first, and last King compleat, in right of issue descended from *Margaret*, eldest Daughter unto *Henry* the seventh of *England*, and *James* the fourth of *Scotland*, with Re-union in that antient Title of *Brittain*.

But in brief; The first Union of Marriage begat a present Peace, between *Henry the seventh* of *England*, and *James the fourth* of *Scotland*. And at that instant, *Scotland* brought forth a Prodigious Monster of Man; under the waste like other men, the Members both, for use and comeliness were two; and standing it was indifferent to which of the two Bulks the Legs belonged. This *Bifrons* had different passions and divers wills; chiding each other, and quarreling; until by over-wrangling, they unwillingly agreed, and was cherished by the King, taught languages, and lived eighteen years. *A Monstrous Omen to the Union*.

This *James* was young and active, for twenty five years of his

Henry 7.
James 4.

The Proeme to the first part.

his Reign, having occasion to cope with two *Henries*, the Seventh and Eighth of *England*, Father and Son successively. The first took his Entry here by *Arms*, and Establishment by marriage. Yet the times proved to him, like strong Tides, full of Swellings, but well mannaged by the wisdom of an able Pilot, through all storms; being of himself the most sufficient *Sovereign* of any his *Predecessours*. Between *Him* and *James* the fourth, there had been distempers, ever espousing the *French* Quarrels. And therefore their times produced sundry great mutations, treacherous, false and deceiving, the events belying the *Beginnings*. *Princes* mostly inconsiderate, before they imbarque, whether their Wars be just or necessary, and may serve *Examples* of great mens frailty.

After the death of *Henry* the seventh, succeeded his Son *Henry* the eight, young and wealthy, whose actions had more of *Gallantry* than *Honour*, though he meddled with the mixed Affairs for ballancing the *Western Monarchy* amongst the Pretenders, *Germany*, *Spain* and *France*, with the change of *Religion* to reformed. And so soon as ingaged against *Louis* of *France*, *James* interposed, as to divert him. Enters upon *Ireland*, invades the *English Borders*, and after comes to handy blowes in *Northumberland*. The *English* six and twenty thousand, the *Scots* many more; and at *Flowden Field* 1513. a wondrous slaughter on both sides, and *James* in the Fight was lost, as in a Fog, for ever; though he acted so well his affected Popularity, that his loss became more disconsolate to his People, than any his *Predecessors*.

His Son succeeds, a cradle King, seventeen Moneths old, under Tutelage of his Mother, who implores *Henry* her Brother, for compassion upon a *Widow-Sister*, and an *Orphan-Nephew*, not to wage War, but to defend them. He answers like himself, *With the mild he was meek, and with the froward he could fight*. But she too weak for her wild Subjects, marries with the Earl of *Angus*, and being disdained for matching so meanly, the Duke of *Albany*, of *Scots* race (*begotten in Exile*) is sent for out of *France* to govern them at home. The success may soon be imagined; for the *Scots* heretofore had killed *James* the first, covenanted with *James* the second, overthrown *James* the third, and (some say) mislaied *James* the fourth, and now hardly submit to a Stranger.

The Queen and *Angus* fly to *England*, and here she is brought to Bed of *Margaret*, Grand-Mother to King *James* the sixth. Conspiracies increase in *Scotland*, fomented from *Henry* the eighth, till horrid Rapines, wearied each party into a Peace at home, and *England* also.

And thus freed from War for a time, the Governour Duke executes

James 5.

The Proeme to the first part.

executes Justice upon such whose former fewds had made but suspicious, and so he wearied with doing evil, returns into *France* to settle their *Solemn League*.

He gone *Henry the eight* sends home the *Queen* and *Angus*, and having this while composed his *French Quarrels*, with a *Defensive Amity* against all. *Tourney* rendred to the *French*, and *Overtures* of a Match between the *Dolphin* and *Henries* Sister, and not a word for the poor *Scots*, that had lost their King in the *French* Dispute, only interceding for a *Cessation of Arms* with the *English*, and so accepted for *Henries* conveniency of *Princely Interview* with *Louis*.

The while supporting *Angus* and his Faction, their own *Civil Dissentions* sufficient to busie themselves, and to keep matters in much disorder; the policy of *England* and *France* both to weaken the *Scots* power for eithers prey, which being suspected by *Albany*, now in *France*, and the violent Fewds beginning fresh at home, after five years absence, he gets loose of the *English* Ships, that lay wait in his way, and Lands in *Scotland*.

The Governour come, he sets things strait again, which by his absence were made awry; forces *Angus* into *France*, many suffer besides; others more factious fly into *England*, and pretend the *Dukes* sudden return, was to ingage that Nation against *Henry*, who in rage sends to the Governour to be gone to his *French Friends*, or to expect blowes; and was answered as peremptorily, *That in case of War, he knew better to defend than the other to fight*.

King *Henry* in fury sets fines on some *Scots* here, and after banishes all, and presently pursues with invasions upon their Nation by Sea and Land. And over to *England* comes the *Emperour*, instigating the King to fall out with *France*; the like *Empirick Balm* the *French* apply to cure the wounds of the *Scots* Commonwealth; which prevailed so far, that both Armies meet, but the *Scots* would not fight; the *English* fire all before them, and the Governour not affected with the *Scots* falshood returns back to *France* for ever.

Angus gets home again, countenanced by *Henry*, assumes the person of the King (now thirteen years old) concludes a lasting Peace with *England*, and proposes a Marriage between the young King, and the Princess *Mary*; which *Henry* in heart desired, untill he heard of the *French* King Prisoner at *Pavia*, by the *Emperour*, so the match was put off, upon pretence for the *Emperours* consent her neereft Kinsman.

The Queen displeased with her Husbands *Supremacy* over her Self and Son; and both agreed to dislike each others Bed (for it was fatal to her, as to her Brother *Henry* to love change in Wedlock,

The Proeme to the first Part.

Wedlock, which by his faith was tolerable in man, but shameful in her.)

And so by pretences of a Precontract of *Angus* with a daughter of *Trequare*, they are divorced, and the Queen remarried to *Henry Stuart*, and he made Lord *Meffan*.

The young King weary of Pupillage, secretly invites the Earl of *Lenox* to force his freedom from *Angus*, who encounters *Lenox*, that loseth the day, and in cold blood his Life also.

The King put to his shifts, deals more subtilly, deceives his Guard, and posts in private to his Mother; where making head, *Angus* by Proclamation is discharged his Office, and he and his banished the Court; who take Arms, but are defeated, and fly to *England* for succour from King *Henry*. He intending war against the Emperour, treats a Truce with *Scotland*; and yet, finding the advantage, inrodes upon them with Fire and Sword; which inforced that poor people, to divide their Nation into four Quarters; thereby in turns to take the Defence of their Countrey; which produced a Peace, till the death of either King.

This leasure from fighting begat change of affection, lecherous love in King *Henry*, to be divorced from *Katharine* his Brothers Widow, by whom he had *Mary* (afterwards Queen of *England*) and to marry *Ann Bullen*, Mother of Queen *Elizabeth*, who succeeded her. And incensed against the Popes threats of Excommunication, he resolves for Design to quit his Religion, and turn Reformed; now newly here of his own setting up; *Denique nulla in re, fide Catholica discessit praterquam libidinis luxurie causa.*

Katharine thus unjustly repudiate, stirs up her Nephew the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, and the Pope also, to invite King *James* in their Confederacy; the One with a present of the Order of *Golden Fleece*; the other with a consecrated Cap and Sword. He wisely unwilling by former sad experience, to wed their Quarrels, but as Intercessor with either. Yet is he courted on all sides, now of great concernment to ballance the business; and Overtures of Mariage by the Emperour, with either of three *Maries* of the Imperial Stem. But *James* having more in mind to woe for himself, arrives at *Diep* in *France*, and privately posts to a fourth *Mary* of *Bourbon*, daughter to the Duke of *Vandosm*. And after Princely Reception there, and of the French King at *Paris*, falls in love with *Magdaline* his eldest Daughter, maries her there, and brings her to his home, where her French constitution, soon contracts a Feaver, and dies some Moneths after. Which put him upon a fresh Treaty with *Mary* of *Lorain*, Widow of the Duke *Longueville*, and married her 1538.

And

The Proeme to the first Part.

And forthwith followed Divisions of *Religion* in *Scotland* also, with Disputes and Arguments for *Toleration*, excellently urged in favour of the Reformed; but the Catholique Clergy prevailed; and the Inquisition erected to force the other with Fire and Fagot.

King *Henries* condition was more Eminent, and he imboldened to execute Rapines upon the Papist. One, the most remarkable, He untomb'd the *Bones* of *Thomas a Becket*, (sainted for Martyrdom, and maintenance of the Popes Supremacy, and his *Rubrick Day*, festively solemnized in the *Roman Kalendar*) he burnt those Bones to Ashes, and scattered them into the River. An act, which revealed to the World more Secrets derogatory to *Papall Jurisdiction*, then had been stumbled upon heretofore, or opened now. This brought in fury the *Popes* Sentence (somewhat too late) of Interdiction against *Henry* and his Kingdomes. Who having foreseen these Mischiefs had brotherly Interview with the *Emperour* there, and here at home too; and with the *French King* at *Bulloin*; and so was earnest for the like with King *James*; which though almost concluded, yet some inrodes of the *English*, suddenly broke it off, and *James* imbarqued in *Civil* dissentions of both *Religions*, and private designs of Treasons besides.

The first that suffered in suspicion of those attempts, were the *Hameltons*, of Kin to the Crown, which wrought factions to such height as that King *Henry* takes heart, begins by Incursions, where the *English* were soundly beaten. And then in Revenge *Howard*, stiled the *Old Earl of Norfolk*, is sent with formidable Forces, 40000. to 30000. (if the sums are not mistaken) either party so numerous, as to eat up all and starve themselves, But upon some distrust of success, the Earl retreats. The *Scots* pursue this advantage. And the next Spring mutiny among themselves, and at *Salloway Moss* the *English* gave them a mighty defeat; which so astonished King *James*, that with wondrous regret he forced death, over hastily to seize him; at the instant, when his *Queen* was delivered of a Daughter, the only issue remaining to succeed him in his Throne.

And with he. begins our History, *The Life and Death of his Daughter Mary Queen of Scotland*, taking up the Remain of *Henry* the eighth, who lived not long after, leaving his three children succeeding Sovereigns, yet thought him not worthy memory by any Monument.

Edward the sixth, whose short raign and youth, supported by a wise Council, held up what was left him by Succession.

Untill the Sovereignty fell to his *Sister*, with alteration of all and hazard of all, she being imbarqued in body and business to a Strangers Supremacy: but not lasting long time,

The Proeme to the first Part.

Was left to a Virgin, to recover desperate dangers, *Ecclesiastick* and *Civil*, with various *Designs*, *Impressions* and *Operations* upon her Neighbour States; imbroyled with her jealousies to infamy of destruction in the blood of *Q. Mary of Scotland*, her neereft kinswoman and pretended *Competitor* in the *Crown*, untill at last in Gods due time the *Sovereignty* fell to a *Foreiner*.

King James, with re-union of the antient *Title of Britain*, *Elizabeth* indeed succeeded in the Inheritance begotten by *H. 8.* upon *Ann Bullen*, after his divorce from *Katharine* his Brothers widow, by whom he had *Q. Mary*, and that mariage dispensed with by the Pope. Hence did arise a question;

Whether the Divorce was legal, or *Elizabeth* legitimate? when *Adam* was created, *Eve* was taken out of him, and made *Woman*, a fit Instrument for prolication and Society. And both married in *Paradise*, *God the Father* being the *Priest*, and the *Angels* *Witnesses*; for which cause, *A man shall leave Father and Mother and cleave to his Wife*. They begat Sons and Daughters, which were Brothers and Sisters, and married one the other without contradiction, untill the Flood, nay, after the Flood, untill *Moses* writ. And these Marriages were not against the *Moral Law* written in their hearts (which being much obliterated in the faculties of the Soul by reason of *Adams* transgression, when *Moses* writ the *Law of Nature* (or *Law of Reason*) it was therefore twice written in *Tables of Stone*, that by reading those Precepts (which were much defaced within) man might repair, in some measure, those Laws almost blotted out by sin. And so by reading get them into his *Understanding*, *Will* and *Memory*, Mans *Knowledge* comming most naturally by *Sense*. *Moses* did not onely write this *Morall Law* in Stone, but gave many positive Laws for the *Pedagogie* of the *Jews* untill *Christ*, as the *Ceremonial* and *Judicial*. The *Judicial Lawes*, amongst other things did forbid Marriages in cases of blood and affinity, and these continued until *Christs* time, and no longer, unless there were a *Moral Equity* in them, which *Morality* is onely *inter Ascendentes & descendentes*, where there is a kind of *Paternity* and *Filiation*, for *Filius non portabit iniquitatem Patris*; and for that sin *Jacob* cursed *Reuben*, for ascending his *Fathers bed*. This ground being truly laid, it was conceived, there is no *Law of God* in force, but that which is between *Ascendents* and *Descendents*. It is true, every Church hath made Laws to bind people in their Churches; but it was insisted upon only in this, That the *Moral Law* doth not forbid, and the *Ceremonial* and *Judicial Lawes* are now abrogated. In *Sir Giles Allingtons* case (not long since) who married his *Sisters* Daughter, there was a sin against the *Moral Law*, and so they were divorced. But it was said in that case, that if the *Aunt* had married the *Nephew*, it had been

The Proeme to the first Part.

a greater sin, because the *Aunt* being in *loco Parentis* to the *Nephew*, he by such marriage being *Husband* to the *Aunt*, became by that Relation *Superiour* to his *Parent*, which did aggravate the offence. So then that which is to be insisted upon is the law *Moral*, which is the constant and permanent will of God, both in the *Church Triumphant* and *Militant*. So that *Adam* could never marry any, if he had lived until this time, being the common Parent of *Mankind* in the *Old World*, and *Noah* in the *New*.

And thus much concerning the Divorce, and *Elizabeths* Title.

But to conclude, it comes to be our Task to enter upon this work of *Mother* and *Son*, and to enliven their Memories with their *Lives* and *Actions*, not singly neither, but contemporary too, with such Affairs of State, as intermixes with others of *Europe*. As also the State *Militant* of the *Scots Kirk* in *Persecution*, *Motion*, and at *Peace*, in relation to the *Arks*, upon the *Water*, in the *Wilderness*, and in the *Temple*. The Materials of All need no *Ornament*, but adjustment.

Bona fama, propria possessio Defunctorum.

And if ever to any of old, stiles and additions were allowed, properly and truly they may challenge,

Pia Memoria,

Bona Memoria,

Felices Memoria, as due to them.

I dare not appropriate to my self ability in these as to a *Compile*. I rather wish it compleat in another, endeavouring onely to set down such particular *Actions Memorative*, as may hereafter enlighten abler pens to *consummate*. Those *Collections* hereby commended to posterity for that purpose; To raise a better *Structure* out of this imperfect *Rubish*.

An



Index of the first Part to the entrance of King JAMES to the Crown of England.

THe Introduction of K.
James 5. and his Wife,
and of their Daughter
Queen Mary, their story in brief
to the Birth of King James 6.
from page 1. to 8.

A.

Acts concerning Episcopacy 110

Ambassadors privilege discussed 74

abused 97

Ambassadors about Marriage
with Denmark 137

Ambassadors sent by the King
to forrein Princes concerning
succession to the Crown of
England 219

Angus and other fugitives in
England, their insolence 105
dies bewitched 135

Queen Ann's design to seize the
Prince 183

Army of the English and Scots
slain 13

Armies of the Queen against the
Lords 38

Armstrong a prisoner in Eng-
land set free by force of Arms

with a trick 191

difference hereupon 192

Arch-bishop of St: Andrews
dies, and is abused by the Mini-
stery 160

Earl of Arran's plot 27

dies, his character and issue 84

Earl of Arran his power in state
105

Earl of Arundel arreigned 154

Six Articles of the Church 36

Ministers assemble at pleasure 26

Assembly petition and are an-
swered 158

Assembly make work 194

Blake his mutiny and story 196

the Assembly assist him 199

dangerous tumult 202

Qu: Elizabeth interposes, her

Letter to the King 204

Lord Aubigny in favour with
King James 93

displeases Queen Elizabeth. ib.

B.

Babington's treason 114

Basilicon Doron, the occa-
sion of it in publick 223

Beaton Cardinal murthered 11

Beza and Calvin at Geneva 16

The Index to the first Part.

<i>Bishops restored</i>	104	<i>plaine at Geneva</i>	16
<i>Bishopricks, the state thereof in</i>		<i>that Confession</i>	44
<i>Scotland</i>	224	<i>Catholick Lords of Scotland</i>	
<i>Blake his mutiny and story</i>	196	<i>dismayed, plot, rebell</i>	145,
<i>turn'd out of all</i>	213		146
<i>Blunt sent into Ireland</i>	242	<i>their designs</i>	147
<i>Borders of Scotland how bound-</i>		<i>Cecil's Letter to Knox</i>	22
<i>ed</i>	44	<i>Cecil writes to King James, and</i>	
<i>Borderers confer and quarrel</i>	83	<i>his Answer</i>	258
<i>Borderers in feud</i>	137	<i>Chancellour of Scotland dies,</i>	
<i>Bothwel flies into France</i>	35	<i>his character</i>	184
<i>advanced in favour of the</i>		<i>Chatelet executed</i>	39
<i>Queen</i>	42	<i>Colvil Ambassadour to England</i>	
<i>visited of the Queen</i>	44	<i>complains of Zouch</i>	177
<i>is divorced</i>	47	<i>Of single Combats and Duels</i>	
<i>marrieth the Queen</i>	49		53
<i>desires the single combat, and</i>		<i>Commissioners treat about the</i>	
<i>flies with the Queen</i>	50	<i>Scots Queen</i>	63
<i>flies into Denmark</i>	59	<i>and again</i>	78
<i>Bothwel accused of Witchcraft</i>		<i>Commissioners meet to treat of</i>	
	159	<i>Peace with France and Spain,</i>	
<i>is committed, and escapes</i>	160	<i>dispute about Precedency</i>	143
<i>Bothwel's treason to seize the</i>		<i>Conspiratours executed</i>	104
<i>King</i>	164	<i>Coin over-valued</i>	91
<i>Bothwel's attempts at Faulk-</i>		<i>Crag a Minister, his Life and</i>	
<i>land defeated</i>	167	<i>Death</i>	132
<i>Bothwel steals into Scotland</i>			
<i>and surprizes the King</i>	171		
<i>inforces Articles</i>	172		
<i>Bethwel arms, and is defeated</i>			
	177		
<i>Bothwel and Popish Lords rebell</i>			
	180		
<i>are defeated</i>	181		
<i>Bothwel flies, and dies at Na-</i>			
<i>ples</i>	182		
<i>Burleigh's Speech to the Scots</i>			
<i>Ambassadours</i>	94		
<i>Lord Burrough Ambassadour to</i>			
<i>the King</i>	170		

C.

<i>CAles Voyage</i>	210
<i>Articles at Calice</i>	19
<i>Calvin and Beza their Disci-</i>	

D.

<i>Lord Darley returns out of</i>	
<i>banishment</i>	34
<i>marries the Queen</i>	37
<i>is debarred bearing of Royal</i>	
<i>Arms</i>	40
<i>turns Protestant</i>	41
<i>is discontented</i>	43
<i>and murthered</i>	46
<i>his character</i>	47
<i>Davison's Letter to the Mini-</i>	
<i>sters</i>	251
<i>Designs in England for Queen</i>	
<i>Mary</i>	103
<i>Discipline framed</i>	25
<i>and subscribed</i>	26
<i>Duke of Tuscany fore-warns</i>	
<i>King James of Poyson</i>	231

E.

The Index to the first Part.

E.

E denburgh Castle besieged and won	80
Queen Elizabeth expostulates the Rebellion of Scots Lords, moderates the Scots differences	76
Qu: Elicabeth aids Navar and the Dutch	156 ib.
raises her Custom	157
Queen Elizabeth strikes Essex	221
Queen Elizabeth dies	261
Lady Elizabeth born	194
Christned	199
English confederate with Scots reformed, and how	22
English expedition to Portugal	154
English take Cales	210
Acts concerning Episcopacy	110
Essex his expedition into France	162
his Voyage to the Azores	215
Essex and Cecil's intelligence with King James	224
Essex his Treason	233

F.

F actions and Feuds	168
The first Fast general of the Kirks	40
Forrein Titles their precedency at home disputed	21
French aid the Scots	13
quarter the Arms of England	19
King of France killed at a Tilt-ing	20
King Francis of France dies	25
French break the League with England	25
French King relieved by Queen Elizabeth, turns Papist	169
France hath aid of England against Spain	220

French Ambassadour and Cecil discourse about the Kings succession	258
---	-----

G.

O f Geneva, their Government, Church and State	15
the promulgation of that Discipline	18
Geneva besieged	225
Earl Gowry created	95
surprizes the King at Ruthen	96
his Imprisonment, Arreignment and Execution	100
Gowry's conspiracy	225
Lord Gray's design to kill Thurlstan, he is banished	

H.

H acket's horrible Tenets, Disciples, Blasphemy, Execution	162, 163
Prince Henry born	176
his Baptism	179
Huntley rescues Colonel Semple	141
writes to Parma, and the King of Spain	146
rebells	147
committed and adjudged guilty	149, 150
Huntley and Murray quarrel	159
Huntley cause of Murray's death	165, 166

I.

K ing James born	42
baptized	45
King James and his Mother in faction and feud	80
is crowned	90
his appearance in Parliament, his Speech	92
King James surprized	96
makes	

The Index to the first Part.

makes a Feast, and the Kirk
makes a Fast 98
frees himself 98
Proclamation against Jesuits
 148
Jesuits, their Seminaries, con-
firmed by the Pope 164
Interests of Factions discussed
 68
Irish Rebels 161, 209
Don Juan de Austria his design
against England blasted 87

K.

K*ing's design to meet his*
Bride in Norway, disposes
his Government 150
marries the Queen and goes in-
to Denmark 152
his Queen arrives in Scotland
and is crowned 153
Kirk have what they desire, man-
ner of their Excommunication
 45
ingratefull, prescribe behavi-
our to the Church of England
 46
stiled Precisians 84
Kirk stirs the State being trou-
bled 166
Kirkmen in Scotland mutiny
 137, 138
John Knox Minister the prime
Incendiary of Reformation 12
his Travels and Faction, accu-
sed of Treason 15
arrives in Scotland and begins
Troubles 20
insolency towards Morton, and
confers with the Queen 31
his Breves to his Brethren, he
is questioned 33
his insolency 34
preaches against Government
 38

L.

A*ntient League between the*
Scots and French 12
Holy League 106
Holy Leaguers 155
League offensive and defensive
between England and Scot-
land 112
Lenox and Darly return from
banishment 34
Lenox elected Regent 69
is slain 77
his old Countess dies, her De-
scend and Issue 87
Lewis Isle reduced in the North,
and the effect 256
Lords take Arms and are defeat-
ed, fly into England and get
aid, and submit 39
banished, and return 42
Lords conspire, declare, seize the
King at Sterlin, and treat 107
Love-trick of a Woman 168

M.

M*arriage proposed between*
England and Scotland
 10
Marriage of King James with a
Sister of Denmark propound-
ed 107
Ambassadors about that Mar-
riage 137
Earl of Mar Regent 77
dies 78
Northern Martyrs 9
Queen Mary sent into France 14
returns out of France 25
Queen Mary affects the Lord
Darly 34
and proposes to marry him 36
she answers the six Articles of
the Kirk and marries Darly
 37
takes Arms against the Lords
 38
is

The Index to the first Part.

is brought to bed of King James	42	revenge her Death	135
Summary of the Lord Darley's murther, and of the Queens hasty Marriage	48	Massacre of Protestants in France	83
Queen Mary resigns the Government to her Son King James	52	Mass opposed	26
is defeated, flies into England, and writes to Queen Elizabeth	62	Melvil a Disciplinarian his railings	82
Queen Mary imprisoned, her Commissioners treat in England	63	a fiery spirit	85
Queen Mary designed to dy	86	his evil manners	100
writes to Queen Elizabeth	95	Insolency against the Mass	32
Queen Maries story returned to	113	Maxwel arms against Johnstone	106
Queen Mary comes to her Trial	115	rebells, and is taken Prisoner	138
the manner thereof	ib.	Messam the Minister hath a Bastard	29
her Sentence of Death	116	his penance	42
the sequel	117	Ministers assemble at pleasure	26
King James perplexed sends to Queen Elizabeth Letters, Ambassadors who reason with her	118, 120	allowed maintenance by Modifiers	27
false Tales, Scotland in disorder, the Kirk refuseth to pray for Queen Mary	ib.	vote themselves exempt from justice	28
Mandate for her Execution, the manner thereof	121	Ministers denounced Rebells fly into England	102
her Epitaph	126	Ordinance of Parliament against them, and for what reasons	102
Queen Elizabeths Letter to King James	126	their impudent Reply sharply answered	103
Davison sentenced about Queen Maries Death, his Apology to Walsingham	127	Ministers and their insolence	109
Walsingham's Letters to the King and the Lord Thirlstan	128	cause of good Acts	ib.
the Kings Deportment on his Mothers Death	134	Ministers in tumult	174
is caressed by Queen Elizabeth	134	Blake a Minister his mutiny and story	196
Designs of several Nations to		Welch a Minister his preaching	202
		Ministers refuse to give God thanks for the Kings Deliverance, and are silenced	ib.
		Earl Morton Regent	78
		basely betrays the Earl of Northumberland	80
		besieges Edinburgh	80
		his Coin	82
		Misgoverns, the Lords conspire against him	88
		offers	

The Index to the first Part.

<i>offers to resign</i>	89	<i>stols himself</i>	114
<i>Morton deposed, plots revenge</i>	90	<i>Northumberland writes to King James, and his Answer</i>	259
<i>imprisons the Chancellour</i>	92		
<i>is charged with murdering the Lord Darly, is executed, his Character</i>	95	<i>O.</i>	
<i>Mowbray's intent to kill the King</i>	257	<i>Ormston executed about the murder of the Lord Darly</i>	84
<i>Murray made Protector</i>	59	<i>P.</i>	
<i>takes Arms</i>	60	<i>The Kirks justice against Papists</i>	30
<i>posts to Queen Elizabeth</i>	67	<i>Papists Plots</i>	169
<i>is slain</i>	68	<i>Papists banished</i>	178
<i>Murray slain</i>	166	<i>Papists Plots, devising sundry Titles of Pretenders to the Crown of England</i>	188
<i>the cause, lamented</i>	ib.	<i>Parliament surprised</i>	77
<i>Murder of the Guises, and Henry 3. of France</i>	153	<i>Parliament Royal</i>	91
		<i>Parliament wherein the Kings Supremacy is confirmed, and divers Laws against Presbyters enacted</i>	104
<i>N.</i>		<i>Duke of Parma dies</i>	170
<i>Narration of the Spanish Navy</i>	141	<i>Paulet Lord Treasurer dies, his childrens children</i>	103. 76
<i>number of the Ships, Men, and Ammunition</i>	142	<i>Antonio de Perez</i>	86
<i>defeated by Fire-ships</i>	145	<i>Perez his character</i>	189
<i>Queen Elizabeths message thereof</i>	141	<i>Popish Lords return from banishment</i>	194
<i>Rumours of the Spanish Navy in 88.</i>	140	<i>Presbyters fly into England, and why</i>	104
<i>the Kings Speech thereupon, the Chancellours opinion, Bothwel on the contrary, Colonel Semple's false Designs</i>	ib.	<i>their equivocation</i>	ib.
<i>is rescued by Huntley, who is banished the Court</i>	141	<i>Proceedings against Popish Lords by the Ministers</i>	173
<i>Netherlands called to account</i>	209	<i>Propositions for Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth</i>	67
<i>Duke of Norfolk committed, his story</i>	68		
<i>arreigned and executed</i>	78	<i>R.</i>	
<i>Norris sent over to Ireland</i>	209	<i>Randolph Ambassadour</i>	91
<i>Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland fly into Scotland</i>	68	<i>abuses his privilege</i>	94
<i>betrayed by Morton, and executed</i>	80	<i>dies</i>	161
<i>Earl of Northumberland pi-</i>		<i>Rebells defeated</i>	29
		<i>Rebells submit, and are committed</i>	149
		<i>Reformed rebell</i>	20
		<i>covenant and call in Aid French</i>	

The Index to the first Part.

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b

Nar-



Narrative Passages of the first Part and
stories, to be read single by
themselves.

T He Preface or Proeme	Episcopacy in Scotland continu-
Introduction to the first	ed
Part	110
page 1	Babington's Treason
Scots how Christians	114
8	Queen of Scots her Trial in
Digression of the State and Di-	England
discipline of Geneva	115
15	sentenced and manner of Exe-
Queen Maries Marriage with	cution
the Lord Darly	121
36	Secretary Walsingham's Letter
Rizzio the French Secretary is	concerning the Execution of
murthered	the Queen of Scots
39	228
Lord Bothwel's advancement	The Spanish Navies Design a-
and story	gainst England in the year
42	1588.
Darly the Queens Husband mur-	141
thered	King James 6. sends Commissi-
48	oners first, and goes over him-
Narrative of Darly's murther,	self to fetch his Queen from
&c.	Denmark
52	Concernments of France with the
Digression, of Combates and	murther of Henry 3.
Duels	155
53	Hacket's horrible Tenets, ar-
Queen Maries escape out of	reigned and executed
Prison in Scotland, her En-	162
counter with her Rebels, she is	Ministers mad work
discomfited and flies into Eng-	194
land	Digression how far, forrein Ti-
60	titles precede in England
Digression, of Ambassadors	211
privilege	Digression concerning the power
74	of Witches and Witchcraft
Massacre of Protestants in	214
France	Earl
83	

The Index to the first Part.

<i>Earl Gowry's conspiracy against</i>	<i>Irish affairs under Lord Blunt</i>
<i>King James</i> 225	<i>Deputy of Ireland</i> 242
<i>Earl of Essex his Treason a-</i>	<i>English Commissioners in</i>
<i>gainst Queen Elizabeth</i> 233	<i>France dispute Precedency</i> 243

The Index to the first Part

Earl Gowry's conspiracy against King James
Earl of Essex for treason against King James
Guise's death



The LIVES and DEATHS of

MARIE

Queen of

SCOTLAND,

And of Her Son and Successor

JAMES

The Sixt of that name, King of SCOTLAND,
And of Great BRITAIN, FRANCE and
IRELAND the First.

Introduction.



KINGS are Gods upon Earth; God himself hath said so; Intituling Them to this Dignity, with power over their People: But they shall die like Men; Humbling their Souls for a blessed End; Lest their Greatness here, should make them careless of their Glory hereafter; Death being the entrance into eternal life.

And so much honour is done to Them, that the Old Testament affords four Books of the Kings; two of which are particular Chronicles of their Persons and Actions, with many other memorable passages of Kings, mentioned promiscuously both in the Old and New Testament; besides those Books not extant, of their wonderfull works, to which much is referred by Holy-writ.

B

And

Of King
James pa-
rents to his
Birth.

Introduction.

And it hath been held sacred, with most Nations, not to leave their *Sovereigns* long buried in the *Graves* of *Oblivion*. And if so of most *KINGS*, why not of *these* so well deserving, *Mary* the *Mother*, and *JAMES* Her Son and Successor?

They came into the *World* when all was on fire, not peace in any part. All *Europe* in a *Militia*. The *East* had much to do for Defence against the *Turk*; The *West* in Offence one with the other; The *North* at variance with their neighbours; The *South* had influence upon them all. A *Massy* body of *War*, in several *Postures*, and each *Army* of sundry *Brigades*; Onely *Himself* never had an *Enemy*.

I desire to bring together much of the *main* into *little*, and in due place to *observe*, out of all, what particular *Interest* became this *King*; The *measure* of whose *Glory* may be taken by its *Profundity*, which onely in him held out long and even.

Their descent.

Let us be mindfull of their *Descent*. She was sole Daughter and Heir to *James Stuart*, the fift of that Name, and the 108 King of *SCOTLAND*; begotten upon *Mary* his *Queen*, of that Illustrious Family of the *Dukes* of *Lorain*; Married to him at Saint *Andrews*, July 1538.

H. 8. turns Lutheran,

About the time, when *Henry 8.* of *England* became *Lutheran*, whom the *Pope* Excommunicates and interdicts His *Dominions*, and with more than *malice* moves the *Emperour* and *French King* to be His *Enemies*. To palliate such *potency*, He procures an Interview with them at *Nice*, a Maritime Town in the *Confines* of *Provence*; And being returned, desires Conference with the King of *Scotland* at *New Castle*: But in time of preparation, the *English* fall fowl with the *Scotch Borderers*. Both parties arm, with equal number, about 30000. *James* himself in person; The *Duke* of *Norfolk* for the *English*, meet upon the *Confines*. The young and daring *King*, with the advantage of his own ground, and neer home, puts the *Old Duke* to advise, and retreat. And the next year, heightened the *Scotch* with an *Army* of 10000, to affront the *English Borders*; who hastily raise considerable *Forces*, and ready for the onset, the *Scotch Lords*, envious against the choice of their General *Oliver Saintclair*, though a man not deserving *Malice*, an excellent Commander; yet they refuse to fight, basely suffering themselves to be *Prisoners*, not only to the power of the *Sword*, but also to the wanton *insolencies* of *Boies* and *Women*, who haltring them by *hundreds*, drove them home into *England*.

And makes war with Scotland,

And defeats them.

Ill News hath wings, which flew to the *King* at *Falkland*; whose youthfull spirit disdaining to out-live the *infamy* of his *People*, with monstrous regret on his *perfidious Army*, He willingly forced his own neglect of the necessities of natural support, *Sustenance* and *Sleep*, untill the weakness of his limbs, not able

able to bear the burthen of his body, *He* cast himself on his *Bed*; When tydings came of his *Queen* brought to bed of a *Daughter* and *Heir* (*His two Sons Infants dying some years before*) at which he sighed out these his last words. *It will end as it began; the Crown came by a Woman, and by a Daughter it will return; King Henry will make it His, by Arms or Mariage:* and turning aside from his Servants, sunk down into the deluge of Death, 13. December 1542. being 33. years of age, and the 32. of His Reign.

His *Daughter* Christned *Mary* five daies after, sole *Heir* of His *Kingdome* and *Misfortunes*, which She inherited to Her death. His body was solemnly and sumptuously intombed in the *Abby Church of Holy-Rood-house*. Nor rested he after death: For *Henry* the eighth, though his *Uncle*, continued the advantages of this *Defeat*, and some years after razed the *Church* and *Tomb* equal with the *Earth*. Whose *Body* was afterwards, by the pious duty of his *Grandson*, *JAMES the sixt*, removed to another Vault, embalmed again, and enshrined in a costly Monument, with *Ensigns* and *Arms*, the *Dignities* of his *Crown* and *Kingdome*.

This Kings Person was well made up, with advantage of an Excellent mind, of a middle stature, with abilities equal to any; The first that pursued his *Enemies*, and the last that left the Chase; discreetly liberal, sparing, only for spending upon necessary disbursements; well affected to Letters, wherein he adventured in some verses of Poesie.

If we examine his Umbrages, as we make our prospect upon a Picture of lights and shadowes; Take him in the Circle of Himself, He was of worthy fame. What he was forced to do in justice upon Offenders, the *Dowglasses* by pursute, and others by Execution, must be wisely referred to the then consequences of State; which of late to him lay under the disease of two professions of Religion, *Romish* and *Reformed*, the latter increasing to the distemper of Him and his Successors.

His Daughter now left *Heir* to the *Crown* at eight daies old, (Age or Sex not debarring Hereditary Right, to rule over their People) which occasioned Her whole Life and Reign, most sad and troublesome to so excellent a Lady. To shadow out unto us, that Eternity is not on Earth; That Kings and Princes, seeming the best substance of Elements, and if possible incorruptible, as being the fairest Seals of Natures impression, yet these yield to the triumph of Death; not calmly neither, but by death dis-seasoned, in several conditions of their life, as well in Youth, as after Age; and so it fell out upon this *Queen*.

For, being thus young, *Hamilton* and *Lenox*, cheef Heads of two Factions, distracted all; the one depending on *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, whose only Son *Prince Edward* was after-

K. of Scots
dies,
And his
Daughter
Mary born.

His Burial,

And Chara-
cter.

Q. *Maries*
entrance in-
to her
Crown, and
Troubles,

By Factions
of *Hamil-
ton* and *Le-
nox*.

wards affianced to *Queen Mary*; And *Lenox* supported by the *French King, Henry the Second*, an utter Enemy to this Match. These began the fewds, which fell by Parties into a mischievous civil War. And in respect her Person was aymed at by each of them, to make advantage; No sooner was *Edward* come to the Crown of *England*, but that *Queen Mother*, wise and prudent, sent Her at Six years old to the *French King*, and to the Duke of *Guise*, for their Breeding.

And with Her (to rid him for the present out of the way) went *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, whom the *French* gained, and afterwards created Duke of *Chasteauleroy* (He was the Grand-child-son of *James the Second King of Scotland* by His Daughter) Upon their return, he was Tutor and Governour of the Kingdome, and her Heir designed in her *Minority*. Of Him much is spoken hereafter: But as He was plain, and well meaning, vexed with other mens policies, so of himself he acted little; and yet, to his power, he defended this *Queen*, through all Her future *Calamity*; But dyed some years before She suffered, leaving Her then, not in despair of deliverance.

The Documents of *France*, met with such an incomparable genuity, and excellent understanding in this Princess (a Person compleat also for beauty) that She became the most admired; which moved the *French King*, to marry Her to *Francis the Dolphin*, Anno 1558. Being both the undoubted Heirs to the Crown of *England*, after the death of *Mary then Queen of England* (presently following) and *Elizabeth* her Sister.

And therefore these new married couple, took upon them to quarter the Arms of *England*, which in truth by Law they might not do: None may bear the Coat of a Family, not being born a certain Heir of the same. Nor was it in truth the right of others, who did the like, as *Courtney Marquess of Exeter*, and the *Duchess of Suffolk*, Neece to *Henry the Eighth*, by His younger Sister; and yet were allowed, though of further Descent; and therein (tis true) the less jealousy, but to Her that was so neer, the cheef cause of *Queen Elizabeths* perpetual hatred, and fear, that She might prove too hasty an Usurper of these Kingdomes, and it was the ground of all the miseries that accompanied Her to the untimely grave.

For *Queen Elizabeth* now come to this Crown (well knowing Her own power and interest with those of the Reformed Religion here at home, and in *Scotland*) opposed it. Which was construed then, that She might as well question *Maries* Interest of Succession.

In this interim, the *French King Henry*, and *Francis His Son*, depart this life, and the *Queen of Scots* left unhappy in his loss, Being become a *Queen Dowager* in *France*, where Factions increased,

Earl of *Arran* Her Guide.

Her breeding in *France*.

And there married the *Dolphin*.

And as heirs to *England* quarter the Arms.

Which of fended *Queen Elizabeth*.

The *French King* and *Dolphin* die.

Introduction.

5

increased, too hot for Her to abide there.

Her Uncle *Guise* (Her Curator) managing the most part, in which he sacrificed himself. Queen *Mary* therefore, having a desire to return home, knew She had been too bold with Queen *Elizabeth*, to get much favour, yet she begged leave from Her of safe conduct into *Scotland*, which was refused, disputing former unkindnesses; whilst in a mist She got by the English Ships, that lay in Her way, and landed in *Scotland*, 1561. Where She found Her State mightily distempered, under Protection of the Bastard *James*, and *Murrays* Government.

To recover which, She used Her Subjects with all curtesie, and changed not those of the *Reformed Religion*, which was mightily increased by Her absence, and brought in by tumult of the wild Presbytery.

And first, She warily requested a certain form of Peace and amity with *England*; and to make it the more certain, She proposed by way of Counsel to Queen *Elizabeth* (if She should have no Issue) to be declared next Heir to Succession.

This advice, with the former bold bearing of the Title and Arms, caused more than suspicion, That otherwise She meant by violence to take the Crown, having claimed it, through too hasty ambition.

And indeed it was a great means to dissever their friendships. For alwaies unto established Governments, Successors are soon suspected. The People most usually, upon dislike of present things, look up after the rising Sun, and forsake the setting. Nor is it customary with Successors designed, to keep their own hopes, and other mens lewd desires, within the compass of justice and truth; and thereby also to cut off the likelihood of future security, by hanging before their own eyes their winding sheet, and to solemnize their own funeral Feast alive, and see the same.

Hereby it was evident Queen *Mary* prepared to stand upon Her Guard, well waying the watchfull eye of Queen *Elizabeth* upon all Her Actions.

The Queen of *Scots* was young and handsome, and in respect of Succession, thought upon nothing more than to settle Her self again by Alliance and Marriage; which Queen *Elizabeth* meant to propose, to divert Her Choice in *France*, mostly aimed at: and therefore by pretence of great policy to both, She offered *Husbands* to Her of the English blood, which the other had most reason to refuse, and to strengthen her self by the amity of the *French*. Preferring that as most certain from whence her Birth proceeded, rather than to trust too much to the English; or to the policy of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was likely to govern the design as She pleased, to Her own advantage.

And

The Queen
returns to
Scotland.

Requests a
Peace with
England &
to be declared
next
Heir.

Which offends
Queen
Elizabeth.

Q. *Maries*
designs to
marry.

And Qu. *E.*
proposes
Husbands.

Emperours
Son

And in Eng-
land Earl of
Leicester.

And in
France.

Dudley pre-
ferred.

Leicester a
Suter to the
Q. of Scots.

Q. Mary
in love with
Lord Darly.

Darly's de-
scend,

And Cha-
racter.

His Prefer-
ments,
And mari-
age with the
Queen.

And therefore She accepted several overtures of *Mariage* with others. And first with Arch-Duke *Charles*, Son to *Ferdinand* the Emperor; but *Queen Elizabeth* soon threatned Her out of that match, and in plain terms commended *Robert Dudley* a new fallen Widower (of his own making, for this design and other great conveniencies) to marry Her. But that was retorted with much scorn by Her Kindred in *France* the *Guises*, as unequal and unworthy, they being then in Treaty for Her with the Emperours Son, and others of *France*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*; and so was *Queen Elizabeths* design narrowly examined by them, and suggested, that this proposed mariage was but to colour Her own resolves to marry *Dudley* Her self; which gave the more suspicion, he being suddenly made Master of Her Horse, created Baron *Denbigh*, and the next day E. of *Leicester*; and for the more credit, his Brother was made *Baron Lisle*, and Earl of *Warwick*.

But *Leicester* by Proxie made Court to *Queen Mary*, and (in time) Commissioners were appointed, from either Kingdomes, to treat thereof at *Barwick*: Though indeed, he had some false hopes, from the common bruit, to marry *Q. Eliz.* and therefore privately authorized his confident Commissioner, the Earl of *Bedford*, to hinder the Treaty, and to further the *Q. of Scots* mariage with *Henry Darly* Son to the Earl of *Lenox*; who were both of them called home by their Queen, after their twenty years banishment here in *England*; And no sooner She saw *Darly*, but presently designs Her self to him. From which Mariage proceeded Her disquiet, and future unhappiness.

This *Darly* was highly descended; his Father, *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, born of the Royal stock of the *Stuarts*, was allwaies acknowledged next Heir to the Queen of *Scots* in Her infancy. And this his Son, a person of incomparable mixtures of mind and body, might well excuse the Queens choice, and her disjointed Councils, concerning her Husband.

And when she found it came to light, she desired *Q. Elizabeths* consent; but *Murray*, most ambitious, and unwilling to leave his power and interest in the sway of Government, (together with *Hamilton*) fought, under hand, all indefatigable waies and means in *England*, to prevent it; though *Queen Elizabeth* had no need to be taught designs and devices, if possible, to divide this intended Match. Which, indeed, caused *Queen Mary* the sooner to hasten; and having knighted *Darly*, and created him Lord *Armanoch*, Earl *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, at the five Moneths end, of his beginning, She took him, her King and Husband, 1565.

And now *Murray* began his *Rants*, applying all his Wit and Cunning (of either he had sufficient) to his own private discontent

tent and ambition; and under the goodly pretence of Religion, had raked together such a rabble of the mad-headed Ministry, countenanced also by the Duke *Castle-herault*, that the whole Kingdom feared the disquiet.

The Queen of *England*, might well (as she did) take compassion hereat; two young couples, her kindred, and Successors, having much to do to qualifie the twenty years custome of a turbulent people, not to have a King, till now; and willing indeed, to have none at all. For *Hamilton*, and *Murray*, presuming of favour from *England*, take arms, but were so hotly persued by the King, that they fled into *England*, and were there covertly protected; but might have been more openly, by the same rule that some *English* fugitives had been received in *Scotland*, as *Taxley*, *Standen*, and *Welch*, besides *Oneal* out of *Ireland*.

All this was disputed by Ambassie from *England*, of one *Tanworth* a Courtier, to whom the Queen of *Scots* did not vouchsafe her presence, he refusing to call her Husband King.

Thus stood the State of the Affairs in *Scotland*, whilst the Queen conceived with Child, and, as if blessed in the peace of this Issue (what she could never enjoy in her life) she afterwards brought forth, her only Son, *James the sixth* (a Peace-maker to all Our World) in *June 1566*.

But because the Religion (as they call it) is much concerned in all the troubles of that Kingdom, as a defensive faction, taken up at all times to mannage other Designs and Interests; Give me leave to tell you their Story (intermixing the affairs of State, and other concernments of their contemporaries.)

Wherein you shall find their pretended sanction from a Rule of Conscience, to be an Instrumental of State; from a pretence of Knowledge, to be a very practice of Ambition.

Nor will it (I hope) repent the Reader, the tedious Story: for though Truth appears in *Ordine Doctrinae*, yet never more fully, than when we search the *Original Veins* thereof, by the *Increase*, *Depravations*, and *Dekaies*, in *Ordine Temporum*.

And so we proceed to the History of their Church and State, and the Contemporary Actions, intervening with *England* and *France*, and other Neighbour Nations.

Scotland in disquiet.

K. James born, 1566.

Digression. The Scots Religion & State affairs intermixed.

The

Anno
1542.

Q. Mary
comes to the
Crown.

Romish and
Reformed
Religions.

Scots, how
Christians.

From Palla-
dins.

The Life and Death of MARY Queen of SCOTLAND.

King James the fifth dying of discontent, more than disease, the 13. of December 1542. in the 33. year of his age, and 32. of his reign, left his Crown to an only Daughter Mary, at six daies old; as she did afterwards, to her Son, born a King: (*Fatal sufferings to a people, to be Subjects to young Sovereigns*) And this Succession was put into a Will patcht up by the Cardinal David Beaton, and clapt into the Kings hand to sign. The Government of the Kingdom for the present was intrusted unto the Queen Mother, a wise and virtuous Princess of the House of Lorain; And though she might, as yet, be ignorant of the Actions, of State, in this short time of her experience in Scotland, but 4. years; yet the Nobles, dissenting factions, agreed, the rather herein to accept of her; Each party presuming to work their ends the better, out of her Ignorance.

The people were religiously divided in Opinions, Romish and Reformed, which had put the late King upon extremity of Justice against the Separatists, as they then were stil'd, indeed Dissenting among themselves, but afterwards, Congregating and Covenanting, gave them other Names. But in their several Professions, sundry persons suffered Imprisonment, Life, or loss of all.

The Scots derive their Christianity from the disciples of S. John (their Patronage of St. Andrew) and the propagation thereof (not from Rome, I dare say) no indeed, they will have it from their own Plantations in Germany; where, increasing Christianity, the persecution of Domitian drove them home, again, into Scotland. And so they utterly refuse to have any thing to do with Rome, by means of Victor, that held that See, as others will have it.

But they confess, That Celestine Bishop of Rome, sent learned Palladius to convince the Heresie of Pelagius, (a welchman born, and bred up in the Monastery of Banghor) then overspreading that Nation. And after his good success therein, brought in (say they) Prelate Bishops, having had (by their favour) Priests and Moncks long before, and thereafter all kind of Romish Orders. Nay, Boniface the eighth, making use of the complaint of the Scottish Clergy against King Edward of England, cruelly afflicting them, and also of the resignation of the people to the See of Rome, The Pope thereby claims right to that Crown, writes to Edward, and malapertly Bids him not meddle with his Vassalls and Subjects.

But

But after too much lording of the *Romish Clergy*, and the great *Schism* at Rome, *Pope* against *Pope* (three at one time) Some men began openly to discover them to the world. As *Wickliff* in *England*, *John Hus*, and *Ferome* in *Bohemia*; the *Scots* will have of theirs too, *James Resby* and *Paul Craw* (who indeed were but their *Pupils*) that quarrell'd with their Arch-bishop of *Saint Andrews*, and so began their fray.

So that the *Scots* reckon themselves happy, without *Bishops*, till *Palladius*; from him to *Malcolm*; from him to *Patrick Graham*, their first *Arch-Bishop*; who came in with that title, to the dislike of all the *Bishops*. The inferiour *Clergy* could not brook the strict authority of him, and so by them, and the *Courtiers* too boot, *Graham* lost that *Title*.

And one *Blacater* traces his Steps, and procures himself *Arch-bishop* also; then followed *Beaton*, and he brought in the *Cardinals Cap*, and all these in opposition each of other, which gave occasion to sundry men to publish these discontents, together with some *Corruptions* of the *Church*, not unlikely to make a rent. And therefore, the *Pope* sent unto *James* the fourth, a *Sword*, and *Title*, *Protector of the Faith*, and not long after (his gifts were cheap) unto *Henry* the eighth of *England* a *Sword*, and *Title*, *Defender of the Faith*.

I find the *Scots* had some *Martyrs* who begun their *Reformation* with private opinions. *Resby* suffered anno 1422. *Paul Craw* 1431. In 1494. about 30. persons, men and women, called *Lollards*, from one *Lollard* a *Schismatick* indeed, (not as the *Fryer* discanteth, *Quasi Lolium in area Domini*.) And these put their *Articles* (34) in writing. The first *Protestation* that we read of amongst them, being in the year 1527. then suffered *Patrick Hamilton*, of the *Antient Family*, and so forwards many more.

The *Northern Martyrs* had repute of constancy in sufferings beyond others; Which gives occasion to discuss the reason, for it was observed, That the people of this Isle exceed in zeal of profession, and are called in *Italian*, *Pichia Pelli*, or *Knock-breasts*, *Hypocrites*. So are they naturally better qualified with courage in extremities of sufferings, and therefore accounted most valiant; in respect of the *Climate*, the *Heart* furnished with plenty of *Blood* to sustain sodain defects, is not so soon apprehensive of *Death*, as where the *Store-house* of blood is less; every hazard there, raiseth fear, paleness and trembling; *Angli bello intrepidi, nec mortis sensu deterrentur*, witness the bold and cheerful sufferings of the condemned.

Answerable to our *Bodies* are our *Laws*, suitable to the *Inhabitants* of this *Soil*; Not being, since *William* the *Conquerour*, compelled (in *Criminal Tryals*) to confession by *Torture*, as in the *Civil Law* of other *Nations*, whose *Innocency* would rather

Anno

1542.

Schism at Rome creates Exceptions to Papacy, By Wickliff, John Hus, Jer. of Prag. and some Scots.

First Bishops in Scotland. Arch-bishops, and Cardinals.

Popes presents.

Scotish Martyrs.

Of Northern Martyrs.

Anno

1543.

yield to be guilty, than to endure lingring pain.

Insulani plerunque fures,

Death not prevailing to deter men from common offences; what constancy then, shall that Man have, who is martyred for matters of Religion, and health of his Soul: *Britannis, quibus nihil interest humine sublimive putrescant, non valet. Purpuratis Gallis, Italis, aut Hispanis ista minitare.* And therefore Pope Clement the eighth impaired his Cause, by burning Mr. Marsh at Rome, in *Campo divi sancta fiore*, whose constancy made him a Martyr, and many carryed away his ashes as *Reliques*, and that Pope resolved therefore, That none of the *English Nation* should from that time be confirmed with fire.

The Enemies of true Religion have not gained to themselves by that cruelty: *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesie.* The Romans were tender, in case of Religion, to condemn to death; Cato was not of opinion with those that would have sentenced the *Bacchanals*, he alleging, That Religion was apt to deceive men into a shew of *Divinity*, and therefore to be wary in punishing the Professors, lest the common people should suspect something was done thereby derogating from the Majesty of God.

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere Malorum.

And so the occasion of some Martyrs amongst the Scots increased numbers, their Ashes being the best Compost to manure the Church.

And now return home, out of *England*, those Persons of Honour, Prisoners to Henry 8. at the last fatal Battel, with whom he deals so cunningly, that by his Noble Usage, and some Bribes to boot, he returns them his Pensioners, especially, their utmost endeavour for a Match with Prince Edward and their Queen, young Couples, He five, She but one year, old. And with this conceit the King might conquer Scotland by mariage, to save him expence of money and men, by the Sword. But the French King Henry, not liking this lincking, began quarrels with the English, embarging their Ships and Merchants goods; the like with them in England; So that some Forces were from hence speedily sent over, which besieged *Landersey*, but the French King in person with a mighty Army, made the English to rise for to meet them: In the mean time the Town was relieved, and the King, having done his Work, returned in the dark.

The Scots Prisoners kept their word, and prevailed so far at home, that their first Parliament concluded the Match, and confirmed it by an Instrument under Seals, and ratified by Oaths; and that their young Queen should be sent to her Husband; but these Scots soon byassed by the French practices, break faith and refuse. This Indignity set Henry on fire for revenge, who transports an Army into Scotland in 200. Vessels, under command of

Vis-

Scots Prisoners promise a Mariage;

the French interpose.

1544.

Incense the English to Arms.

of MARY Queen of Scots.

II

Viscount Lisle, Admiral for the Sea, and the Earl of *Hartford* for the Souldiers, and Land at the *Fryth*, marching in three *Battalia's* towards *Lieth*: And were encountred with skirmishes by six thousand Horse, who soon retreated, leaving *Lieth* to be consumed with fire. And being (besides this Success) too powerful to be opposed, marched forwards towards *Edinburgh*, and were humbly besought by the *Provost* and *Burgesses* to spare their Cities ruin, and be pleased with the Souldiers free quarter, and *Bag and Baggage* at parting. No, this was not sufficient to appease the Enemies fury, who being therefore somewhat opposed, entered by force with fierce assault, took part of the *Town*, which they ransacked, and consumed with fire *Holy-rood-House* and the *Palace*.

The Ships returned with large Spoils, and the *Army* marcht on, coasting the Countrey homewards, ransacked above thirty Towns in their way, with no more los than forty men.

Having thus punished them for perjury, *King Henry* design'd as much, or more, to the *French*, with two Armies, the one under Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who besieged the strong Town *Maitrel*, but were beaten up with los and little honour. The other had better success, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, for embodying both of them, encamped about *Bulloign*, with power enough to be mastered. And therefore, for the glory of the gallant King, Himself comes over, and after a Months *Battery*, takes, first, the Upper, and then the *Base Town*, by *Articles*, to depart with Bag and Baggage; the whole number of Souls 4444. and *King Henry* Mans the Town, and so comes home again.

And it was time so to do; for the *Scots* always aiming at such opportunities, fell into the Marches of *England*, rifling and burning all the Towns they came to, from whence the *English* were fled, till they met with the Earl of *Hartford*, who was sent with twelve thousand men, and doing as the other had done before, ruin'd all, without opposition of any. And thus, but by turns, *King Henry* intending to be more cruel with Revenge, to that end makes peace with *France*, but dies two years after.

Which Gave the *Scots*, some time of breathing from abroad, never free from quarrels at home; the State increasing in Faction, the old Council keep up their *Inquisition* after *Heretiques*, as they termed the *Reformers*; and for Example fell upon one *Wischard*, whose outward zeal and affection to their Cause, gave him courage to confirm it by *Fire and Fagot*; And for whose death, the Cardinal *David Beaton* (lately come to enjoy his Kinsmans *Care*) was barbarously murdered in his Castle of *Saint Andrews*, by *Narman Lisle*, *James Melvin*, and others, and

And land
with Fire &
Sword,

and return;

and the like
in France.

Take Bul-
loign.

The Scots
enter Engl.

Scots im-
broiled in
troubles a
home.

Cardinal
Beaton mur-
dered.

Anno
1546.

Jo. Knox
the Reform-
ers Ringlea-
der.
First Mini-
ster.

Tumult.

1547.

Hen. 8. dies.

Ancient
League with
France.

English Ar-
my to bal-
lance diffe-
rences,

Sent by K.
Edward.

The Letter
of Summons
presented to
the Scottish
Army,

were justified in that barbarous act, by *John Rough*, preaching it for sound doctrine, who had got into their gang one *John Knox*, the most notorious Ringleader, afterwards, of all disorder in their Reformation; which now began to quarrel with the *Crown* also, and all *Regal Government*: For presently surprizing the *Castle*, He was, by the *Crowd*, vocated (as they call it) to be a *Preaching Minister*, whose *Pride* enduring no *Rival*, soon turned out *Rough* that brought him in. But *Knox* finding no firm footing in *Scotland*, fled into *England* two years after.

And now began the tumult within, and without the *Castle*; the *Town* taking parts, *Monsieur d' Osel* sent into *France* for a great *Army*, and as soon as sent for, was waisted over in 24. *Gallies*, anno 1547. beginning *Siege* and *Battery* to the *Castle*, which was quickly rendered, and the *Prisoners* and *Spoil* thereof returned back with the *Army* into *France*; The *English* were coming to oppose the *French*, but *Henry 8.* of *England* dying, gave occasion to the *French* to return *Victors*.

The antient *League of Scots and French* was decreed in the time of *Achais* the first *Monarch* of *Scotland* (*Offensive and Defensive*) with *Charls le Grand* of *France*; viz. Let this *League* indure for ever; Let the *Enemies* of the one be so to the other; If the *Saxon* or *English* invade *France*, the *Scots* shall send aid, as the *Numbers* shall be desired, and at the *French* Charge; If the *English* invade the *Scots*, the *French* are to send competent assistance, and at the *French* Charge.

So that we may now say, Never was *League* more faithfully observed, or longer continued, even till the *Union* of *King James* the sixth with *England*; which begat that saying, He that will Either win, with the Other must begin.

But forthwith to ballance these *Broils*, comes an *Army* from *England*, of ten thousand *Foot*, and five hundred *Horse*, by *Land* and *Shipping*; which *King Edward* of *England*, lately come to the *Crown*, and at ten years of age, sent under the Conduct of his *Uncle* the *Duke of Somerset* his *Protector*. Not without some resolve, in these civil dissentions, to vie *Mastery* for the pursute or pretence of *Mariage*. And the third of *September* entring into the cold quarter, brought them to the *Scots Borders*, but with so much *Civility*, as to send *Summons* to the *Duke of Castle-herault*, who bore the best sway, as the honestest Man amongst them.

He puts the *Scots* in mind, That the blood of *Neighbors*, *Kindred*, and *Christians*, are too pretious to be vainly spilt; That he comes to prevent it, and if he be put to it, to use his force: It refers onely to a firm *Peace*, not for the present, but perpetual, if the *Union* of sacred bands of *Marriage* may confirm it, which we desire now

Anno
1547.

now, as ye have promised heretofore, the advantages so equal, that the even gain pleads alike for both. Princes of fitting years, of Compositions, Mind and Body alike; in Powers matchless by any; One Island, Speech and Manners. To ballance these with hopes, or likelihood from Forein, it were more safe to examine by Examples of Others, than to make tryal by themselves. For his part, presuming to meet with many of his Mind amongst them, he would endeavour to moderate such Articles formerly prescribed, as might render the young Queen more content, viz. To remain (for some years of her Infancy) at home; to be bred up with her own people, and with her own choice and Council of her Peers to consent to a Husband. In the mean time not to be tempted with a Forein Match of the French, or any other, nor to be bred beyond Seas. And with this Conclusion, he will depart home, with recompence for any hurt done already.

The Scots were a mighty Army for Men, and neer hand for all Ammunition. They say themselves above thirty thousand after their Mutiny, wherein they lost eight hundred; and thus priding up, upon this offer of the English, neglected to read these Letters in Council, Left, indeed, the equitable conditions should raise a Mutiny in the Multitude, who were most for this Match, until the French faction pretended that the English came to force their Queen away.

Which they neglect.

Upon this, the Scots advance along the Shore, and from an English Galley one Cannon shot took away at one blow five and twenty Scots, which routed the Next Archers; And Somerset set forward his Horse Troops that his Foot might gain the Hill, who were soon forced back; but as to recover their Courage, their Harquebuse horse fall on, with help of their Artillery, and shewres of Arrows, that the Scots gave ground to be out of the reach of the Cannon, whilst the English cry out, they fly, they fly, which fear, and not force, increased to a total flight; and their ranks quite disordered, gave the Battail to the English, with loss of Fourteen thousand Scots, the Lords Lohemore, and Fleming, with almost all their Chieffs fell by the Sword. Taken Prisoners fifteen hundred, and amongst them Earl Huntley, Lord Chancelour, with the Lords Hester, Hobs, and Hamilton, and many others at Musleburgh, Septem. 10. 1547.

The Armies meet.

The Scots are discomfited, & slain 14000.

The English Master five miles about, fortifie Keth and Amor, two adjacent Islands, take the Castles of Fas and Humes, raised some Fortifications at Londere and Resburgh, and so return.

1548.

The Scots thus worsted, send to implore aid from France, who send over ten thousand, amongst whom, say the German Authors, came over three thousand Almans, High-Dutch, under Command of the Count Reingrave; but in general under Govern-

10000. French come to their aid:

The Queen
at six years
of age sent
into France.

Hadington
siege.

French
Command.

English For-
ces recruit.

vernment of *Monsieur de Desse*, a man of some successful Re-
nown; and after landing, join with eight thousand *Scots* near
Hadington, and beleaguer it, being lately fortified by the *Eng-
lish*; where, assembling Council in *May*, they advise to send
over the young *Queen* into *France*, the immediate cause of those
troubles; And to fortifie themselves, against future assaults,
or pretences of the *English*, they consult it best, to betroth her
to the *Dolphine* of *France*: And for the present, the *English* be-
ing overburdened with the Expence and continual war, never to
have hopes of an end, make fair offers of a Truce for ten years,
in likelihood, therefore, that one of the Princes might dy,
which would expiate for the former promises and conditions of
Contract. But this advise, over-ruled by the *French* Faction,
and *Romish* Clergy, with the offer of four thousand *French* Crowns
yearly Revenue to the Duke *Castle-herault*, it was resolved to
fight it out, and send away the *Queen*, who was transported o-
ver, round about *Scotland* by the West Sea, and arrives upon
Bretaign in *France*, and so to *Paris*; escaping the *English* Fleet
that watched for her about *Calice*; She being now but six years
of age, accompanied with *James* her base Brother, *Jo. Arskin*,
and *Will. Leviston*.

The Siege of *Hadington* continues, and as bravely defended,
when comes to their succour thirteen hundred Horse, armed Cap-
tains, to assist the Beseechers, under command of *Sir Robert Bowes*,
and *Sir Thomas Palmer*, but in the way, were all cut off by *Am-
bushade*. But the Earl of *Shrewsbury* following with an Army of
sixteen thousand, amongst whom were four thousand *Germans*
(equal friends for like pay) raised the siege, most *French*, who
retreated very honourably, and left the Town for the Earl to en-
ter, who relieves it, and returns to *Berwick*.

Monsieur de Besse marches to *Humes* and *Fas Castle*, Places ta-
ken by the *English* the year before, surprizes the Centinels, and
takes the Castles. But *Humes* was taken by this Device. Order
had been given, by the Governour, for the County to come in
with provision, by such a day, whereof *de Besse* makes use;
loads his own Souldiers like Countreymen, who were let in by
a Portal, cast down their provision, and secretly armed, fall
upon the Guard, let in more company, and so surprize the
Castle.

In August after, comes the Earl of *Rutland* with three thou-
sand *Germans*, and other Forces of the *Marches*, knowing the
great difficulty for *Hadington* to hold out, the County so extrem-
ly foraged of all Provisions for contribution, without a standing
Army to protect them; Dismantling the Places of Strength,
draws out all the Men and Ammunition, fires the Town, and re-
turns to *Berwick*, not meeting any one to oppose him: And
this

this was the last expedition from King Edward; though the French remained with most of their bands, and some Gallies; and so was poor Scotland massacred by two stranger Armies; as a prey to both Nations. But now began to have a breathing, being free from Strangers till the 2 year of Q. Elizabeth.

During this time of trouble, John Knox, having been imprisoned by the State for tumults and disorder in behalf of Reformation, escapes, and was now got into England, preaching at Berwick, then to New-Castle, then to London, and so to the South of England, untill Queen Maries daies of Martyrs; But afterwards, too hot for him to hold out, he passes over to Geneva, from thence unto Franckford; which very unwillingly he did, being counselled thereto, much against his mind, by John Calvin, a Frenchman of Aquitain, and bred a Civilian, who indeed could not brook such another Spirit as was his own, to meddle in that Government.

At Franckford he was accused of Treason against the Emperour, and Queen Mary of England, whom in his Treatise of Admonition to England, he called, the One, little inferior to Nero, the Other, more cruel than Jezabel, for which he was forced to fly back to Geneva, but could settle no where, and so returned to Deep in France, and thereafter into Scotland, in anno 1555. and again, after some weeks, from thence he fled back to Geneva; Nor there could he have footing, but returns to Deep, in anno 1557. From thence he conveys sundry Letters to his factious Lords, Lairds, and Laicks, tells them of true honor, to stick by the Kirk and his Counsel, for that cause are they called Princes of the People, not by descent of Birth and Progeny, but by their duty, to vindicate the oppressed Kirk.

Hereupon, his Letters, and other missives, so prevailed, that the faction came into a Common Band, 1558. and then Knox comes home, when Q. Mary of England dies, and Q. Elizabeth succeeds.

And thus linked, began their Geneva Congregation, into the face of Kirk; Elders appointed, and called the Privy Kirk; and at Dundee, it was first erected, by the scattered notions of Knox pickt up at Geneva; which profession there, hath since spread into many the Reformed Churches of Christendome.

I shall take the boldness, to digress into that Story; In Anno 1124. The Bishop of Geneva was the Prince of it, and the Territory thereof, and contending with Aymo a lay Earl, de Imperio Civitatis, the Emperour Frederick the first, gave leave to the Bishop, *Ut ille solus Genevæ principatum obtineret Regali jure.* Yet some contentions followed, betwixt the Bishops, the Earls, and the Dukes of Savoy; and therefore the Citizens, for Defence of themselves, entered League with the Helvetians, Berne, and

Anno
1548.

Jo. Knox his
travellings,
and course
of Life;

at Franck-
ford accused
of Treason,

and flies
back to
France, and
so to Scotl.

1555.
and back a-
gain to Ge-
neva, and
then again
to France,
1557.

and by Let-
ters to his
Faction in
Scotland,
they come
into Cove-
nant, 1558.
Presbytery
first set up at
Dundee.

Digression.
Of Geneva,
and their
first Presby-
tery Church,
Franciscus
Bonivard.
Simlerus de
Rep. Helv.

Anno
1558.

Farellus
their Foun-
der.

Bod. de Rep.
p. 353.

Calv. to Sa-
dol. p. 172.

Bod. de Rep.
p. 353.

Calv. comes
to Geneva,
and fabricks
a Discipline.

Bez. in vita
Calvin.
Calv. de nec.
ref. comp. 64.

They advise
of a Church
Discipline.

Bez. in vita
Calvin.

Capit. to Fa-
rel. Ep. Cal.
6.

and Frebergh (the Neighbour free Cities) and so were power-
ful to shew their Teeth, against both factions, and occasion
was soon offered to bite.

For by the preaching of Farellus (sometime Scholar unto
Stupulensis and Viretus) they began to dislike their Bishops Per-
son, and his Popery; Beginning to reform, as other the said
Neighbour Cities had done. *Novanda Religionis studium, ac
Reipub. commutanda oblatam occasionem arripuerunt.* And yet they
would have been content with Him and his Episcopacy, but not
with His Popery.

The Bishop in possession, and having (as Calvin after con-
fesses) *Fus gladii, & alias civilis Jurisdictionis partes*, Farellus
then exclaims against that Civil Authority in Bishops, as un-
lawful.

From which Doctrine, it was no marvel if the Citizens took
upon them, that the Sovereignty of the City was in Themselves,
and so the Bishop, and his crew, gat away.

*Quo ejecto, Genevates, Monarchiam, in popularem statum co-
mutarunt.*

And by such advise as pleased them, they ordain a new Form
of popular Government, *jura Magistratus.*

The Bishop joined with the Duke of Savoy, quarrels his right,
assault the City, anno 1536, and were beaten back, and the Ci-
ty, ever since, rule themselves: For Calvin was now come to them,
a Frenchman, and may be called their Founder, the wisest man
that ever the French Church could boast off; A Civilian bred,
and got his Divinity, not by learning it, but by teaching others. And
this was their first Principle in Divinity, to cast off their Rulers at
Pleasure. The Gospel, to wrest the Sword.

Thus altered the Sovereignty, and thereafter the Government
of the Church; Some of their own say, it was *mirabiliter*. In-
deed, much like the other; as *The One was thrust out, so the O-
ther was abolished*; Dealing therein, as men do with rotten houses;
overthrow all the whole frame of Ecclesiastical building at once, in-
to a rude heap; out of which, they may the better make choise, and
take of that old stuff, as they please to build a new, and yet in that
way they are as inconstant. But hereupon they advise of a Church
Government, respective to some Neighbour Cities; and in this
hurly burley, they confesse, they could fall upon no better, and
yet they soon change this Model.

A principal Stickler therein, was this John Calvin, He be-
gan *Ecclesiam componere anno 1536*. It being before (as himself
saies) *tanquam dissoluta Scopa*, and makes them swear to his Dis-
cipline, *paucis capitibus comprehensum*, which lasted not nine
Moneths wonder, and he, and his Comrades, bold Farellus and
eloquent Viretus banished, and why? *Tyranni esse voluerunt*;

In

In liberam Civitatem, voluerunt novum pontificatum revocare.

In their absence, the City disagrees (*Farellus* and *Viretus* being better provided) *Calvin* lying at the Lurch, sometimes at *Tigurum*, *Basil*, *Strasburgh*, returns again 1541. and with much cunning devises, as there was a *Civil Senate*, so he would have an *Ecclesiastical Assembly* of twelve simple Citizens, and (observe his modesty) but six Ministers; The odds made it more colourable for *Calvin*, in Number, but not in Value (*Union* in a prepared Conspiracy, prevailing more than Number) for himself cunningly commands all, to the great regret of the *Comminality*, whom at his pleasure, and with his power, in the *Consistory*, he suspended from the *Communion*, which is indeed the very *Scepter* of their pretended *Sion*.

The City displeased with their *Consistory*, advise with their Neighbour Cities on that point, and therein *Calvin* in outward shew the most busie, and therefore is admitted to pen their missive Letters, but underhand directs his own Letters to their Minister *Bullinger*, and others; presuming that their Ministers would confer with them; and therefore thus he prepares them, with lamentable Complaints against the (*Geneve*) *Senates* blindness, unhospitable to Strangers, abusive to *Farellus*, Defenders of Hereticks, and Devils incarnate. Implores consideration upon himself, and his Associates, being impugned by the wicked, for bringing them, from under the yoke of sin, to see the Sun of Righteousness; ascribes much to their Ministers, the very support of Gods Church. *Nunc* (saith he) *extremus actus agitur, nisi istinct afferatur remedium*. And unless the Devil be now unfaddled by them, *habenas ei laxatum iri*, he would get the Bit in his Teeth, and run riot at pleasure; And for his own part he meant not to stay by it, but run away too. *Nec morositate nostra fiet, ut loco potius cedamus quam sententia*.

And for what can a Man imagine all these good words: why, truly he tells Mr. *Bullinger*, *Brevis summa est*, that your Noble Senate would say, that his Discipline is *Consentanea verbo Dei*. By no means, they would not; but they were content to say, it did *accedere ad prescriptum verbi Dei*; and withall returned back with their Letters a Form of their Government, but not to prescribe any of it to them, for that their own at Geneva might be more convenient.

Hereupon 1537. *Calvin* foreknowing the effect of their Letters, hastens the City to resolve, who, with much ado, assemble, and put their own discipline to the Vote, which came to this upshot (as *Calvin* saies himself) *In illa promiscua calluvie Suffragis sumus superiores*; for when Stomach strives with wit, the match is unequal.

Anno

1558.

Cap. to Farell
Epist. Calv. 6.

Bexa de vita
Calv. 8.

Cal. to Bullen-
ger.

Cal. to Bullen-
ger Ep. 207.

Anno

1558.

Bod. de Rep. l.
2. Calv. 6.Cal. to Viretus
Epist. 586.The promul-
gation thereof.Beza to Grin-
dal Ep. 8.

And let these his own Words be recorded (*in perpetuam rei memoriam*) by how many reverend Fathers, and famous Persons, with what Wisdom and Deliberation this Form of pretended holy Discipline was revived and entertained, if a disordered multitude by most voices, laid this plat-form, for all posterity to imitate.

Major voice, helpt him well, upon which advantage he would practice: And therefore crouds in fifty French, his Countrey-men, at a clap, free Denizons; who had *Fus Fubenda legis*, and his Interest was (no doubt more) to force in Ministers.

For when the Magistrates would have but preferred a Genevian born to be one, Calvin storms at him; Trolletus (saies he) *quidnam? quod natione sit Genevensis* (no other cause) *nisi quod Simiae amant suos Catulos*. And indeed the Emperour Charles V. intending wars upon France, gave good leasure and leave to the Reformers to increase, the Pope to be displeased, which occasioned Calvin to compile his Book *De necessitate reformatæ Ecclesiæ*.

And so have we, from whence It came, whither It would, who devised It, when, and how, and where, planted in Geneva Anno 1554. and Calvin continued there to his death, 1561. aged 52. years.

And yet to spread it abroad (for all Calvins wit) he was glad, it seems to get it into favour with the assistance of Reverend Beza, being alike bred up with the profession of several Reformers, who (together) gave value to the progress of this beginning; and truly of a good Man, grew much in admiration of Calvins wit, which induced him thereto, and became at length very bold (in his Prescriptions to some in England) to intermeddle here, and in Scotland, for the like Reformation; witness his Epistles to Lawson and Knox; His discourse of three kind of Bishops, of God, of Man, and of the Devil, to the exceeding censure of him.

In France it had no repute, being termed *Thalmud Sabaudiacum*.

To England it came, upon occasion of some Male-contents, in reference to Geneva; for in Queen Maries Martyring time, those being fled to Franckford, they were afresh assaulted with the Orders of Geneve; and Knox and Whittington collect the particulars of Edward the sixth's Common-Prayer Book, and send it to Calvin, who very censoriously is pleased to say *Multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias*.

However, Franckford inclined to the English, and chuse Dr. Horn their Superintendent: at which Calvin storms; and by great entertainments of other English, as Whittington, Gilby, Goodman, and others, invited their Persons to Geneve, and so stole

stole their hearts to his humour also. And they thereafter spread it in *England* the second year of *Queen Elizabeth*. About which time, *Knox* came also and carried it into *Scotland*. And this is the true story of the *Geneve* discipline briefly and impartially put together.

This year a Treaty was held at *Cambray*, by Delegates of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, for settling the various differences of State; but especially between *England* and *France*, for restoring *Calice*, which had been lost to them by *Queen Mary*, but by no means would be rendered back. Yet at last a Truce was concluded upon these Articles.

Neither Prince shall invade each Other, nor assist Eithers Enemies. The Ships of either Nation shall give Caution at their setting out to Sea, not to molest each Other. Free Commerce and Trading to be increased. The French Fortification at *Armoth* in *Scotland*, to be demolished. Eight years the French shall enjoy *Calice*, with the Appurtenances, and sixteen Pieces of Ordinance, and presently after shall restore it to *Queen Elizabeth*. Eight sufficient Merchants (not French Subjects) shall be bound in 500000 Crowns for performance hereof, and the Right of the Town to remain in the Queen. And if any Attempt or Innovation, be by any English, during that time, against the French, or the Queen of Scots, then the other shall be free. And on the contrary, If any prejudice shall be attempted or done by the French King, the Queen of Scots, or the *Dolphine*, against *England*, then *Calice* shall be instantly from thenceforth rendred to *Q. Elizabeth*.

A Peace at the same time and place was concluded between the Queen of *England*, and *Francis* and *Mary King* and Queen of *Scotland*, and certain ARTICLES of Agreements were referred to Commissioners to regulate abuses of each Borderers.

And accordingly this Peace was proclaimed in *England* and *France*, but soon broken; for the French King aiming at *England*, for his Son and the Queen of Scots, would not withdraw his French Garrisons out of *Scotland*, as was agreed, but privily sent over fresh Supplies, and openly challenges Interest in *England* for his Son and Daughter-in-law; and in all writings used this Title, *Francis and Mary King and Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland*; Bearing and quartering the Arms of *England*, and upon their *Heralds Coats*.

Of which *Throgmorton* the English Ambassadour Lieger, complained without redress. Levied forces openly and sent them to *Scotland* to border all places of *England*; And being an utter Enemy to the Protestants, was under hand abetted by the Pope, the Emperour, and *Spain*, holding Her an Heretique and Illegitimate. But those his Designs were soon cut off by an

Anno
1559.

Treaty at
Cambray.

Articles of
Calice.

The French
King aims at
England.

Quarter the
Arms of Eng-
land,

Anno

1559.

K. of France
killed at a
Tilting.

Q. Elizabeth
offended.

Knox arrives
in Scotland.

Marches in
tumult to
Sterling,
called the
Congregation,
and Rebel.

untimely accident upon him; for tilting at the Nuptials of his Daughter with *Spain*, and his Sister with *Savoy*, and being run in at the eye with a *Lance*, the Bur sticking in his brains, he died immediately.

Some hopes *Queen Elizabeth* had now of lessening her fears, and therefore to strike in with his Son and Successor, She kept his Fathers Obsequies with magnificent solemnity in *Pauls Church*; And sent *Howard* the Lord *Effinghams* Son, to *Con- dole* the Kings Death, and to *Congratulate* the new Successor, with desire to continue Friendship and League, as with his Father. But the *Guilians* Party that now were like to govern all, counselled the young K. to increase the quarrel, and not to leave off the Arms of *England*.

Throgmorton was told, That they might as well bear those of *Eng- land*, as *Queen Elizabeth* did theirs of *France*. It was so questi- oned at *Cambray*, but *Doctor Wootton*, answered, That twelve Kings of *England* on a Row had born them, with so much au- thority, that no Treaty ever disputed.

But at last *France* finding the *Queens* jealousy to kindle into flame, they forbore, with this bravado, That indeed it was un- done upon better consideration; no addition of Terms or Ti- tles could give Honour, but rather Diminution, to the *Most Christian King of France*; and that former Kings challenging and prosecuting their undoubted rights to *Naples* and *Millan* in *Italy*, yet used them not additional to *France*.

We return again to our *Scots*. *Knox* came to his Party, be- ing arrived out of *France*, May 1559. hastens to *Saint Johnstons*, preaching them into practice. And first they chuse an *Orator*, the *Laird of Caldor*, with Petitions and Supplications to the *Queen Regent* of their Demands; for having before got leave to read the Bible, now they desire to convene in Prayer, to in- terprete the Scripture, to baptize their own, to receive in both kinds, and (ever at the end of all) to have the Priests Refor- med.

To all these, *She* gave a reasonable answer, but not so satis- factory as they required.

They protest in *Parliament* to stand to their Tenents, and If *Distraction* or *Destruction* follow, the blood they bring home to the score of bad Government. For which, they were summoned to appear at *Serlin*; and they, to strengthen themselves against any force, congregate all their parties from *Dundee*, *Montross*, *Saint Johnston*, *Angus*, and *Mernes*; and so came forward to- wards the *Queen* at *Serlin*; whom she caused in prudence (with fair promises) to be staid; and now they call themselves the *Congregation*, and keeping still in a body, the necessity of State inforced her to put them to the *Horn*; Inhibiting all upon pain of

of M A R Y Queen of Scotland.

21

of Rebellion not to side with them. Whereupon they fall to action, Robbing and Plundering the Gray and Black-Fryers, a building of wonderous cost and greatnes, which in three daies they wholly destroyed.

But the French Forces, and other power of the Kingdom, soon made them to yield the Town upon Treaty, which was secured by the French, until severall Congregations had inveigled some of the Discontented Nobles, and siding with them, send a Trumpet to redemand the Town; which being denied, by force take it; And with Knox (their chief) destroyed Scone, took Sterlin, and so marched to Edenburgh: from whence the Queen was fled to Dunbar, and there in the Name of Francis and Mary King and Queen of Scotland, Dolphin and Dolphinefs of Viennois (now in France) and lately married, commands them to separate and depart home, upon pain of Treason.

This begat a consent to treat at Preston, to little purpose there, but was somewhat pieced afterwards at Edenburgh; Then they make a New Covenant at Sterlin, resolve to call assistance of the Neighbour Princes, and send into England to Q. Elizabeth, newly come to the Crown.

The Queen Regent (a most modest and virtuous Matron) was as busie; and accordingly came over 1000. French in August, the rest in September; and so each party prepare for Warr.

The Congregators had got to their side these Noblemen, the Duke of Castle-herault, the Earls of Arran, Arguile, Glencarn, and Montieth; the Lords Ruthen, Uchiltry, Boyd, and divers other Lords and Lairds; The Queen proclaims them Traytors; They reply with a Declaration against it. She thereupon by Lion her Herald, denounceth Treason against them all.

Upon which they convene, draw up Articles against her Government, and to depose her from Regency; and for Her and the French to depart Edenburgh in 24. hours, and the next day storm it, but with loss, and fled.

The Earl of Bothwell, having much interest in the State, sends for more forces to the Duke of Guise in France, who governed all thete, and sent them some, which suffered Shipwrack upon the Coast of Holland.

Robert Melvin, in behalf of the Congregators, returns from Q. Elizabeth, with Articles to be answered; which afterwards came to a Contract.

And having got England, in a different Policy, to friend their Cause, they wisely decline their Title of Congregators, and call themselves Protestants, as in England, from whom now they have great Support (rather to ballance with the French, than bowlder their proceedings) but it was long first, being of-

ten

Anno

1559.

Rob and demolish the Fryeries.

Destroy Scone take Sterlin and Edenburgh,

and are proclaimed Traytors.

Covenant anew, and call in aid,

of England;

and the other bring in the French.

Lords of the Congregation Traytors,

who publish Declarations,

to depose the Qu. Regents

French Forces Shipwrack.

The Kirk stilled Protestants:

Support from England.

Anno

1559.

Knox his pestilent Pamphlet.

Cæcil's Letter to Knox.

Cæcil's consideration.

Scots dissemble.

ten solicited by humble Letters from the *Protestant Lords*, and particularly, to apologize for a pestilent Pamphlet written by Knox against the Government of Women, which he also excused in several long-winded Letters to Queen *Eliz.* her self, and to Sir *W. Cæcil* Secretary of State.

To whom Cæcil replies in brief.

Mr. Knox, Mr. Knox,

Non est Masculus neque femina; Omnes enim (ut ait Paulus) unum sumus in Christo Jesu; Benedictus vir qui confidit in domino, et erit Dominus fiducia ejus. I need to wish you no more prudence, than Gods grace; whereof God send you plenty.

Oxford July 28. 1559.

W. CÆCIL.

But their Messenger was Secretary *William Maitland* of *Liddington*, and others, who in a doleful tone complains, that since Queen *Maries* marriage in *France*, the *Scots* Government was quite altered, with favour to the *French*, who flock thither for preferment, and trust of Offices of Honour, and Places of Strength, their Coin corrupted, and so in time to Master all, and make them *French*.

Cæcil, Lord *Burghley*, a wise and subtle States-man, deals with Sir *Henry Peircey* (afterward Earl of *Northumberland*) so far their Neighbour, to pick out of the Congregators, what they aimed at; for they were then budding into a profession, which the wisest of the World knew not what to make of: And, that if they succeed by this assistance, upon what conditions they would piece with *England*, and so to find their temper, being supposed *State Revolvers*.

They, with eyes heaved up to Heaven, answer, For no other Aim or Intention, but the glory of *Jesus Christ*; and the sincere word of God, truly preached, against all Abominations, and Superstitions; to restrain the Fury of Persecution; and conserve their Liberty; The mutual Love of both Kingdomes, was the Sum of all their desires, to which end they vow their Lives and Faith.

It was but slowly considered; upon these grounds, That the *Scots* were poor, bare of Money and Munition, unfaithful to themselves, and not to be trusted abroad, but warily to go to work with them, They were advised to stand upon their Guard, and not enter rashly into Arms.

But when the *English* found the *French* so forward, as to be on foot with Warlike forces, under command of *Marquess d'Albeuf*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scots*, levied by the *Reingrave* in *Germany*, with Ammunition and Ordinance, ready to be shipped, It appeared to be rather for Conquest than Countenance

nance, and so was it time for the *English* to strike in for a share, if not to prevent such Neighbour-hood, upon that Rule, *Let the French be thy Friend, but not thy Neighbour*, and indeed were afraid of an invasion, as was threatned, upon several Pretences.

And first the *English* Counsellors wisely considered, not to provoke, nor to give bad Examples for Princes, to lend Protection to rebellious Subjects (*For so all Potentates esteemed the Scots against their Sovereign.*) And on the other side, it might be accounted little *Piety*, to forsake a *Protestant* Party, for so the Religion would have them. But concluded it reasonable to be in Arms, and to expect occasions; It being alwaies the *English* fore-sight to prevent invasion at home. On the sudden it was hastened to send forces to *Scotland*, upon pretence however to assist *Religion*, and so drive out the *French* from thence ere they should take firm footing there.

This Result might be grounded on former *Examples*; by the *English* neglect, lost *Ambleteul*, and the Fortifications neer *Bologn*, taken suddenly; which necessitated the loss of *Bologn* it self, presently after. And the same carelessness rendered *Calice* to the *French*. Upon which score, lest *Berwick* and the *Borders* should be surprized, forces are sent by Land thither, and by Sea into *Edenburgh Fryth*, with a Fleet that suddenly set upon the *French* Ships riding neer the Shore, and their Garrisons in the Isle of *Inchketh*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* comes to *Berwick* with forces assisted with Commissioners (*Sir William Cecil* Secretary, and Doctor *Wootton* a *Civilian*.) And who must come to kiss their hands, but the Prior of *St. Andrews*, *James*, the Bastard Son of *James* the fifth, the Lord *Ruthen* and others, Commissioned from *Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-herault*, and the Confederates, and there enter league with *England*.

In May 1560. For preservation of the Kingdom of *Scotland* against the *French*, during their Mariage with the *French King*, and a year after: and for expelling the *French*, provided that they preserve obedience to the Queen of *Scotland*.

The Governours of that State, Who had impeded their Wings with *Eagles Feathers*. liked no game now, but what was raked out of the ashes of *Monarchy*, making head against *Soveraignty*. And to make it the better, called in to their aid the *English* Forces, inviting their antient Enemy the *English*, against the *French*; and by that means, turned her own Sword, into her own bowells, to the funeral of her own *Liberty*; and so it was no wonder, *Scotland* at that time, to pass under *Foreign Servitude*. Evermore crying *Liberty*, which they most avoided as they came neerer to the End, and Event.

And

Anno
1559.

Gain assistance
from Englan.

Contract amity with the
Religion.

Anno

1560.

English Army
10000. under
Lord Gray.

Presbyters 4.
Covenant.
Q. Regent dys.
Peace on all
Parts.
Treaty at E-
denburgh.
24. to Govern.

Ministers
make work.

Super-Inten-
dents.

Crave Liberty
of Conscience

And hereupon an *English* Army of 10000. was sent, under Command of the *Lord Gray*, and were received by the *Duke, Arguile, Ruthen, and Others*; the *Queen Regent*, with her faction, took security in the *Castle of Edenburgh*; The *French* inclosed within the *Town*, issued out upon the *Besiegers*, and put them to flight.

But rallying again, forced the *French* into the *Town*, and stormed it with great loss.

And now the *Ministers* make the fourth and last *Covenant*, To expulse the *French* out of the *Kingdome*, when in *June 1560.* the *Queen Regent* dies, and forthwith came *Commissioners*, *Randan* with a *Bishop*, *Deputies* from the *King* and *Queen* in *France*; *Sir William Cecil*, and *Doctor Whitton* from *England*, treat and conclude a *Peace* at *Edenburgh* in *July*, That the *English* and *French* should depart the *Kingdom*, and 24. elect shall govern, whereof the *King* and *Queen* in *France* shall nominate seven, and the *States* five, as one *Council*; and six of those to be of the *Quorum*. And *Deputies* of the *Congregation* to be sent into *France* by *Petition* to the *King* and *Queen* for granting *privileges* concerning the *Reformed Ministers*, and their *Religion*.

Which *Treaty* *Queen Elizabeth* endeavored evermore hereafter to press *Queen Mary* to ratifie, which she alwaies refused, or excused.

And thus being rid of two devowring Armies, some hopes remained to recover that poor Nation into reasonable quiet.

But the *Strangets* gone, the *Ministers* pulpit their *Design*, prescribing certain *Diocesses* to several Men. We shall use their *Names* hereafter.

Knox to *Edenburgh*,
Goodman to *Saint Andrews*,
Heriot to *Aberdeen*.

Roy to *Saint Johnstons*,
Meoslen to *Fedbrough*,
Christoson to *Dundee*,
Forgeison to *Dumfermling*,
Lindsey to *Lieth*.

Afterwards they had their *Super-Intendents*.

Spotswood for *Lothian*,
Worane for *Fife*,
Willock for *Glasco*,
Canswell for *Arguile* and the *Isles*,
Dun for *Angus* and *Mearors*.

And then the next *Parliament*, they supplicate for *Liberty of Conscience*, with *Invectives* against *Papistry*, but not *Episcopacy*.

pacy, as yet. And presented 25. *Articles* of the Confession of their Faith ratified by the three Estates, called *Lords of the Articles*, viz. eight Lords, eight Church-men, eight Commons; these are first to consider *Articles* and *Heads*, and then to present them to the Parliament to pass, and are called in the *Latine*, *Authores Apolecti*.

Anno
1560.
25. Articles
of faith.

And two Acts were published against the Mass, the Popes Supremacy and Jurisdiction, which were sent to the King and Queen in *France* for ratification, but by them refused; however *Knox*, *Winram*, *Spotswood*, *Willock*, *Dowglas*, and *Row*, devised a Policy of Church-Government, which they called *Discipline*; And fearing the future, they send Commissioners into *England*, to supplicate Queen *Elizabeths* assistance and support, against fresh Forces out of *France*; when, in *December* 1560. *Francis* King of *France* and *Scotland* dies, and therefore to his Queen Widow, was sent the Lord *James*, afterwards E. of *Murray*, as her Counsel.

Frame a Discipline.

King Francis dies.

In this Interim, the Ministers bethink of some *Orderly Form* in the Kirk; The *Manner* of electing Super-Intendents was, to summon the Churches about *Edenburgh*, by publick Edict; *John Knox* presented *John Spotswood*, Super-Intendent of *Lothian*, whom the multitude accepted, and promise obedience, as to their Pastor.

Orders in the Ministry.

He by questions, professes and answers, That he accepts of this office without any respect of worldly Commodity, Riches or Glory; but since these daies of pluralties, they leave out this *Article* without answering, concluding to be subject and obedient to the late *Discipline* of their *Kirk*.

And thus he becomes a Minister of the Multitudes making, which, with the blessing of some one of them, he is dismissed.

At this time comes over an Ambassadour from *France* to restore Bishops and Church-men; He was answered Negative, and so departed. And presently after they fall to pulling down Abbies and Monuments of the Church.

Ambassadour from France to break the League with England.

And now begins Jealousies, between the two Queens of *England* and *Scotland*; For the *Scots* had sent into *England* for the Queens ratification of the Treaty at *Edenburgh*, which she signed; but the Queen of *Scotland* in *France* refused it, with excuse, until she comes home, and consult with her Council; which the other took ill: Although she had endeavoured with reasonable Arguments to satisfie her Ambassadour *Throgmorton* therein.

Jealousie between England and Scotland.

But the Widow Queen arrived in *Scotland* out of *France* in *August* 1561. in most tempestuous weather; *Triste et lugubre Cælum*: And no sooner come, but hath Mass in her Chapel; E

Queen Mary comes home.

Anno

1561.

Mass opposed.

Q. Eliz. sends
to ratifie the
peace at E
denburgh.Ministers as-
semble at
pleasure,and therefore
questioned.Their Disci-
pline Orders
subscribed.

and breeding disquiet, she proclaims it death to oppose it; against which the Earl of Arran protests by Proclamation, and Knox by preaching; with whom, the Queen vouchsafes conference, concerning the Mass, which she wisely sought to maintain, and rebuked him for his insolent Book against Government by Women; and Knox gave it for his opinion of Her, *That she had a proud mind, a crafty Wit, and indurate heart.*

And the sooner to put Her to it, the Provost and Bayliffs upon their Election at Edendurgh, customarily proclaim the general Ordinances, and Orders of the Town; In which they inserted against the Mass, and for which they were punished, and proclamation for freedome of Papists.

The Ministers oppose, and in private Conventicles, dispute Obedience to Sovereigns in that case, and conclude to be absolved; whereat the Council were offended, and Knox and Row urge it the more, and resolve to put the question (forsooth) to the Church of Geneva, which Knox undertakes to mannage.

The Queen being thus busied, to quiet her own discontents, Queen Elizabeth sends Sir Peter Mewtes to require the Ratification of the Peace at Edendurgh (as upon all Scottish distractions she evermore urged) who was answered as heretofore, that *She would advise.*

The General Assembly of the Kirk was now, wherein the Ministers could not be ruled with any reason, but rashly offered their Book of Discipline; which the Lords, (even of their own Congregation) wisely thought fit, not so suddenly to prescribe, till the affairs of the Estate were settled, and the Ministers as madly would have it now, drawing (with all their cunning) the Gentry, to their side, and to assemble without the Lords; so that it was visible to wisemen, *Excesit medicina modum*, or rather, *excesit medicina malum.*

It was now conceived opportune, for the Queen, and the peace of all, that this assembling, at the Will of the Ministry, should be questioned, and if possible to make them void, unless by publick allowance of the Prince; for under colour of rectifying some disorders in the Ministry, or other petty occasions, they took opportunity by this means, to convene, and so to plot and vent all their devices against Government; and this being expressly conceived dangerous, and mutinous (as they managed the matter) it was stopr.

Then they propose the ratification of their Discipline Book, subscribed with hands enough of their Nobles, when it was devised; they durst then do no other, for fear of the Multitude, which the Queen refused; protesting merrily she was well assured, The Lords that subscribed, never ment to submit, being too severe for their wilde tempers to obey, who under Writ, as children are baptized, *fide Parentum.* And

Then they supplicate for maintenance, being as yet, only at the Will of the people.

To begin their work, a reasonable pittance was sufficient contribution, which afterwards, they inordinately sought means to increase.

And therefore for the present to please them, the Council Ordered, That the Bishops should have two parts of their Livings, and the other two parts should be gathered by appointment, for uses of the Ministers, and the common affairs of State: The Queen being served, the Ministry should have the Remainder. Which Knox interpreted in his Pulpit, to be

Two parts to the Devil,

The third between God and the Devil,

And the fourth for his Dam.

And by compute of their own Lords of the Congregation, a hundred Marks a year, was then sufficient for a single Minister, viz. five Old Pieces, and three hundred Marks to the highest, with Wife and Children, (the Super-Intendents excepted.) The Lords fearing the Pride of the Ministers, appointed Modifiers (as they stiled themselves) lest they should be over wanton, which truly with this pittance could not be much feared. But indeed, for what they had (as the Queen observed) they never prayed for any blessing upon Her, to which Knox replied, *That she had no more interest in that Revenue, than the Souldiers had to divide Christs Garments; Nay, she not so good title as they: for they parted not them untill Christ was crucified; But she shares whilst Christ is preaching.* These words were accounted insolent, which he boasted of, *That thus Truth will triumph.*

At this time a Riot was committed by the Marques D'Albuef, the Earl Bothwell, and some others, upon the House of one Ramsey for his Daughter-in-law, Allisson Grage, in malice against the Earl of Arran who bore affection to her. The Ministers were great Sticklers herein, evermore siding in all quarrels, as might make for themselves, and supplicate the Queen for publick Justice; She excused her Uncle D'Albuef, being a Stranger to the Customes of the Country, but she would order his obedience and civility for the future.

This not sufficient, the Duke and Hamilton (fomented by Knox) take Arms against Bothwell; to appease them, the Queen sent Murray (lately made an Earl) & Huntley, to command Peace. But Bothwell having private conference with Knox, gained unto them the E. of Arran. Not many daies after Arran discovers to Knox, and others (but falsely) that Bothwell should conspire to take the Queen, and deliver her to him, & that Murray, and Lethington the Secretary, should be murdered, and so he and Bothwell to govern all, which he resolved to discover to the Queen, and did,

Anno

1561.

Maintenance allowed them,

very small.

A Scotch Mark is 13.d. ob. Sterling. 22.s. in gold

Modifiers.

Lords comit Riot,

& take arms.

Arrans Plot.

Anno

1562.

Ministers as-
semble,Vote them-
selves exempt
from Justice.The Queen
opposed.

did; immediately retyring to his Father, the Duke of *Castle-Herault*, at *Kennel*; who, it seems, suspected his false Design, and restrained him. But he, getting loose, meets his Brother the Earl of *Murray*, who brought him to the Queen at *Faulkland*. Upon his Accusation *Hamilton* and *Bothwell* were secured, not without some appearance, that *Arrans* tale was disjointed, and therefore he was thereupon cunningly advised by *Knox* to pretend a little whimsy of distraction in the brain, to colour their *Knavery*. However, the Queen commits them all to *Saint Andrews Castle*, and takes from the Duke his Command of the *Castle Dunbarton*.

She returns to *Edenburgh*, where, according to the season, some Court pastimes were exercised by the Queen her self, against which *Knox* openly preached, and which begat a conference with him, the Lord *James*, *Morton*, and *Lethington* being present; accusing him to have irreverently and dishonestly spoken of her Majesty, endeavoring to draw the peoples affections from their duty, much besides his Text, but upon his better behaviour, there might be hope of the Queens Grace and Pardon, which was, as yet, deferred.

But she no sooner progressed to the North, her absence giving occasion (as at all such times) for the Ministers to assemble, and evermore to whisper some dangerous designs against them, on purpose the better to linck themselves in power for any plot; and to busie themselves in all State-affairs, which now began to be in difference amongst the Lords, especially *Huntleys* party against *Murrays* power, and the family of the *Gourdon*s; and, which gave occasion to *Knox*, and his Party, to preach fears and jealousies, and to stand upon their Guard, doubting, very much, to be questioned for those, and other, his offences; They assemble at *Ayre*, where to secure himself, and to make his particular Crimes past, to be justified by them all, They enter a new and strange kind of Covenant, That whosoever shall molest, trouble, or hurt any of their Members, the fact shall be reputed hainous against the whole body of them all. And this was made an Act, and confirmed with Subscriptions, Sept. 1562. Amongst whom, in this rabble, they had got to side with them, such unruly Lords, as were like to make notable use of this their Doctrine, as *Glencarn*, *Boyd*, *Uchiltry*, and others.

Then travels *Knox* to *Neisdall* and *Galloway*, keeps correspondence with *Bothwell*, who had lately broke Prison; writes to the Duke to beware of *Huntley*, bruiting abroad that the Queen was surprized, *Murray* and all his Friends slain; in this his journey he challenges the Abbot of *Cosfranel* to dispute, opposes his preaching, and puts *Hay* into his Pulpit.

In this progress of the Queens, the Castle of *Innerness* was main-

Anno
1562.

maintained against her entrance by *Gourdon's* Command, which by force was fain to be rendred, and his Kinsman, the Captain, hanged, and diverse other Confederates: wherupon Earl *Huntley* takes Arms and threatens *Murray*, *Lethington*, and *Pittarro*, to the hazard of the Queens person, who calls to her aid all the Counties to *Aberdeen*, summons the Castle of *Finlator*, which was denied her, and the Castle of *Ashdown* also, by *Huntley*. *Gourdon* seizes a Guard of sixty men, slew some, and disarmed all; for which fact, and *Huntley* also refusing to come in, they were proclaimed *Rebells*, who raise a thousand men, the Queen as many, and to her aid comes the Duke, the Earls of *Arguile*, *Murray*, and *Glencarn*, and, neer *Aberdeen*, *Huntley* was beaten, his two Sons slain, and himself, a Corpulent Man, with the heat in Summer time, died without any wound, and was carried to *Aberdeen*, that night; which fulfilled his *Wifes* prophecy (affected to Witchcraft) that he should be in the Town that night without any hurt.

Rebels defeated.

Gourdon was presently executed, who in fear, but more hope of life, revealed the Treason of his Father and Family, as also of the E. of *Sutherland*.

In those times the French were much imbroyed with Civil Dissention at home, which gave occasion that the Intelligence, and outward Friendship of both *Queens* of *England* and *Scotland* increased, and *Lethington* was sent expresse to *England* first, and then to the *Guisians* in *France*, concerning the *Scots* affairs, and the Queens Mariage, of which now began much talk, with the *Infant* of *Spain*, or with the Emperors Brother, or with the Duke d' *Neveurs*, but the most guessed aright, which after happened, with the Lord *Darby* son to the Earl of *Lenox*.

The Court came to Winter at *Edenburgh*, where the season commonly admits more plenty of Diet and Entertainments, and so had been usually observed at *Christmas* time, but now no more such Idolatrous mirth and prophaneſs, the Ministers rail against it, which had like to have brought much mischief, but that their business was somewhat interrupted by the slip of of a Chip of their own Block; for *Paul Messans*, Super-Intendent and married, was questioned for getting *Barn* upon his Maid *Bessy*; he boldly denied her accusation, and much cunning there was, to hide this Sin from the general slander of the Ministry, Especially by the *Papists Priests*, whose *Brotherhoods* had been often canvased by the Congregation, for such Crimes. And at the instant, when the opinion of his Sanctity, and some juggling helps of his Brethren to boot, inclined the Judges to cleer him, notwithstanding ears and eyes of several Witnesses, afforded more than suspicion of his guilt, then on the sudden, comes home the *Wenches* Brother from Far, being heretofore intrusted

Messans a Super-intendent hath a Bastard

Anno

1563.

Chattelet executed.

The Kirks justice upon Papists.

intrusted by *Messans* with *Bribes* and *Tokens* for them both, with such other particulars as at last condemned him; who in the end confessed all, though he was *Knox* great Companion, and Ring-leader into much mischief.

At this merry *Christmas*, one *Chattelet*, a *French Gentleman*, having had the honour to dance with the *Queen*, the usual grace of all *Princes* at such *Balls*, by which occasion he imboldened himself so far into disorder, that she caused him to be questioned, arraigned, and executed; Indeed he had placed himself so suspicious for *Mischief*, or *Treason*, as he acknowledged his guilt, and died penitent; and desirous (in an humble intention) to satisfy any jealousy of dishonour to the *Queen*, he said at this time of his suffering, that he was no otherwaies guilty, but, *pour estre, trouue in lieu trop suspect*. The *Ministers* commented at pleasure on these his last words, *trouue in lieu trop suspect*.

In *Easter* following the *Mafs* was more publique, by permission of the *Bishop* of *Saint Andrews*, and the *Abbot* of *Quit-holm*, which had been forbidden under pain of *Death*, yet underhand permitted, but divers persons, *Priests*, were apprehended by the *Kirkmen* who take upon them to prosecute, examine, condemn and execute without authority of the *Queen* or *Council*, They pretending, *That the Spirit of God did to their consciences justify their actions*.

And to the *Court* comes *Knox*, bold and busie, preaching it into a further practice, who was willed by the *Queen* to preach *Jesus Christ*, and him crucified, and peace to the *People*; to leave the affairs of *State*, and proceedings of *Laws* to her Execution.

He answered, *That the Sword was trusted to Princes, whilest they execute true Judgement; If otherwise, those that fear God may perform that duty, and justify it*. He had his *Text* for it, *Samuel slew Agag, whom Saul saved; Elias spared not Jezabel, nor Baals Priests, in the presence of the King Achab; Phineas was no Magistrate, yet strook Zimri and Cosbi to the Death*.

There was an *Election* of *Super-Intendency* at *Dunfres*, and the *Bishop* of *Caithness* stood for it, which the *Queen* opposed, against whom she had good reason to except, having been false to her private *Items* concerning the *Ministry*, and underhand revealed all to *Knox*, who had gotten interest with him his great *Confident*; and therefore the *Queen* advised *Knox* to be just in their choice of good men (for the *Bishop* was now cut out a chip of their *Block*.) But he is to be chosen upon this *Score*, *That the free Spirit electing, they cannot err; And so being confident to carry it by his power, left the voting to the Commissioners*.

His back being turned, they take *Robert Punt*; for now was *Knox*

Anno

1563.

Papists committed.

Knox infolency to Murray.

Parliament not plicant to the Kirk.

Knox.

The Queen talks with Knox,

His answer.

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And thus he durst do to the *Queens Brother*, the prime man at the *Stern* of the *State*.

In this *Parliament Acts and Ordinances* were made, against *Adultery* and *Witch-craft*, (which at that time abounded, even with the great ones) for restitution of *Glebes*, *Reparation of the Churches*; and yet all these could not content *Knox*, for he pulpits nothing but *State-affairs*; is displeased with all, And tells them, that although their *Parliament ends*, without due confirmation of the *Kirks desires*, their establishment was by the best of *Parliaments*, without *King or Queen*; and they scorn to steal away from their former stoutness, which hath thus far prospered; bids them be assured, that if the *Queens affection in Marriage* (which he knew of as well as the best of them all) should fall upon an *Infidel* (all *Papists* being so) they must expect plagues to follow, and the *Kirks curse* to boot.

Of this, he and *Arskin*, *Super-intendent of Angus*, were questioned by the *Queen* in private; She tells them in tears, which broke into brevity, How low her *Princely Nature* descended in often conferences with sundry of them; advising them to moderation, whilst she could Counsel for their quiet establishment. And thus restraining her self in punishing their disorders, both against her *Person*, her *Power*, and her dearest *Uncles* (for you spare none) you take the more *Liberty* to heighten your offences beyond pardon.

Knox answers, That his patience in suffering abominations, was more agreeable to be disputed than his pardon was to be pleaded, and if his tongue took liberty in his preaching place, she must take it as she pleased; for in the *Pulpit*, he was not *Master of himself*, and yet

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His answer.

Anno

1563.

yet had no Superior but God, to speak plain, not to flatter any flesh upon the face of the Earth.

Qu. Doth my Mariage concern the Pulpit?

Kn. Yes, more than your Counsellors, who are so wedded to your affections, that none but we dare tell them their duty; and as my birth makes me a Subject, so my Gifts give me freedom of equality with your Peers, and it becomes me not to be less content with your publick actions; Your Mariage concerns us all.

Arskin was more moderate, and much moved at the Queens excess of Tears; Which rather burst out in despite so to be despised.

But Knox told her, He could better sustain her Tears, than the trouble of his Cause, or to betray the Common-wealth.

Herewith, she bid him be gone, but durst not question him, his faction was so great. Yet not over fearful to be less than her self, she set the committed Papists at Liberty; at which Knox was angry, using his grace at Meat, To be delivered from Idolatry, and to have Peace but for a season, and why (said some) not alwaies?

He answered, That he prayed in Faith, and his Conscience conceiving, during the Mass, peace could not be, therefore in Faith he wished it might not be.

To Sterlin the Court came, her household-Mass never, till now, questioned; A zealous Brother, Patrick Cranston, past up to the Altar, and forced away what was thereon in presence of the Priest ready for their sacrifice; for which violation Cranston, and another, his Companion, Armstrong, were committed; which intrenching upon their late Covenant, concerned their whole Body. The News was carried to Knox, in all extremities his counsel was called for, and therefore, Pope-like, he sends his Breves.

JOHN KNOX

To all the Brethren, &c.

And thus subscribed,

Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst.

He remembers the Brethren of the dangerous by-past times, which their Assemblies withstood, but being not frequent, the adversary took advantage; that their bloods are to be shed in the persons of these committed, for only opposing the rascal Multitude that repaired to that Idol, with their devilish Ceremonies, & conjuring accursed Water; this preparation upon these two, and some others, is as a door opened for cruelty against us all; for prevention he commands a meeting publick

at

Insolency at
the Altar Mass.

Knox his
Breves to his
Brethren.

at Edinburgh, without fear of any power, or failing at the day assigned.

This Letter dispersed by Copies, came also to Ayre, and so to the Queen and Council, at Sterlin, and sentenced as Treason; the Nobility were speedily sent unto for their Authority of Condemnation in December.

In the mean time Murray returns from the North, confers with Lethington and L. Heris, advises Knox to submit for pardon, which he boldly refused, having sent for Spency Advocate of Dundee, and others, to assist him. But was brought to the Queen and Council in the evening; whom the Brethren followed in Multitudes, flocking and forcing, even to the Cabinet Chamber; where assembled the Duke, Arguile, Murray, Glencarn, Ruthen, and a full Council; and then the Queen came in presence. Lethington produces the Breves, which he acknowledges, and reads them. Being asked, whether he were sorry so much had past from his pen, he answered, *Before I repent, teach me my Offence; If the vocating of the Queens liege people be a Crime, We must then distinguish between lawful and unlawful Assembling; what Convention hath been without my vocating?* He was answered, *That heretofore it might admit favourable construction, but now the Q. presence in the Kingdom, and more peaceable Authority, it becomes no private person to assume that boldness.* Knox replied, *The time that was, to me is now; though the Devil has got a vizard, he came in as himself, a Tyrant; and was it then more lawful? But now he practiseth under the Cloke of justice, what he could not do by strength; And if my Convention was without the Q. command, so hath all that God hath blessed, since the beginning of this action.* The Q. finding the pulse of the major party of the Lords, consented to spare further censure, upon his better behavior, and so he was returned.

The General Assembly began in December, and the Petitions which the Ministers of Churches presented, were neglected, to which they concluded, *if the Q. will not, we must.* Christ Goodman an Englishman of their gang, demanded of the Secretary, *What title either the Queen had to the thirds, or the Papists to two parts?* He was answered, *Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica.* But he replied, *I am so, in the policy of Scotland, but free born in the universal Church of God, and the care thereof, as equal mine, as any yours.* Knox craved the Opinion, and sentence of the Assembly, for his behaviour formerly and present, to which some said *It was not for them to justify rash Judgments of men, who speak their own pleasure, not the publick profit.* Nothing intervend, but the Ministers continual railing, until the next general Assembly in June 1564. whereto, the Lords adjoined; but withdrew into the Inner Council-house, and required to confer there with the Super-Intendents, and chief Ministers; answer was returned, *That*

Anno
1563.

questioned by
the Council.

General Assembly.

Goodman.

Anno

1564.

as they were members of the Church, so they ought to propose in publick, and be assisted by the whole body; inferring some foul play, to draw the Ministers singly to the faction of the Court. Which the Lords in answer endeavored to cleer, assuring, that no conclusion should be of this discourse, without consent of the Assembly.

And so they were permitted a choice number, among whom we may be assured *Knox* was not wanting, and to watch the *Scribes pen*.

The Lords began to remonstrate the grace of the Queen for liberty in Religion, though not of her own profession, which should deserve good Offices from that Church, to maintain her advancement, and to procure obedience of her people, with their unanimous and uniform Prayer for her Majesty, especially Mr. *Knox* to be moderate in obedience to her person and State; for others by the evil example may imitate the like liberty, albeit not pethaps with the same discretion and fore-sight.

Knox his Insolent answer.

Knox answered, *The Queens grace is not the grace of God; Idolatry is maintained by her own person, and for her Sins the Land must lament. So was Juda and Jerusalem for Manasses; and though not all the people, some followed, and some consented, by act and deed, by suffering and permission, as the Q. and you Lords.*

They told him of his prayer, which was, *To illuminate her heart, if thy good pleasure so be, with condition: he answered, We must ask according to his will, thy will be done, and so the Master of the Prophets and Apostles taught him to pray.*

They said it gave a doubt in the people of her conversion. No, said *Knox*, *In her obstinate Rebellion, not to hear true preaching, but will use the Mass; and Peter prayed, That if it were possible, the thoughts of Simon Magus may be forgiven him, and the same doubt toucheth me of the Queen.*

After long disputation of the duty of subjects in general, which *Knox* disallow'd in each particular, *Lethington* desired the Lords to decide these questions, and whether the Q. should have Mass: but *Knox* opposed sentence, but in the Assembly, yet they fell to voting and dissented, without concluding.

Lenox and Darly from England.

In July the Q. in progress, there past many letters of kindness between the two Queens, with costly presents and tokens.

In October the E. of *Lenox* returns from England, and for his sake, the sooner to restore him to his lands, after 22. years exile, a Parliament is called at *Edenburgh*, in Decemb. and then arrives his Son *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darly*, out of England, and E. *Bothwell* out of France, against whom *Murray* complains, concerning the Conspiracy, (alleged by the Earl of Arran,) and for breaking Prison.

The Q. affection to Darly.

The Q. taking great affection to *Darly*, she posts away *Lethington* to Queen *Elizabeth*, that she meant to mary him, the rather, he

Of MARY Queen of Scotland.

35

Anno

1564.

His descent.

he being of Kin to both Queens; for his Mother was their Co-
fin German (and of the same name *Stuart* by his Father.)

King James the fifth having lost his two Sons, declared his
Resolution for the Earl of *Lenox* to be his Heir; but the Kings
death, and his Daughter born, prevented that Design.

Then comes the Earl out of *France*, with intention to marry
that Kings Widow, and that failing, he maries *Margaritha*
Dowglas, and his Son maries the Kings daughter *Mary*, and so
the effect of the Kings desire continues the Crown in the Name
and Family.

Q. Eliz. not pleased to suffer such Contracts with *Subjects*,
prejudicial to the Crown, (seeing her great affection) pretends to
declare her Heir to the Crown of *England*, if she might advise her
Mariage, and commands *Lenox*, and *Darby*, to return to *England*,
but underhand well satisfied, she promoted the Mariage, as good
security to the succession of the Crown of *England*, he being se-
cond heir to the *Q. of Scots*; Nor cared *Q. Eliz.* to have her meanly
married, who she thought (of her self) was too proud.

Q. Eliz. not
displeased
with the
Match.

The Court affairs hindred not the businels of the Church, who
receive several Letters from the brethren of the West, to them at
Edenburgh, *Dundee*, *Fife*, and *Angus*, to mind them of the Mass,
which stuck in their stomachs, till it were vomitted out of the
Kingdom. They feared the Papists *Pasche*, and so made suppli-
cation to the *Q.* by the Super-intendent of *Lothian*, for effecting
their desires; which the Secretary received, and procured the *Q.*
letters to several Bishops, of *St. Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, and other pla-
ces, to forbear Mass.

The Kirk ene-
my to Mass.

The Communion was administred in *Edenburgh*, Apr. 1565.
and neer *Easter* the Bayliffs imprisoned a Priest, one *Carvet*, after
Mass, and others with him, revesting him with his Robes, and so,
Priest-like, mounted him on the Market Cross, with his Chalice
bound to his hand, and his body to the Cross, for 2 hours, whilest
the Boyes sweetned him with rotten *Easter Eggs*.

Punish a Mass
Priest.

The next day he and his Companions were accused and convin-
ced by *Assize*, and sparing his life, he was again tied to the Cross,
for 3 hours, the hang-man beside him, to keep off the Malignity
of the people, and after imprisoned, whom the *Q.* shortly after
released, and well rewarded him, and his Assistants *Low* and *Ken-
nedy*, with livings. In May convened at *Edenburgh*, the *E. Murray*,
with his Confidents, to keep the Law-day against *Bothwell*, who
durst not appear, but fled into *France*, not without suspicion of
favor and maintenance of the *Q.* though she was innocent. This
convention (of colour concerning *Bothwell*) being, *Murray*, *Ar-
guile*, *Glencarn*, *Morton*, and others, Lords and Barons, sat upon
businels of the Church, for enlarging some Articles, to be ready
for the next general Assembly.

Bothwell cal-
led to ac-
count, flies
into France,

Anno

1565.

The Queen
propoles her
Mariage with
Darly,

The Queen as far as *Sterlin*, soon had knowledge of the *Assembly*, and jealous of all Conventions without her presence, commanded their appearance before her, with the Super-Intendents, and others. This served her turn another way, to give presence to her investing the *Lord Darly* with titles of Honour before Mariage; and procured them to sign the *Ratification* of the *Contract*, though *Murray* refused, and excused, until the whole, or principal, Nobility should be present.

At this instant, arrives at *Sterlin*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Ambassadour from *England*, being returned with *Lethington*; who declared, that his Queen was highly displeased with this precipitate Mariage, and the meanness of the Man, and desired that the Earl of *Lenox*, and his Son *Darly*, might be dismissed back to *England*. To this the Queen gave fair words, and would satisfy her Sister by Embassy of her own.

And so was the Mariage propounded in Council, and granted by all, with *Murrays* consent, upon these terms, to establish Religion, and abolish Mass, but in that particular to be further discussed at *Saint Johnstons*.

And forthwith was *Darly* created Earl of *Ross*, and withall the Queen called for the Super-Intendents, pleasing them with some Court-Holy-water, but referred the business of Religion to a publique Dispute for Peace to the Kingdom. This was not satisfactory to them, but they advise upon six Articles for the next Assembly; And then they presented them to the Queen at *Saint Johnstons* by Commissioners from the *Church National* at *Edenburgh*, as they now stile themselves.

First, For abolishing all manner of Popery, universally to be suppressed, not onely in each Subject, but also in the Queens own Person.

Secondly, Provision of Maintenance for the Ministry, and disposing of Livings.

Thirdly, For Tryal of Sufficiency of Super-Intendents, and Ministers.

Fourthly, For all Lands of Popish Foundation to be restored for maintenance of the poor, and Scholars preferment.

Fifthly, Against all horrid Crimes, Ecclesiastick and Temporal, be appointed two Judges.

Sixthly, For ease and support of poor Husbandmen, &c.

The Queen receives these Articles, but refers answer, till she comes to *Edenburgh* in eight daies: which displeased the Assembly, who therefore have private meetings, and elect eight persons, to see the Brethren well armed, and after a longer time of attendance, get answer in Writing.

To the first, The Queen is not perswaded to Presbytery, and believes no impiety in the Mass, and so not to be prest against Her

con-

who is created
E. of Ross.

Six Articles
of the Church
National.

Her answer.

Anno
1565.

Conscience, nor will she forsake hers; and having no assured consideration to countervail the same, she may not loose thereby, her Allies of France, (the married Ally of this Realm) and other her Confederates; That seeing they plead for Freedome of Conscience, she lists not to be bound up; That for the Establishment thereof in the body of the Realm, she refers to the consent of Parliament, and in the mean time assures, that for Religion, on her part, none shall be disturbed.

Secondly, She thinks it unreasonable to be defrauded of so great a part of the Crowns Patrimony, as to put the Patronage of Benefices, out of her own hands, and want Support; but allows consideration of her own Necessity, and the Ministers Support.

The rest in effect, she refers to Parliament.

By the way from Saint Johnston, to shew her inclination to the Kirk, being to Witness the Christening of the Lord Levingstons child, She gave her presence to the Protestant Sermon, which she never did before.

And yet had she notice of some Conspiracy of the Kirk, upon which, divers were committed at Edinburgh.

And being minded to mary, she prorogues the Parliament till September, and summons by Letters, such Lords and Gentlemen, that were neer, with Arms and Forces for fifteen daies to attend her person at Edinburgh the 23. of July, and proclamation also for Free-holders in like manner; then Ross was made Duke of Rothsay; and the same day, the Banes and Mariage was concluded.

The Mariage
hastened.

Ross made D.
of Rothsay.

Murray, both privately and publickly was advised to attend, but refusing, an Herald is sent, and after eight and forty hours, he was denounced Rebell, and put to the Horn, and Arguile also.

And now begins Parties to stir, Athole against Arguile, Lindsey against Rothess; the Lord Gourdon, after three years imprisonment in Dunbar, was released and restored, to be a Bar in the North to ballance with Murray.

In the evening the Mariage was proclaimed, By name Henry and Mary King and Queen of Scotland, and solemnized the next Morning, 27. July 1565.

The Mariage
in July 1565.

Not without Divine providence, for the more certain conjunction of both Kingdomes in their right of Descension from Margarite (the eldest Daughter to Henry 7. of England) who had but two children, James the fifth, by James the fourth, and Margarite Dowglas, by Earl Angus, her second Husband. This James the fift, had but one Child, Mary, sole Heir to the Crown; Margarite Dowglas brought up with her Uncle Henry 8. married Stuart Earl of Lennox, who was banished into England, by them came Henry Lord Darly, and Charles, father to Arabella. So that
the

Anno
1565.

The K. and Q.
take Arms,

so do the
Lords.

Knox sermon
against the
Government.

Both Armies
match in
fight.

The Lords
proclaimed
Rebells.

the whole right of *Q. Margarine* (all other issue of *H. 8.* failing) was united in these.

The *Earl Rothess*, the *Laird Grange*, and *Pilcar*, with others of *Fife*, were put to the Horn, for not appearing, and immediately the Drums beat, for men of War, to take pay for the King and Queen, *which alteration begat several fears.*

The Lords disperse to *Arguile*, and send *Elphinston* into *England* for support, who brought ten thousand pound *Sterling*. And in *August* the Lords meet at *Ayre*; *Hamilton*, *Arguile*, *Murray*, *Glencarn*, *Rothess*, *Boyd*, *Uchiltry*, and *Others*, conclude to be in force the 24. of *August*; which the King prevented, by hasty proclamation of their rebellion, and commanding all men to appear at *Lithgow* the same day.

Upon the ninth of *August* (being Sunday) the King comes to the *High Kirk at Edinburgh*, and hears *Knox* preach, *who speaks against Government of wicked Princes, and for the sins of the people God gives them Boyes and Women; Justly punishing Ahab for not ordering the Harlot Jezabell.*

Immediately *Knox* was summoned before the Council, and silenced for twenty daies; and *Cragg* to supply his place.

The 25. of *August* the King and Queen journied to *Glasgow*, and the next day the Lords met at *Paisley*, with a thousand Horse, and march to *Hamilton*, keeping the passes in sight of the King and Queen, and so to *Edinburgh*, entering the Town, notwithstanding the Canon-shot of the Castle; and immediately beat their Drum, and offered pay, for *Defence of God* (as they called it) but no Men or Arms came to their Support; and that was strange, for all the chief Lords were there, the *Duke*, *Murray*, *Arguile*, *Glencarn*, *Rothess*, *Boyd*, *Uchiltry*, and other *Barons*. They write expostulatory Letters to the King and Queen, without answer, who march with five thousand men; *Lenox* had the *Van*, *Morton* the *Battel*, and the King and Queen the *Rere*, and come immediately towards *Edinburgh*. In the mean time the Castle makes six shot of Canon, and the next day the Lords depart to *Hamilton*.

The King & Queen pass to *Sterlin*, and command all to return to *Glasgow*, where remaining four daies (the Lords being gone to *Dunfres*) they return again to *Sterlin*, their Army increasing both Horse and Foot, and so to *Fife*, where the Lords subscribe, *to defend the King and Queen against the English and Rebels*, and so come to *Saint Andrews*, where the King summons the Lords by Name to appear within six daies, which they refusing, are put to the Horn; and being come to *Edinburgh*, they proclame, *The design of the Lords, under pretence of Religion, to suppress the present Government, or to appoint Counsel of their own.*

In *October* the Super-Intendent of *Lothian*, with the whole
Mi-

Ministry under his Charge, meet at *Edenburgh*, present a supplication to their Majesties, by their Super-Intendents, *Spotswood* and *Lindsay*, for payment of their Stipends, which is promised to be paid.

Anno

1565.

The Lords removed to *Carlisle*, the King and Queen march from *Edenburgh* the 8. of *October* towards *Dunfres*, mustering 18000. men, and marching up and down, return to *Edenburgh*.

The most of these Lords being of the Religion, and called *The Lords of the Congregation*, fled into *England* to the Earl of *Bedford*, Lieutenant of *Berwick*; from thence *Murray* posts to *London*, but leaves the Lords at *Newcastle*. He was much mistaken, for the Queen, with great suite ere she affords him audience, demanding, how he, being a Rebel to her Sister, dares thus boldly take protection in her Realm, denies to support him, or any his *Confederate Companions*. However, after *Murray's* departure, she sent them aid, and writ in their favour to the Queen.

Fly into England,

and get aid,

Upon this *Rebellion*, divers of the *Kirk* party, fled also, as ingaged therein, and those remaining were in some fear. *John Knox*, stiling them absent, the best and goodlyest part of all the Nobility, chief Members of the Government, alwaies praying for them in publique, and reviling those that appeared for the King, even in the presence of all the Council.

In *November* all those Lords in *Rebellion* were summoned against the fourth of *February*, for *Treason*, and not appearing, the Queen publicquely declared her Defence, and Maintenance of the Catholiques, and sundry Lords, and others, went openly to Mass.

At last the banisht Lords humbled themselves for the King and Queens favour. The Duke and his Friends at *Newcastle* in *England*, by mediation of the *Abbot of Kilcunning*, had pardon upon condition to depart into *France*, which he did.

but submit.

The 25. *Decemb.* the Commissioners of the Churches for the general Assembly convene in *Edenburgh*, and conclude, That notwithstanding the Acts of *Parlament* and Proclamations, the *Mass* and *Papistry* was maintained, and new Collectors being put in, forbidding allowances to the Ministry, in great want. In these they resolved to have relief.

General Assembly.

The Catholiques for themselves supplicate also, for publique use of their Religion, which was granted, and they offered the dispute, being backed by the King and his Faction, all Papists, together with the power of *Rizio* an Italian favourite, under title of the *French Secretary*; and yet these Lords now at Court

Rizio the French Secretary.

Anno

1565.

The first Pub-
lique fast in
Scotland.

Rambulet
Ambassadour
of France.

How the King
should quarter
his Coat arms

Court were divided, *Morton*, *Mar*, and *Lethington*, against *Huntley* and *Bothwell*.

And again the General Assembly meet at *Edenburgh*, and order a publique Fast throughout all the reformed Churches; the manner devised by *Knox*, and printed, which is the first method of that kind that we read of in *Scotland*. So thereupon followed the effects, Supplication to the Queen for Regulation of the means ordained for Support of the Ministry. *Spotswood*, *Row*, and *Lindsey* present their case. And the Queen answered, that the fault was in their own Officer and Controller, *Pittarrow*, who medled with the thirds; and so the Ministers and Assembly departed to their Residencies.

In *January* arrives (through *England*) Monsieur *Rambulet*, Embassadour from *France*, with 40. horse his Train, who brought to the King the Order of Saint *Michael*, (the *Scots* call it the *Cockle-shell*) and at this Ceremony of investing, the Heralds were in some disorder to devise Arms for the Kings bearing; The Arms of *Scotland* were not allowed; seeing the Parliament denied him the *Crown Matrimonial*, he could have no other, but as *Earl* and *Duke*, the Queen bidding them allow him no more than his Due. Her love becomes cold, for she began to set her Name before His, and not long after to leave him out of all writings. And because of some necessary use of his Signet alone, It was advised out of his hand, and trusted to *Rizio*.

And now at *Edenburgh*, the Court busie about the Attainder of some of the banished Lords, not submitting, which by reason of dissenting parties was staied, and more particular occasioned by the Murther of *Rizio*. This *Italian* (or *Piedmontoise*) a Musitian by Profession, but by his Wit and cunning got to be Secretary to the Queen for French, as *Mettallon* was of State; who for envy to him, and love to *Murray* (*Rizio's* Enemy) plotted revenge with *Morton*, and Lord *Herris*, to be rid of *Rizio*, by any way: but *Morton* refused. Then he insinuates with *Rizio*, and tells him, that the Office of Chancelour being in *Morton*, a man unlearned in Letters, or Laws, was only protected by the Queens favor; which if by his means withdrawn, his Office might be soon surrendred to *Rizio*, and he made capable thereof, by being free *Denizon*, and naturalized.

Hereupon *Morton's* Castle of *Tantallon* was summoned into the Kings hand, who enters as heir to his Grand-father the Earl of *Angus*. *Rizio* is designed *Earl*, and money offered for *Melvin Castle*; with the like increase of Favour, neglects his duty to the King, and draws on his own Death, now concluded by *George Dowglas* an active man, the Lord *Lindsey*, Lord *Ruthen*, and the Earl of *Lennox* the Kings Father. *Rizio* suspects, and keeps Guard of 50. Halberds. Then they adjoin the E. *Morton*, hardly

Anno

1565.

hardly drawn there to, until his right to the Earldom of *Angus* was restored, and further capitulates by *Articles*, That *Religion* should be re-established, as before the Queen returned out of *France*; The banished Lords to be restored; And the fact to be owned by the King, who signed hereto.

Lenox posts into *England* to the Lords, and brings them neerer the *Borders*. The Confederates, and *Morton*, with strength and secrecie, seizes the keys of the Palace, leaves some forces in the Inner Court below, to surprize such Lords as were not of the plot, and staies in the presence. The King, with *Ruthen* and five more, went up the back-stairs to the Queen at Supper, waited on by the Countess *Arguile*, *Rizio*, and some Servants; She was amazed to see them armed; *Ruthen* fastens upon *Rizio*, tells him a meaner place became him; who ran to the Queen, and clasping her, the King gently takes the Queen in his Arms, and saies, He is resolved to punish the Villain for his abuse to the Countrey, and so delivers him to *Ruthen*, who carries him down to *Morton*. *Bothwell* and *Huntley* raise the Court, but are beaten back by the Guard, and forced to fly. *Metallan*, who though chief in this design, supped with *Athole* to keep him in, and himself from mistrust, but his Servants were in the fray, which scuffling below was suspected above, as a *Rescue* for *Rizio*, and so they suddenly stab'd him with Daggers. The Southsaiers had warned him of the *Bastard*, which he interpreted to be *Murray*; but it was *George Douglas* who was a bastard.

These Murtherers at the first had proposed to hang him, and had *Halters* for that purpose, but in hast they stabb'd him with 53. wounds. *Bothwell* and *Huntley* came in to the Close, but soon had their arrand to begon or to taste the same sauce. *Rizio* had ambitiously managed the most affairs with pride, beyond the equipage of the King, and was designed this Parliament to be *Chancelour*, which made those Lords in envy to be his Enemies, and forced the King, and his *Father* to sign to his Death. *Rizio* had advice of this by the *French Priest Darnet*, but his fate was unavoidable, which the Queen some time resented with tears, threatning revenge, which to avoid they fly to *England*, where *Ruthen* dies. The Noise hereof in the Town, caused the Provost to ring the *Common Bell* (or *sonner le Tocsen*, as the *French* speak) assembling 500. and come up to the Court, but the King told them, all was well.

The King, to strengthen himself after this *Action*, inclined to the Religion, and subscribed to a Proclamation, that all Bishops, Abbats, and other Papists, should avoid the Town, which they did; and commands the Provost, and those of *Lieth* and *Conogate*, to be in arms, with advice also to other Lords to ha-

The K. turns
Protestant.

Anno

1565.

Banished Lords
sent for.

sten to him with force. And now comes *Murray*, and other banished Lords being sent for (as the Covenant against *Rizio* was subscribed) convoyed by *Hume* with 1000. horse; The Earls *Cathness*, *Athole*, *Sutherland*, with all the Bishops being departed the Town; In comes the other new faction of Lords, and in Council advise the Queen to be satisfied with *Rizio's* death, and take it as good service; the Queen dissembling her passion, got the remove of all the men in Arms out of the Court; and so with some domestiques in the night drew the easy King to fly with her to *Dunbar*, sending for all the Lords to attend in five daies.

The Religion, by these factions ever-more get advantage, which otherwise this Parliament now sitting might have lessened, being most *Papists*, for a dozen wooden Altars, were prepared, to be set up in *St. Giles Church*.

The Queen, now assisted with *Bothwell*, *Huntley*, and others, with Proclamation before them, march with a thousand back to *Edenburgh*, from whence the united Lords (but divided in opinions) depart and disperse, and *Knox* we easily believe was not left behind. And much troubled were he and his, that the King by his Proclamation, now excused himself from the Murther of *Rizio*, who offended all men (their own words) the fact being done for his Honour, if he had wisdom to see it, and so lost his Credit and Friends by his Inconstancy: and truly it was rumoured, and some writ so, that *Knox* had a hand in it.

Divers Lords were put to the Horn, their Lands escheated, and many of them executed, but *Arguile* and *Murray* received into favour, and both factions somewhat pieced and reconciled. The King and his Father neglected, and *Bothwell* preferred very highly.

The Ministers Supplicate for their Stipends, complaining very humbly (not usual) of the Officers and Collectors, and for redress, desire Mandatory Letters for Restitution, and to stop it in the Queens Exchequer till farther Order. In all she promised very gracious relief.

The 19. of June 1566. the Queen at *Edenburgh* was delivered of a Son, with exceeding joy, and great happiness to all the Kingdome, and the several assemblies followed, assisted by *Murray* and *Arguile*, wherein *Paul Messans* formerly excommunicate about his *Bastard*, as aforesaid, and now returned out of *England*, was to be received into the Church again.

Knox invited him home, and presuming of his free pardon, and forgiveness, sent his *Apostolique Letters* to accompany him to the Assembly, and tells them in the words of *St. Paul* (concerning the excommunicate incestuous person) It is sufficient that he was rebuked of many &c. For this cause I write, that I might

K. neglected,
Bothwel advanced.The Queen
brought to
bed of a Son.

Messans penance.

Anno
1566.

might know your obedience in all things; and to whom you forgive, I forgive also &c. But notwithstanding this Apostolick Command, his Repentance is prescribed, much like a Penance; Presenting himself in *Sackcloth*, bare of *Bonnet*, and bare of *Shoon* for an hour, at the Entry of Saint *Giles Church* in *Edenburgh*, at seven hours in the Morn, till Prayers, psalm and Text, and then upon the *Stool* all *Sermon*: and so for three several Church-daies, and confesses his Repentance. And in this manner also in *Fedwart* and *Dundee*; which after all performed, and received a Repentant, He complaining of this rigour and shame, without taking leave of any, retires back again into *England*.

The Bishop of *Galloway*, the Earl of *Huntleys* Brother, being called to Council, could not brook his former title of *Super-Intendent*, as he was stiled, and thereof formerly well pleased, but must be called *Bishop of Galloway*.

In *August*, one *Harris*, that had been of the Queens Chapel, but lately of the reformed Religion, and got into *E. Ruthens* service, having acted in the Murther of *Rizio*, was thereof convicted, hanged and quartered.

The King condemned of all, and neglected of the Queen, wrote to the Pope, and to *Spain*, complaining of the Queens ill Government of the *Catholiques*, which she intercepted, and presented to his ruin. For *Bothwel* to bring on his Design aimed to be *Principal*, and to effect his Greatness, thought good to procure *Morton* to be called home (but not to Court) where he might look on, and not be seen, free from fear and danger, and though a Kins-man to the King, yet his Power was lessened to nothing.

The K. discontented letters intercepted.

Most writers complain of these times, and some of them, like *Noahs* blessed Sons, overspread with the Mantle of silence the nakedness of these unnatural actions, of such, as we ought to ow duty and piety unto, pittying the Errors of *Princes*. Their excellent endowments of Nature and Morality, not to be exempld, and yet Shipwrackt in mis-governing. I cannot search into all the Causes, which drew on these lamentable events, Secret *Lothings* in *Wedlock*, which who knows, but the *Actors*; dislike, hatred, freedom, revenge; seconded with false shews of Reason, and Colour of Law and Justice, what will it not do? Her Husband had dragged *Rizio* from her affection, and favour, to death. He was not crowned, but made publique by Her Proclamation, not acknowledged by Parliament, and in law but a *Private Man*, and her *Subject*, and so lyable to judgment.

But his powerful kindred and Friends, prevent that attempt. Secret Justice is Justice; formalities are for common Causes;

Anno
1566.

Knox pro-
cures Geneve
Confession.

and the Princes power may dispence with forms in case of necessity or convenience, and so he became an object of wicked mens malice.

And now had *Knox* procured, though heretofore he cunningly refused, as fearing prevention or false play, when now not overlooked, he to his purpose got the Churches of *Geneva*, *Bern*, and *Basil*, with others, reformed in *Germany* and *France*, to send to the Kirk of *Scotland* the sum of their several Confessions of faith, he alleging the dissonant opinions of *Scotland*; which occasioned an Assembly of *Knox* and his Confidents, who having a confused irregularation, without any positive Articles, concluded as the most cunning way to assent to all without exceptions, and so returned answer; as if in Spirit to jump in faith and discipline, who never could agree amongst themselves in either.

Bothwell visi-
ted by the Q

At this time (the Kirks saies so) *Bothwell* was wounded in chace of the Theeves at *Liddisday*, whom the *Queen* visited, and thereof in giref, took sickness in extremity; but say they by binding Cords about her shacle bones, knees and great Toes (a pretty cure for Our Mountebanks, It seems an od fit of the Mother) she revived, prayed in *English*, and commends the cause of the Catholiques to *Murray* and *Bothwell*, whom she assigned Regents.

The King posts from *Sterling* to the *Queen* at *Fedburgh*, where he found Her somewhat *convalesced* (saies the Churchmen) but scarce would speak to him; who immediately returns to *Sterlin*, where the Prince was, and so to his Father at *Glasgow*.

She progresses
to the Borders
at Berwick.

She being recovered, took pleasure to visit *Bothwell*, who was brought in a Litter to her, and cured; and afterwards she progressed to the *Borders* neer *Barwick*, which she viewed within half a Mile, the Governor discharging the Ordnance for her honor, and offered her his lawful Service, visiting her in excellent Equipage.

Borders, how
bounded.

The Borderers are the Inhabitants of both Nations; Men of War, Subtile, Nimble, Experienced, Adventurous in arnis; comprehended by the East, Middle, and West, but bounded and limitted, as the Success of War gives distance, neer or farther off. Continual fewd between either for three hundred years. *Aut Bellum inter eos populos, aut belli preparatio, aut Infida pax fuit.* A Custome there is amongst all, never to believe a complaint against any, unless one of his own Countrey-men will witness it also, according to that of *Cambden*, *Nulla nisi Scotus in Scotum; Nullus nisi Anglus in Anglum testis admittitur.* which seldom happens, and so they fight it out.

And these were Receivers of Fugitives of both Nations, as
their

their Crimes or Necessities required protection or pardon; In different Subjects to either Nation, or rather acknowledging no Sovereign. Over these people either Kingdome had their three several Governours to rule them by force.

The Baptism of the Prince was solemniz'd at *Sterlin* by the B. of *S. Andrews*, at five a clock after-noon, *Decem. 17. 1566.* after the manner of the Protestant Churches, and christned *James*, the Witnesses were the Earl of *Bedford*, then Governor of *Berwick*, for the Queen of *England*; the Count *de Briance* for *Charles* the *French King*, and an Ambassadour for *Philbert* Duke of *Savoy*. The Queen of *Englands* Present a Font of pure Gold, valued three thousand Crowns, though she grieved in heart to hear her Rival prevent her in the honour of a Mother. The King belike, knowing the *English* Ambassadours Charge not to salute him King, was not present at these Solemnities, nor required, but kept his Chamber; His Father sends to him to repair to *Glasgow*, which he did, without adiew to any, and not a Mile on his way, but he felt pangs in his *Stomach*, and at *Glasgow* blistered blewish; which the Physicians suspecting, with their Antidotes, and his Fresh Youth, he recovered.

The Earl of *Bedford* had in Commission to compound the differences Domestique of the Court, between King and Queen; and for them to forbear the bearing the Arms of *England* quartered with *Scotland*, and to ratifie the old Treaty at *Edenburgh*. The last she refused, as in some particulars derogate from the right of her Issue to the Crown of *England*.

The Queen in this Christening Triumph, congratulates all Suters, the Kirk put in, and had what they desired; Subscription to their Maintenance, out of the thirds of Benefices, and presented by the Bishop of *Galloway* to the Assembly, when having got their ends, their *Stomachs* were yet squemish, for the Collections (which granted but of Grace) themselves to gather, pretending, That it was their part to preach to the People, and to expect from them maintenance necessary, as of duty the Pastor to pray, might crave of his flock to pay, and farther for them to have no care; and also, seeing the Tythes were onely for the Ministry, they required the Protestants should keep them in their own hands, and be so accountable unto them, and not to permit the Papists to meddle therein. So at one blow they meant to acquit the Papists of their Portion. It was observed, how soon those Men stand upon terms, and by creeping into the people, begin now to give Law to their Benefactors.

And now also, they thunder Excommunications for trivial Offences, deny the Communion to whom they or the Godly party are displeased withall; And though an Offender, repentant,

Anno

1566.

Prince bapti-
zed James.The Kirk have
all they desireManner of
excommuni-
cating.

Anno
1566.

Ingrateful.

Prescribe
good behavi-
our in Eng-
land.

tant, and done his Penance, yet he must stay from the Sacrament, till the Minister saies, that he is penitent enough, that is, when he thinks fit, as he likes the party; If not, they are all, Father, Mother and Daughter, called into *Disciplinarian Consistory*, a place of Criminal Infamy. And although the Lay had place therein to judge, yet the Kirk did all, and more than ever any Bishops Spiritual Jurisdiction; and the Magistrates Power and Office was only to effect the Forms of the others censure, and be their Executioners. And of all, they had procured the Queens consent at *Sterlin*: Nay more, they obtained for every *Borough*, a donation of *Altarage, Annalls, and Obites*, which alwaies heretofore were due to the *Papists*, but now to be disposed for maintenance of the Ministry, without stickling at these *Abominations*. And how ingratelully they acknowledged the Queens bounty, they divulging, that she intending revenge against the King, stroke in with the Kirk, lest they might disquiet her designs and affection to *Bothwell*; who also for the favours and countenance that he received in *England*, was much their friend.

And thus heightned, they take upon them to write to the Bishops and Pastors of *England*, who profess with us (say they) the truth of Jesus Christ.

Taking knowledge that divers Brethren, the most learned (no doubt) in *England*, are deprived *Ecclesiastical function*, for not using *Superstitious and Idolatrous Vestments*; urging the Apostolick Argument, *To do, as to be done unto*, insisting much upon the tenderness of scrupulous Consciences, and that the Brethren, that use not those Raggs, neglect not you that do, and so conclude, not to rend Christs Garments for trifles.

But they have sithence learned other language, and practice worser usage, blood and death, who follow not therein all things of their discipline.

The Bishops reformed were as busie on their parts, not to be presbytered in their own Jurisdictions; and procure to be obeyed in all such cases, as before, in the time of Popery were used in the Consistory, and therefore to discharge the Commissioners; for it was now conceived the best policy in the Queen, not to deny either of them, especially where they might cross and quarrel themselves.

The King reasonable well recovered of his drench, was visited by the Queen at *Glasgow*, and brought him and his Father to *Edenburgh*, lodging him neer the Court, in a conveniency from noise, and proper for his health; where she often visited him; and lay in bed with him; but returning to her Palace, the 9th. of February in the 21th. year of his age, 1566. the King was, say some, strangled in his Bed, at *Midnight*, and one

The King
murdered.

one Servant that watched with him, the House blown up with Gun-powder, his body was found the next morning in a Garden, without the Town Wall, and without any mark of fire. *Bothwell*, with some others, by warrant, caused the body to be viewed by the Chirurgions, at the Q. command, and buried in the Abby.

This end had *Henry Stuart*, 18. Moneths a King. He was a Prince of high extract by Father and Mother. His Character *sans-pareil*; comely, tall, ingenious and liberal; fitted for all Excellencies of mind and body, if time had lent him experience. He had a quick wit, and writ well, and because he was a King, Covert-barn, and meddled the less, he had the more leisure to hunt and hawk, and ride great Horses, and therein the Mastery. His vices were thereafter; Greatness and Ease made him feed high, and those brought him to Incontinency, though the Queen was beautiful and young enough for a Princess. Such neglects of his, by the Designs of others, hastened his ruine, who took boldness thereby to work their own ends, without the least Guilt of the Queen.

This is the report of some, yet others give as a Story. For the Ministers in hate to the Queen (who truly it appears did much for them in the case of Policy, and their immerits) tells us that by *Bothwells* direction, *Sir James* and *Gilbert Balfores*, *Chalmers*, *Spency*, *Sebastian*, *John de Bourdeaux*, and *Joseph* brother to *Rizio*, Domestiques of the Queen, and Strangers of all Nations, were the men that were Actors in the Murther; *Bothwell* being in hope to succeed him, in case the Divorce from his Wife should come timely from the Pope, which his hast could not stay for; and easie enough it was to infuse this into honest *Lenox*, who supplicates the Queen for tryal of *Bothwell* by Affize, before the Earl of *Caithness* President, the Earl *Cassiles*, and other Peers, fourteen in all; who cleered *Bothwel*, and this was dispatched for satisfaction of the Commissioners of the Christned Prince, and their Sovereigns. But *Bothwell* follows the Queen in her visit of the Prince at *Sterlin*, from whence he carries her to *Dunbar*, and for which violence he gets a general pardon, and so includes that of the King, if it should farther burst out.

There was no let to the Queens affection but *Bothwells* Wife, from whom he was soon divorced, and both content; for She made the first hasty second mariage with the Earl of *Sunderland*, and he, after the banes publicquely asked by *Crage* the Minister, was married to the Q. May 15. 1567. (*Mala nubunt Mense Maio*) by the Bishop of *Orkenay*.

And truly compare all those which have writ of this Queen, seve-

Anno

1566.

H's Character

The Kings report of the Kings death.

Bothwel divorced,

and married to the Queen.

Anno

1567.

Summary of
the late Mur-
ders, and their
Accessaries.

Buchanan
Books.

Udall.

Sir Roger A-
stons report
of the Kings
Murder.

A brief Nar-
ration of the
late Murders,
and the
Queens hasty
Mariages, and
the cause.

several Authors, and in several Languages (for all are partial) we may yet pick out truth, concerning her *Husbands*, and her hasty mariages, in their proper stories.

That *Morton*, and *Murray*, and many others besides, plotted the Murther of the late King, upon Malice, Ambition, and Revenge; Each of them by several Interests. But *Bothwell* got the best *Bone*, and they their *Bones*. Indeed they also here-in murdered the honour of their *Mistress*, for she seemed a Property, whirled about with every wind, which they failed by. *Buchanan* speaks much of this matter in a worser way, and payes the Queen to the Purpose in his History; as also in his Pamphlet, *The Detection*; Both which were condemned in Parliament; and of them both he repented, *Wishing that his blood might expiate those his Falsities and Impieties*.

Udal hath more of it in her excuse, and if not partial, take him, who afterwards writ to K. *James*. Or if you please, take our relation who write the neerest of truth than can be gathered, and thus it was.

Sir Roger Aston an *English-man* (and preferred in Court by the Earl of *Dunbar*) lodging in the Kings Chamber that night of his Murther; Both of them smelt the fire of a Match, which caused them hastily to leap out of their Beds, and out at a window into the Garden; the King had his Sword in his hand, and suspecting *Treason*, as also hazard of the young Prince, hastily commanded *Aston* to speed thither and prevent his danger, whilst himself single was seized upon by divers, and wounded to death, and so left in the Garden; and to colour it, the *House was blown up with Gun-powder*, but the Kings body not scorched by any fire, was viewed, and found to be slain by such, as so ordered the secrecy, as not in those daies to be divulged. And this *Tale* was told by *Aston* himself, since he came into *England* with K. *James*.

But that I may unfold the Mystery of these late Murthers, and how the Queen was involved into future suspition, by her hasty Mariages, I shall open *Murrays* subtilty to be the chief *Author* and *Actor* in all.

The slaughter of *Rizio* (not long ago) gave security, in that time of distraction at Court, for *Murray* boldly to appear before the Commissioners, upon his Indictment of Rebellion, the very next day after the Tumult, and so no Accusation came against him, the Murther being hastned for that purpose. The Queen therefore (through the Kings intercession) receives him; her self in such Distraction, conceived it the safest way to depend on his Brotherly (base) Counsel. The King very sensible of his own Accessary in *Rizio's* death, and deluded by the Cunning contrivance of *Morton* and *Murray*, His youth and easiness of belief giving way, Now repents of that rashness,

Anno

1567.

ness, implores the Queens clemency, and ingenuously reveals to her the Villany of them all, with resolution to be revenged. And seeing the Bastards power and interest in Affairs of State, equal, if not before, His, advises with others to remove him farther off; Murray hath intelligence of all, and, under shadow of outward duty, thought of nothing more than to ruin him. Of which he acquaints Morton by Message into England, who was conveyed thither upon Rizio's murder.

Some difference between the King and Queen gave the advantage; for by their former villany; they animate him to strain upon the Rights of Sovereignty, to his face, which covertly they opposed to the Queen, and alwaies after he had done a miss, to leave him in the lurch.

And finding the good nature of the King likely to comply into affection with the Queen, and to be reconciled together. To prevent them Murray draws in Bothwel to the Confederacy with these murtherers, who though fled, acted in all Councils. And so Bothwel must be reconciled to Murray, and brought into grace with the Queen.

Contracting under hands and seals, and bound with Oaths, That the King being laid aside, he advanced, the Queen distrusted by the Peers, and so the rule of Regency in Murray.

Upon this Conspiracy, the Bastard conveys himself slyly out of the way, but twelve hours before the King was murthered; and in hurray of affairs returns to Court, and altogether they advise (nay compel) or threaten the Poor Queen to marry Bothwell, who they present, as nobly born, bold and faithful to the State, against all assaults of the English, to prevent the Tumults of the time, and hazard to all. If not, they would purchase their own security, by any otherwaies, how prejudicial soever to her safety, which at last, she was forced to consent unto.

And this Relation was confirmed under the hands of the Earls of Huntley and Arguile, and sent to Q. Eliz. as an undeniable Truth, dated Decem. 1567. which I have seen.

Hereupon the Confederates to acquit Bothwell of the Murder, consent to the general apprehending all such as were suspected; and Bothwel in particular accused by the Earl of Lenox the late Kings Father; his Case is pleaded by Morton, and he cleared by Sentence of the Judges. And now Bothwell fitted with honour to a capacity of Mariage, the Confederates gaining many Lords to their design, set their hands to an Instrument for that purpose, and altogether implore the Queen to marry Bothwell, which being done, and their turns served; Then they increase a violent suspicion, and vent it abroad of the Queens guilt and consent with Bothwell, and so conspire her deposing, and his distruction.

The Q. maries
Bothwel.

Anno

1567.

The Lords
take Arms.

Murray most suspected for the great Villany which followed, intreats for leave to travel into *France*, as weary of these Disturbances, and to colour his knavery commits his whole Estate in trust to the Queen and *Bothwell*. No sooner gone, but all the Confederates take Arms, publishing, That *Bothwell*, now Duke of *Orkney*, intended to surprize the Prince, and captivate the Queen, who get forces and proclame them Rebels, and march to *Seaton*, and thereabout. The Armies face each other of equal strength. The French Embassadour mediates for Peace, but to no purpose, and so retires into *Edinburgh*. The Lords, to add Justice to their Cause, which seemed horrid against their Comfortless and distressed Queen, satisfy the people, that were racked into fears and jealousies how to distinguish these distempers in State. They caused therefore their Ensigns with this device. *The late King wounded and dead, the Prince James kneeling by, his hands heaved up towards Heaven, with part of the Psalm; Judge and revenge my Cause O Lord.*

Then out comes *Bothwell*, and, to avoid the blood of many, offers his own in combat against any. *James Murray* the younger Brother, accepts the Challenge, but he is refused as not equal in honour. The elder Brother, *William Laird of Tullyburn* and then *Lord Lindsey*, desired the Combate. To whom *Morton* sends the warlike Sword of Earl *Archibald* (commonly called *Bell the Cat*) and a Buckler; with these he presents himself between the Armies, and *Bothwell* there before. But the Queen forbade them.

Bothwell is
denied the
Combate,flies, and the
Q. taken.

In fine, the Lords increasing numbers, being neer home, *Edinburgh* and the *Hamiltons* failing the Queens forces, *Bothwell* takes time to fly (being under-hand advised by *Morton*, his pretended back-friend) which he did least if taken Prisoner, he might be to unravel all these Treacheries. And now absent, it would increase belief of his and the Queens guilt, in the late Murder of the King. He gone, and she worsted in fight, and without any defence, renders her self into *Edinburgh* Castle for that night; and the next day she is carried Prisoner to a Castle in the Isle of *Lochleven*, under the strickt custody of *Murrays* Mother, the Harlot of *James 5.* insulting over the poor imprisoned; boasting her self the lawful Wife of *James 5.* and her Son to be his lawful Off-spring.

The Queens
Bothwell.

Bothwell under hand sends to *Balfore*, Governor of the Castle for a Silver Cabinet of the Q. which was delivered to the Messenger, but discovered to the Lords, who surprized it, and so the secret Letters opened all their actions.

In this hurray of affairs, the Ministers never idle, break down the Abbies, and all the figures of painting and sculpture in the rich Chapel of *Holy-rood*.

At

At last comes the *Hamiltons*, with forces in sight of *Edenburgh*, to recover all, assisted with *Arguile*, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Caithness*, *Rothess*, *Crawford*, and 15. Lords, besides others of *Gentry*.

Anno
1567.

The other Lords move the general *Assembly* of *Ministers* now (as alwaies in uprores) convened in *June*, to write to the *Enemy*. And besides those Letters, who more busie to accompany them, and go on the Errand but the Ministry, that meant nothing less than peace. *Knox*, *Dowglas*, *Roe*, and *Crage*, making such demands for themselves, and more maintenance for the Ministry, *That the Cure would be far worser than the Disease*.

These Peace-making Ambassadors, but more military minded, return with their message, bad enough to be bid welcom, which they also heighten for their own purpose and join altogether in 8. Articles.

Treat a peace

"That the former Parliament, 24. of *August* 1560. and all the Acts for Religion should be made good, and defended as lawful.

"That the thirds of *Tyths*, and larger proportion of *Benefices* for the *Ministers*.

For reception of youths into Schools and Universities by probate to be reformed.

"Crimes against God to be punished.

"The Murther of the King to be prosecuted.

"The Prince protected.

"The Covenant promoted, Popery suppressed by arms, if need were.

"That all successive Kings and Princes at Coronation to be sworn to the Religion.

Queen *Elizabeth* detesting these unbridled insolencies of Subjects (whom she termed, *Perfidious*, *Ingrateful*, *Cruel Rebels*) sends Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to expostulate with the Confederates, to restore the Queen from imprisonment, and preserve the Prince into *England*.

Q. Eliz expostulates these proceedings by Ambassy.

They all assemble (Rebels seldom consent in unanimity) but resolve Not to admit Ambassadors of *England*, nor *Le Croc*. and *Ville du Roy* out of *France*, to see the Queen. *Lethington* the cunning Secretary, and his faction, advise for her restoring; the Murther of the King to be answered; the Prince provided for; *Bothwel* divorced and Religion published.

Others would banish her perpetually into *England* or *France*, and those Princes to undertake her Renunciation of Regency to her Son, and certain Lords.

Others are for her Tryal, Condemnation and perpetual custody, and to set up her Son.

Anno
1567.

See Martins
History.

Buchanans
Books.

Q Mary com-
pelled to re-
sign to her
Son.

The last, and most villains, would have her deprived of Princely Authority, life and all; and this Knox and other Ministers thundered out in Pulpits.

Throgmorton disputes her Cause, alleging what the Word of God, and all National Lawes do decree, concerning the sacred power of Sovereigns, and earthly duty of Subjects. They reply with *Buchanans* damnable doctrine, *de Jure regni apud Scotus*, Murray and he, Contrivers of that Tractate (contrary to the whole Histories of Scotland) to create and depose their Princes. They excuse their non-admission of the English Ambassadors address to Her, with the denying of the French, who seemed to be satisfied; And in conclusion, frame a Declaration in writing, without subscription of any, which they exhibite to Throgmorton in answer of all.

In effect, To no other intent they shut her up, but to sequester her from Bothwells person, whom they pretend she dotes upon, to their ruin, and so whilst she cools towards him, her anger may abate from them; with which result and no more, he takes leave, and returns home to England.

They work upon her restraint and miserable Imprisonment; first, in fair way to resign her Regency; and to incline her, they loosen her to a little freedom, the better to shew her the means to escape away; but increasing threats if she refuse, to arraign her for *Incontinency*, *Murther* and *Tyranny*.

At last they compel her to set her hand unto three Instruments.

To resign her Crown and Royal Dignitie to her Son, scarce 13. moneths old.

Murray to be called home to be Vice-gerent, and if he refuse, then

To these Rectors, James Duke of Castle-herault, Gilespich Earl of Argyle, Matthew Earl of Lennox, John Earl of Athole, James Earl Morton, Alexander Earl of Glencarn, and John Earl of Mar.

And this she did, as extorted in Prison, which were published and proclaimed the 19. of July 1567. and 5 daies after the Prince crowned at Sterlin, at thirteen Moneths and eight daies old. The Royal, how much soever infant (being due to him at his Birth) is surrogated into the Throne of his deceased Ancestors, and Morton and Hume take Oath for the King; Solemnities and Paction, by stipulation and Coronation, do but shew him to the people, not make the Sovereign; and so by these pledges of their faith, knit affections together; for the Ceremonies of his Coronation, due from his birth, though prorogued for a while, did not derogate from his Right, and Regal Authority. And Knox knockt out the Sermon. Murray

is sent for, and returns out of *France*, and *August 20.* accepts the Regency.

And because very lately, we mentioned *Bothwells* Challenge for combat. In this void time and place we shall say something concerning Combates.

It was usual in all parts of *Christendome*, where differences could no otherwise be decided, the party was allowed his purgation, By *Oath*, or otherwise *per aquam candentem, ferrum ignitum;* or *duellum vulgare.*

The Northern *Saxons* and *Normans* brought it amongst us; and so continued whilst we were barbarous, but afterwards condemned often by the See of *Rome.*

Richard 1. gave leave for Turnaments (for it had been done by licence, *extrajudicial*) and so we had of them between Counties and Towns, *Ita quod pax terra nostra non infringetur.*

As also, *Viris militaribus Com. Lincoln.*

And afterwards *Redman*, and his three Friends, *Hastiludere, cum Halberton, & tribus sociis suis, Civit. Carliol.* And it followed, to be very Ordinary, and too much frequent, till the Pope forbad it through all *Christendom.*

Detestabiles nundinas, vel ferias, quas vulgo Torniamenta vocant &c. unde mortes hominum, et pericula animarum, saepe conveniunt.

The single Combat was also by legal process in Cases Criminal, in appeals of *Treason*, out of the Court Marshal, as between *Essex* and *Montford* in *Henry 2.* time. *Audley* and *Chatterton*, *Rich. 2.*

For Murther or Robbery, it is, out of the Kings Bench, as you may read it, *Modus faciendi Duellum.*

It hath been granted in Cases Civil out of the Marshalls Court about different bearing of Arms, as between *Scroop* and *Citfil*; or otherwise, for Title of Land, as in *Paramours* Case.

But the more justifiable hath been used by fundry offers singly for saving blood-shed of many.

Three of Our Kings severally challenged that tryal against the French King.

And by *Charles* of *Arragon*, and *Peter de Terracone* for the Isle of *Sicile*; and that was allowed of by *Pope Martin* and his College of Cardinals.

But it was grown too Common, and so afterwards forbidden by Canon, between the Duke of *Burgandy*, and Duke of *Gloucester.* Being *detestabile genus pugnae, omni divino et humano jure damnatum, et fidelibus interdictum, &c. Et quomodo existimare quisquam potest rectum Judicium ex Duello, In quo*

Digression. of
Combates &
single Duells.

Anno

1567.

Ini-

The Life and Death

Inimicus veritatis, Diabolus dominatur?

The Regal Prerogative have sometime restrained that liberty in Martial Exercises, or private quarrels, and punished non-Conformists.

Edward I. *Publice fecit proclamari & inhiberi ne quis* (under loss of Lands and Goods) either *torneare, bordeare, aut Fustas facere, aventuras facere, &c. sine licentia Regali speciali.*

Nay, none to wear weapons, but the Kings Officers, and some few excepted.

But more often to forbid single Combate, or to determine it, or take it up.

Mawbray and *Hereford*, both banished.

And when *Aneste* and *Chatterton* were ready to fight, *Eandem querelam in Manum suam Rex recepit.*

That of *Fitzthomas*, being challenged by Sir *William de Vessy*, to have defamed the King by Words mentioned in a Schedule. *Willielmus audita tenore Schedulæ, dementitus est predicto Johannem, dicendo. Mentitus est tanquam falsus, & proditor, & denegavit omnia sibi imposita, & tradidit vadium in Manum Fusticiarii quo illud admisit. Et predict Johannes advocavit omnia, & dementitus est simul dicto Willielmum.*

This was done in *Ireland*, before the Kings Deputy there, but was adjourned into *England* before the King, and there adjudged void. *Quia non sit citatus in Regno isto placitare in Curia Regis &c. Duellum concedere in placis de quibus cognitio ad curiam Regis non pertinet, contra legem & consuetudinem Regni. Igitur concordatum est quod processus totaliter adnulletur.*

Sundry punishments, in several Cases without licence.

The Earl of *Surrey* fined a thousand Marks, *pro quadam transgressione, in insultu facto, in Alanam de la Zouch.*

Inquisitio facta est, de omnibus tenementis & catallis Ro. Garvois, quia Insultum fecit & percussit Edwardum (filium Willielmi) or Williamson.

Cromwell was challenged by *Seagrave* to fight in *France*; Subjecting thereby (saith the Record) this Kingdome to that, was stopt in the way and tryed at the Kings bench. *Et super hoc dominus Rex valens habere avisamentum Comitum Baronum Magnatum & aliorum de Concilio, &c.*

Qui omnes enim dicunt, quod hujusmodi factum meretur pœnam amissionis vitæ.

He was committed to the Tower, and long time unpardoned, His *Second* was fined two hundred Marks.

Droomlenrig and *Hempsfield*, antient Noblemen of *Scotland* upon Suspition of Treason had leave to Combate at *Holy-rood-house*, armed like antient Palladines fought it out, till the King in presence parted them. *James 5.*

We

Anno

1567.

We read of one in the time of Queen Elizabeth 1571. between *Simon Low*, and *John Ryme*, Plaintiffs, against *Thomas Paramour* Defendant.

It was by Writ of Right for some Lands in the Isle of *Tenet*, in *Com. Canc.* and in issue at the Common-pleas.

Paramour had his Champion, one *George Thorn*, who came to the Bar, flung his Gantlet into the Court, to approve the right of *Paramour* by single Combate, against any.

One *Henry Nayler*, a Fencer, takes it up, to answer for the other Defendants.

And in *Tuttle Fields*, by *Westminster*, the place appointed; A Tent for the Lord Chief Justice *Dyer* of the Common-pleas; and other the Barons of that Court.

The Tilt 60.foot square, railed in with Scaffolds round about for Spectators.

Two Pavillions East and West, from one issues out *Thorn* apparell'd in red Sandals, upon his black Armour, bare legged, bare head, and bare arms to the Elbo, brought by the hand of *Sir Ferome Bowes*, who bore a red Baston of an ell long, tip with horn, his Yeoman with an Ox-hide Target, and the Gantlet bore before them upon a Swords point. To oppose him enters the other, conducted by *Sir Henry Cheyney*, and both Combatants take Oath, to come fasting. But ready to encounter, the Demandant was missing, and so by default, the Chief Justice resites the Writ and former passages of challenge, and gives Judgement for the Tenant, and leaves the Demandant, and his Pledges, *de prosequendo in imperecordia Regina*, vid. *Dyer* 30.

Some preparations there were of late in King *James* time, intended between two Scotch men, the Lord *Ree*, and *David Ramsey*, in point of Treason; but I know of no other policy, preventing the Tryal, than the doubtful effects to decide the question, by this way to find out truth.

But because the matter hath been long laid aside, the manner thereof will not be amiss to preserve to Memory. The Ceremony was wont to be thus, when it was in Authority and use in the Earl Marshal or High-Constables Court.

The Apellant exhibits his Bill in the High Court, Constable, or Marshal, and failing of his proofs, offers force of his own body, upon the Defendant.

And the Constable (as Vicar General in Arms, (so saies my Author) under the King, hath power to join issue in Battel, and within forty daies after to appoint time and place. The Constable assigns them arms, being a Gantlet and short Sword, and Long Sword and Dagger; They bring able pledges for appearance at the day, and for good behaviour to each other till then.

The

Anno
1567.

The King names the Field, sixty foot long, and forty foot broad, firm ground, and even listd about, by Order of the Marshall with Rails, with two Dore, East and West, seven foot high, and kept by the Serjeant at arms.

At the day, the King sits on a Throne mounted, with two seats on each hand for the Constable and Marshall, at the foot of the Ascent; who demand the Pledges, to render themselves to the King, or the *Appellant* and *Defendant*, to come in and make Oath.

The *Appellant* comes on horse-back to the East dore, whom the Constable brings in, and demands his name, and why thus armed; He answers I am *A. B. Appellant*, and demand Entry, to make proof of my intent against *C. D.* and to acquit my Pledges. The Constable takes off his *Bever*, and proclames him to be the Man, opens the door and bids him enter, with his Arms, Victuals, necessary Attendants, and Council, presents him to the King, and sets him on a Seat till the *Defendants* coming, and request being made, his Pledges are discharged.

Then the King commands the Constable, who commands the Marshal, and he the Lieutenant, and he the Marshal of the Heralds of the South (if it be this side *Trent*, being the Marches of King *Clarencieux*) or otherwise if it be Northward, then the Heralds of *Norris* King of Heralds there) to call the Defendant thus. O yes, *C. D.* Defendant, Come to your Action, acquite your pledges in the presence of the King, Constable and Marshal, to defend your self against *A. B.* before three of the Clock after Noon: He enters at the West dore in like manner. Their Appearance presently Registred in the Records of the Constables Court, with the order, time, horses, arms and attendants and their manner.

Two *Knights* are assigned Observant to either Adversary, that they take no charm or spel, or other evil arts, till their Oath be taken, which the King commands the Constable to receive, and what other Protestations their Council shall advise; If not,

The Register saies; you *A. B. Appellant*; do you know this to be your Bill of Complaint exhibited in Court before the Constable, Swear to the Truth thereof in all points, and that you intend to prove the Contents thereof upon *C. D.* so ayde you God, and your Patron Saint; and then proclaims, Thou *A. B.* thy Bill is such in all points, continue thy intent to prove it this day, so God help thee and hallowing.

The Defendant *C. D.* in like manner, &c.

Then the Appellant takes his second Oath, That he comes appointed with Arms, as was assigned without knife, or other sharp

sharp weapon, no stone or herb of virtue, charm or spell, of power or belief to be assisted, but only by God, and his own Body, and merits of his Cause. So God him help, &c.

The Defendant swears the like.

The Constable bids them both to take each other by the right hand, without violence, gently, and laying the left hand on the *Book*, He saies, I charge your *A. B.* that you use all advantages to force the Defendant to render himself into your hands, or to demand a Parley, or with your own hands to kill him, before you part out of the lists, by the light of the Sun, and age of the day assigned, by your Faith, and so God help you.

The like by the Defendant.

Then *O Yes.*

The Herauld pronounces; In the Kings name, *That no person approach within four foot of the List, keep silence, give no sign by Countenance, or otherwise, to advantage either, upon pain of life and member, and loss of Chattel.* The King of Arms and Heraulds, are assigned to Minister unto them, to eat or drink of what they brought with them, asking leave of each other. Within the *Lists*, are admitted a Knight, two Esquires of the *Constables* Train, and the *Lieutenant*; also a Knight, and two Esquires of the *Marshals*, being all in Armour, with Launces unbarbed to part the Combatants at his Majesties pleasure, and these lying flat on the Ground at each side of the List, only the *Constables* Lieutenant and the *Marshals* standing.

At the instant of the Kings Direction, the Constable shall say,

Let them go, Let them go; The *Apellant* advancing upon the *Defendant*, the Constable stands ready at the Kings pleasure, whilest they fight, *viz.* to stop, take breath, or otherwise, neither of them ingaged in advantage. They may not whisper; In case of *Treason* the convict shall be disarmed by command of the Constable, one corner of the List to be broken down, his body dragged at a horse-tail to the block of *Execution*, to be beheaded or hanged on the Gallows; the *Marshall* to see *Execution*.

But in cases of particular interests, he shall not be drag'd, but shall be thrown over the lists, and lose the penalty of the Lands or honor in question.

The vanquished forfeits his Horse and Arms, and all which he brought into the Field with him, unto the Constable, as his Fee.

The Lists, Rails, Seats, &c. to the Marshal.

If the Combate be withdrawn by Command, or perswasion of the King, and both content (else not) they shall be led

The Life & Death of Mary Queen of Scots,

out together by the Constable, and proclamation made thereof, with equal honor to them both.

I have read of such a duel Combate, before the King of France, between *Robert le Blanch*, and *Lewis le Force*, in a case of Treason; *Blanch* the Appellant grapples *le Force*, and casts him down; sets his left foot upon the others stomach, holding up his right hand, with his sword by the Hilt, his left hand within a foot of the point, and therewith presently he meant to stab him: but to add more strength, his right foot was somewhat raised from the ground; when instantly the King cryed, Hold, hold, casting his Truncheon, to part them. Whereat *le Force*, nimbly leapt up, without hurt.

The King, being willing to preserve *le Forces* life, not with any good affection (for he supposed him guilty) but for the future examination of Confederacy; Yet he adjudged him *vanquished*, which the Defendant utterly denied, and craved *Judgement* of the *Constable* and *Marshall*, who had a pretty way to save the Kings honour, and yet to do Justice.

Their sentence therefore was, that *le Force* should be prostrate to the fatal stroke as before, and the *Apellant*, with all his former advantage and form of postures, and so they did. When *le Force* with nimble strength lifted up *Blanch* his right foot, which tript him down, skipt up himself, and stab'd the other to the Heart.

And forthwith kneeled to the King, told him, *That besides the Assistance of his Patron Saint, the merit of Innocence, and the event of this legal Tryal, which he in Honour would not refuse*; Yet for more satisfaction to his Majesty, he produced six sufficient witnesses attending in the Field, whom he preserved upon all events, and who cleared him.

However, the King quarrelled with the *Constable* and *Marshall* for declining his Sentence, being Supream; which they humbly denied. *The King being a Party in case of Treason or Felony, cannot be judge, in Lands and Honour he may.* This distinction in those times of Treason, was taken for Reason.

But though these *Combatings* are rarely now in Example, yet have we taken up *Private Duells*, the more frequent, sometimes for Right, but intollerably too often, for Honour, as we term it.

Certainly, to use the Sword in a private hand, for either party, must be a tempting of God, and an unwarrantable Tryal, though we read two of them in Scripture, The challenge of *Goliath*, which *David* undertook, The inveterate quarrel of *Joab* and *Abner* in the Interests of their several Masters, *David* and *Ishboseth*, performed by twelve on either part, singly; the Challengers had the worst.

Anno

1567.

It was commonly imitated by some *Gallant* in the Head of an Army in *France* and *Holland*, or by Parties; but the wise *William* of *Nassaw*, at the siege and loís of *Breda*, after *Briote* was so slain, forbid it any more to be done during his life.

In how ill condition is that righteous cause which must be concluded by the Sharp, Force and Fencing: for *Saint Bernard* saies, That he that conquers *Mortaliter peccat*, he that is slain *eternaliter perit*.

The difference of the evil is, the *Challenger* hath in it more provocation. It hath been held lawful for a man slandered by an unjust Accuser, to vindicate himself by his own Sword; But, *It destroyes Justice, and Robs God of his Revenge.*

Ordinary and Common *Challenges* (upon what ground soever, being willingly refused, and yet by the Adversary therefore proclaimed base and cowardise) may diminish the offence of acceptance, but concludes him deeply guilty by Gods Laws; *The Plea of Conscience ought to suppress the Fancy of any Fighter.*

The result is thus, To answer the Challenge, let a Man provide to be daily armed, and if he be set upon, God and his Cause will defend his Life and Honour. To make a bargain of bloodshed is damnable, and the intention (though both escape) is murder. The Council of *Trent*, excommunicated all persons whatsoever, none exempt; with loss of Lands, and Christian burial.

But *Bothwell* (who causeth this Digression) being rid of the *Combat*, flies, and was pursued to ship-board, but got to sea turned *Pirate* about *Orkney*. *Morton* at his own charge set out several Ships to take him. *Grange* was Admiral, and almost surprized him, yet he escaped in a light *Pinace* (over a crag of the Sea) which grazed on the Sands, but the pursuers stuck fast, and were saved by their Cock-boat; and *Bothwell* got into *Denmark*, was there suspected, examined and imprisoned.

Earl Murray, having with much seeming unwillingness, in *August*, accepted the Protector-ship, which he long thirsted after, Summons a Parliament in *December*; In which the *Resignation*, *Coronation*, *Regency*, and the *Queens Imprisonment*, were confirmed; And forthwith (accompanied with the Conspirators) repairs to the Imprisoned Queen at *Loch-leven*, *Mortons Castle*; She besought him with tears to protect the young King, to govern with a good conscience, and to spare her Life and Reputation.

Then to colour his Villany, he executes divers for being present at the Late *Kings* murder. But they protested at the Gallows, that *Murray* himself, and *Morton*, were the Authors, and

Anno
1567.

cleered the *Queen*, and so did *Bothwel* Prisoner then in *Denmark*, and so to his dying day, *That she was not privy nor consenting*. And fourteen years after, when *Morton* was executed therefore, he confest, *That he moved that the Queen might be made a Party therein, but Bothwel refused*.

And thus, the Government not so secure, but factions increased, envy to the Regent, hatred to Religion, and duty to the Queen, now *Bothwell* was gone; *Metallan* and *Tylliburn*, the *Hamiltons*, *Arguile*, and *Huntley*, join together. And *Beaton* Arch-bishop of *Glosgow*, now *Lieger* for the Queen in *France*, with much secrecy, gave them hopes of Men and Money.

The Q. escapes
out of prison.

Her cruel Imprisonment forces her escape, by means of *George Dowglass*, brother to the Governour of the Castle, being oft times trusted with the Keys to let in and out the Queens women. And in the disguise of one of them, she got out, and he, and *Tylliburn* rowed her over the Lake, and with a dozen horse men, convayed her that night to *Hiddery*, the next day increasing to five hundred horse, with the Lord *Seaton* and *Hamiltons*, they came to *Hamilton Castle*; and because this Design was her last which she acted in *Scotland*, we have searched out the truth, from several Relators as followeth.

All parties
arm.

The Regent Protector now at *Glasgow*, and pleasing the people with seeming Justice to fettle them, was now himself to seek for Protection. Some advised him to *Sterlin*, where the King was, but *Dowglas* opposed, protesting to do, as *Boyd* had done, who was gone to the Queen, with intention (as he perswaded them) to act *Hushe's* part; for he returned a message to *Murray*, *To do them, better service with Her*. *Morton* and *Simple* advised the same, to stay at *Glasgow*; for safety consisted in scelerity, the Queens liberty would soon gain the People, and the more remote, the more affectionate to her; Their own strength was the Towns-men, and as Enemies to *Hamilton* the Surer their faith to them; *Cunningham* and *Simples*, potent Neighbours; *Lennox* and the Kings party many; and the Earl of *Mars* forces not far off, to whom Messengers are posted round about. The Lord *Hume* came with six hundred Horse, and so conceived themselves four thousand strong, sufficient to dare the Enemy.

Murray 4000.
the Qy. 6000.

The Queen was gotten head of six thousand, and confiding in this advantage of number, she purposed to withdraw her person for safety, into *Dunbarton Castle*, and so to mannage the war with expedition or lingring, at pleasure.

Murray guessing at their aim, drew out into *Glasgow* moor, supposing the Enemy that way, but seeing them on the South-side of the River *Clide*, crossed the Bridge and Foords, and

got

Anno
1567.

got there before them, who being prevented, marched the way of *Rothbrington* which leads to *Dunbarton*, but the Regent more wary, galloped his Horse-men, and mounted *Langside-hill*, and his foot hasten after. Two advantages made for *Murray*, *Arguile's* sickness, a sudden *Apoplexie*; the Army halting, he chose the ground. The other was, the Queens too hardy confidence in her own number, which seemed less than they were, ever marching over Hills and Dales without perfect view. These retired to another Hill opposite to *Langside*, drew up in Order, *Arguile* was her Lieutenant, and led the *Reer*, and with him, the Earls *Cassiles*, *Eglinton* and *Rothesse*, the Lords *Seaton*, *Sommervail*, *Yeston*, *Borthwick*, *Sanwhere*, *Boyd*, and *Ross*. The *Van* committed to *Claud Hamilton* of *Pasley*, Son to the Duke, and *Sir James Hamilton*; indeed, consisting most of *Hamiltons*; *James Stuart* commanded the Musketeers, 300 men. The Lord *Harris* the Horse, most of them Borderers and Servants.

The Regent divides in two *Battalia's*. The *Van* by *Morton*, with whom were the Lords *Hume* and *Simple*. Himself the *Reer*, and with him, *Mar*, *Glencarn*, *Monteith*, the Lords *Ruthen*, *Uchiltry*, and *Kinkart*, the Sons of *Lennox*, and the Citizens of *Glasgow*; the Horse commanded by *William Dowglas*, *Alexander Hume*, and *Joh. Corinchell*.

Upon encounter these Horse retire, and fell back to their Foot; indeed the other over-powred them, but these were driven back by a flight of Arrowes, that gawled the Horse.

The two Vans join Battel; The Regents shot secretly placed in Yards, Gardens and Orchards of the Village *Langside*, neer the Lane, where they shot at pleasure upon *Arguile*, who being freed from this hazard, were fresh assaulted by *Mortons* Pikes and Spears; and other long weapons, which being broken, they join pell mell within Swords length, and neerer, with daggers, stones and fists.

In midst of fight the Regents High-landers fled first, out of the Ranks of his own Companies, or out of the Wings, as others say, the Lord *Lindsey* at hand, cryed, Let them gang, Ile supply their place, and stepping forward, charged *Arguile* afresh, whose weapons broken before, and overcharged with new impression, turned backs, and fled disorderly. The Regent seeing the victory, followed the chase, wherein more suffered than in the fight. The High-landers, as yet taking heart, made good their first faults, and slew without mercy, and had done more, but that the Regent sent horse to save the Enemy. Many were taken of Note, *Seatons*, *Rosses*, *Hamiltons*, the Sheriffs of *Air* and *Lithburn* with others. On the Victors side were slain, saies my Author, but one (of Note he means) and for his

both encounter.

The Queen discomfited.

Anno
1567.

The Qu. flies
from danger.

his Epitaph only, we shall name him unfortunate; yet he was called *John Ballony* of *Preston*, *Mortons* man; and not many hurt.

The poor Queen stood a mile off upon a Hill, saw all lost, and then fled, with the Lord *Harris* and his Horse, towards *England*.

Some say the Contention between *John Stuart*, and *Arthur Hamilton*, two Captains of the Queens Musketeers, strove for precedency, and she adjudged it to *Stuart*, for his Name, and once of her Guard; *Hamilton* took it ill, but nobly challenged the other to the Career, who followed as hastily, and were both seconded as inconsiderately, by the rashness of another *Hamilton* of *Pasley*, the Just occasion of the Loss of all.

The Regent convenes the Estates, which the Queens faction opposed, not willing that he should fix himself with greater Friendship, whilest yet their future hopes depended, and therefore caused a rumour of some fresh assistance out of *France*, for the Queen, under conduct of *Mortige* of *Luxemburgh*; and in a readiness he was, but staid to assist the *French* King in his Civil Wars. *Arguile* therefore comes to *Glasgow* with 600. horse, and conferred with *Hamiltons*, but to no effect. *Huntley* also with 1000. men, was hindered by *Ruthen*, and returned. Yet these procured letters from the Queen of *England*, to forbear convening, till she were acquainted with their proceedings, and justness of their cause, why they took arms against the Queen her Cousin, of whose wrongs she is sensible, and expects a speedy account. However the Convention continues, and divers are punished. 5000. Horse and 1000. Musketeers are levied for suppressing the incursions of the *Nedisdale*, *Annandale*, and *Galloway* men, seize certain Houses and Holds of severall late Lords in Arms; some oppose, but many are made soon to submit.

She lands in
England, and
writes to Qu.
Elizabeth.

The Queen in miserable distress, sends away *Beaton* unto Queen *Elizabeth*, with that same Ring, an excellent Adamant, (a token of Friendship) received from her before, to tell her, that she intends to come in person, and crave her aid, which was promised; And so by Sea in a small Barge, she followes *Beaton*, and lands at *Werkington* with 16. men, and 4. Watermen, in *Cumberland* 17. May 1568. writes to Queen *Elizabeth*, the State of her Affairs in *Scotland*, most pittifully expressed.

You are not ignorant (most Excellent Sister) how some of my Subjects advanced by me to the height of honour, conspired to oppress and imprison me and my Husband, and yet by your intercession I received them into Favour, when they were by force of Arms driven to flight

Anno
1567.

flight out of the Kingdom; These rushed notwithstanding into my Chamber being big with child, seized my Servant (Rizio) murdered him and imprisoned me; This being pardoned, they devised a New Crime, plotted and signed unto by themselves, and being in battel to surprize me, to save blood-shed I yielded, whom (though innocent) they imprisoned, without Servants, but onely three Maids, a Cook and Physician; compelled my Resignation or danger of death, and in a Parliament of their own Convention, refusing to hear me or my Proctors, spoil me of my Goods, and exclude me (close Prisoner) from all my Friends. Afterwards, by Gods assistance, escaping Prison, and assisted with the flower of Scots Nobility, and numbers of faithful Subjects which flocked to me, I admonished my Enemies of their duty and faith, offered them pardon, and a Parliament for the judicial debate of all differences, to restore peace to the people, now rent and torn with Civil Brails. Two severall Messengers herewith they insolently imprison, proclaim all my Assistants Traytors; Nay they denied caution to the Lord Boyds safety, whilest he treated to compose; And more inhumane, refused your Princely Mediation. And so through many eminent Miseries, Imprisonments, Fears and Dangers of my Life, I betook my self to the Lord Harris, with whom I am come into your Kingdome, upon certain hopes of your approved Princely Clemency, for your assistance and mediation for others also; Most earnestly beseeching to be conducted to your Presence being now in very deep distress, as I shall largely lay open, when you shall please to have compassion upon me. God grant you long life and me patience. Farewel.

The Messenger had it in expresse to procure her to come to the presence of Q. Elizabeth, which she declines, but writes to her kindly by Sir Francis Knowls, and commands her to be conducted to Carlisle, upon fair pretence from the danger of any attempt by the Scots her enemies.

Queen Elizabeth could not but commiserate her case, but was jealous of her Person, and Cause; she was told of her eloquent tongue to move credence, and her condition considerable with the Catholique Princes, to draw Parties to protect her, to quicken the Guises, her Cofins, to her former Clame to this Crown, and the Innovation of others. And so to settle her advantages under Protection, whilest she may provide, to convey her self beyond Seas, at her own pleasure. And many more, likely fears, not unfeigned, caused Queen Elizabeth for more safety of the Kingdom, to detain her Prisoner to Bolton Castle, in Tuition of the Lord Scroop, and Sir Ralph Sadler.

Murray thus at liberty holds a Parliament, attaints many of the Queens friends, notwithstanding Queen Elizabeths displeasure, who requires him to come, or send Commissioners to reason with her the misusage of their Queen, otherwise she threatens

Commissioners treat about the Scottish Queen.

Anno
1568.

tens to restore and protect her. *Murray* obeys, and not knowing who to trust, comes himself on the errand to *Berwick*, with *Morton*, Bishop *Adams*, *Lindsey*, *Liddington*, and others his Confidants. And to boot also, comes that Monster of Ingratitude, *Buchanan* (my Author stiles him so) the greatest Creature of *Murray*. Queen *Elizabeth* sends *Howard*, the fourth Duke of *Norfolk*, created Barons by *Edward* the 4. 1461. and by *Richard* the third, Dukes of *Norfolk*, 1483. the Earl of *Sussex*, and Sir *Richard Sadler*; And for the imprisoned Queen, comes *Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, *Levinston*, *Boyd*, and Others.

Lethington, first advised with them, the danger of calling to question so great a Princess of Crimes, before *English* men their Enemies, and how *France* would resent it; at which they were all mute. And the Queen of *Scots* Commissioners (to whom the first place was yielded) before they took Oath, protested, that although their Queen was content her innocence should be shewed, yet being a free Princess, she did not acknowledge herself Subject unto any. The *English* urged likewise, That they did not admit that protestation in prejudice of that right which the Kings of *England*, alwaies claimed as Superior of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Queen *Maries* Commissioners declare by writing, how *Morton*, *Mar*, and others had levied Arms, misused their Queen, and extorting her Resignation in Prison, that *Murray* had usurped the Regency, and enforced her to fly for succour into *England*. *Murray*, and the Commissioners for the King Infant answer, and relate the manner of the late Kings murder by *Bothwel*, for which the Noble-men called him in question, whom the Queen protected; that she voluntarily resigned, and the Parliament had confirmed it; and all this was evidenced by Letters. Her Commissioners reply, and deny all, telling the Truth of these Stories (in such particular as is before herein declared) and therefore crave aid of *England*, to assist Her.

The *English* Commissioners require better proofs than by Letters, for *Lethington* had counterfeited her hand, and was suspected might do so by these.

Murray refuses other proofs than such Letters as he shewed, with much modest regret (forsooth) To be put to it to accuse his Sister at all, unless the Queen of *England* would undertake, to protect the King, and to relinquish the Queen. But the *English* told them all, though there appeared not, as yet, sufficient for the present to be dilated upon, yet *Murray* is required to leave some of his Company here, to answer Exceptions which their Queens Ambassadors should propose hereafter, and so they departed. Much pleasing to the Duke of *Norfolk*, so to break off, having alwaies favoured *Q. Maries* Cause, and from this time had a Mind to marry her.

But

But Murray to make things more safe, posts to the Queen of England, and to her produces Articles and other Testimonies, and Buchanan's Book, called the *Detection*, which had little credit with her, though willing she was that reproach might lodge upon the Queen of Scots. Indeed many English Lords inclined to pity her distress, at which Queen Elizabeth swore, *She wants not Advocates so long as Norfolk lives*, of whom henceforward she was jealous. Duke Hamilton was returned out of France, whither he had fled, and besought that Murray might relinquish the Regency to him, being (as he said) his due, as next heir to the Crown, but the Queen found his pulse beat too high, and least he should proceed in that Claim, she commanded him not to depart without her Licence.

The Regent and his Company having leave to depart in February, the Duke Hamilton made means to follow, and being Lieutenant for his Queen, and got home, sends forth his Proclamations, and shewes his Authority, which none obeys; For Murray was coming to nip the Bird in the Head, and comes to Glasgow with an Army, to whom Hamilton submits, and prefixes a day for Hamilton (with pledges) to subscribe to his power at Edinburgh, and there likewise he shifts it off, till his Queen sends her consent. Hereupon he and Herries are committed. Arguile and Huntley were the next to be reduced; Both of them had been busie in the Regents absence, but were now suppressed, and so all return to Perth, to hold a Convention of States.

Thither came two Packets from both Queens. Elizabeth made three Propositions.

1. That the Kings Mother might be restored to her dignity and Crown.
2. That her Name might be joined with her Sons, in all writs, and the Government continue in the Regent.
3. And if none of these, then that she might live private, with all respect and honour, without prejudice to the King.

This last was accepted, the other rejected.

Queen Mary desired, That her Mariage with Bothwel might be determined by the Judges, and if unlawful, then so to pronounce it null, and her to be free.

To this was answered, That they saw no such hast, Bothwel being out of the Kingdome, he must be allowed 60. daies after Summons of the Peers at Lieth, and the Judges could not sentence it sooner; but if she had a mind to be rid of him, as she had of the Rest, her shortest cut would be to sollicite the King of Denmark to execute him for Murther and Pyracie. This was somewhat too saucy.

These Queens had several Designs in their Demands, Elizabeth was willing to be rid of the other, rather than she should

Anno
1568.

Regent posts
to Q. Eliz.

Regent re-
turns.

Anno
1568.

The Duke of
Norfolk com-
mitted, and
his story
which Murray
plotted.

mary with *Norfolk*; for she feared her great Friends here, and beyond Seas.

And *Mary* was therefore more earnest to satisfy the *Duke*, who meant not to adventure the Treaty upon uncertainties; And *Murray* for these respects kept *Bothwells* title in being; for from *England* he was assured by his Friends there, that *Norfolks* plot, and *Queen Maries*, was so cunningly conveyed, that no wit nor power was able to countermine. Yet he remained stedfast, and sent one of his Domestiques to *Queen Elizabeth*, with *Queen Maries* Petition, and their answer; but She not satisfied with such an Ordinary Messenger, the *Abbat Pitcarn* was sent Express, from the Convention at *Sterlin*, held only for that purpose.

About the same time of his last arrival at *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was committed to the *Tower*, *October 11.* and the Conspiracy discovered, which was thus.

Murray, with much cunning, before his late departure out of *England*, proposed some hopes to *Norfolk* of marriage with the *Queen of Scots*, and secretly induced a belief of her present restoring, and spread these Rumours to prejudice her, and to increase jealousies, with many other suspicions, which surrounded *Queen Elizabeth*, Of Rebellions at home, and Plots abroad by the Papists. And as many more *Tales* that *Q. Elizabeth*, and *Murray*, had compacted against the young King. To wipe off these, an *Apology* was printed in *Queen Elizabeths* defence. In truth, she was much perplexed with fears, out of *Emulation* of the other. Yet with some compassion for her Imprisonment; and in both these distempers, there wanted not Instruments to rub the wound. *Mary* often solicited *Queen Elizabeth* with humble, yet Princely, Letters, with such compassionate Eloquence, that though the Queen had a Wolf by the Ears, yet with tears, had oft resolution to return her Home, and dealt with *Murray* by Messengers herein, but he was settled in malice, and would not incline.

Then was rumoured the Mariage of the Duke of *Norfolk* with *Queen Mary*, as advantageous to both *Realms* and security of the Kings person, who must be brought also into *England*, and so under *Queen Elizabeths* power, and she so to be secured of fears. And that for finishing so good a work, the *Dukes* Daughter should be contracted to the King. And these Designs, many the chiefest *Earls* in *England* had contrived. *Murray* himself at his being here, intimated no less to the Duke, for that, *She having married her self to a Boy, then to a rash young Man, and last to a Mad-brain, might now recover her honor to wed him, a Man of discretion.* Nay more, secretly, by *Melvin*, offered to the *Queen of Scots*, his Service to effect it. And the

Secre-

Secretary *Throgmorton*, with the chiefeſt *Lords*, *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Suffex*, *Pembroke* and *Southampton*, and *Leiceſter* alſo (*his Rival*) were all of the *Plot*, and he broke it very ſeriously to *Norfolk*.

Upon which the *Duke*, not faint-hearted, courted the *Queen* by *Letters*, and all conſenting, *Articles* were propounded.

1. For ſecurity of *Queen Elizabeths* perſon and iſſue.
2. To Covenant a League between both Kingdomes.
3. To eſtabliſh *Proteſtant Religion*.
4. To receive into favour, with pardon, all the *Scots*.
5. To Revoke her aſſignation of the Kingdom of England, and to marry *Norfolk*.

They promiſe to procure *Queen Elizabeths* conſent, and the other to be reſtored, to all which ſhe, in *Prison*, eaſily yielded, and who could blame her in the caſe ſhe was? But ere they had ſo done, *Queen Elizabeth* had ſuſpition, and therefore it was more than time to break it themſelves, ſo from one to the other it was neglected, till *Leiceſter* did it.

She aſked the *Duke* thereof, and charged him to decline it, leaſt he hop't headleſs, and it was good warning, ſufficient to him to look ere he leap't, and ſo he ſtole away in time of *Progreſs* back to *London*.

Cecil wiſely took care of the State, and learned ſo much of the Matter, that the *Duke* began to fear; reſtleſs in any place, withdrew to *Norfolk*, where ſome *Commotion* was purpoſely ſet on foot, and he ſuſpected. To prevent the worſt, he returns back towards the Court, but at *Saint Albans* was taken to guard, and ſecured, for by this time Treacherous *Murray* had out of *Scotland* diſcovered what he knew, and upon which the *Duke* was ſent to the *Tower*, *Bishop Roſs*, and others committed, and *Pembroke* examined, not well remembering what he had ſaid, or ſhould ſay: for he could not read a word. *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* take Arms, but fearing greater oppoſition fled into the North.

But ere all this was known in *Scotland*, Secretary *Metallan* increaſed faction for *Queen Mary*, and ſided with *Hume*, and *Grange* Captain of *Edenburgh* Caſtle; and before it was ripe, he is ſent for to *Sterlin*, accompanied with the *Earl Athole*, to intercede if need were; and need there was, for he is accuſed as *Acceſſary* to the late Kings murther, and committed cloſe *Prisoner*. *Sir James Balfore* in the ſame Condition, were both of them ſentenced by the Convention of States (for by them *Murray* did all his work as in caſes of *Treason*) but with much ado, *Balfore* had pardon, and *Metallan* reprimed to *Edenburgh* Caſtle; and *Murray* poſted up and down to reduce the *Norfolk* faction, and the *Queens*, who were increaſed; and returns to the *Life Tryal*

Anno

1569.

The Earls of
Northumb. &
Westmerland
fly to Scotl.

Tryal of Metellan at Edinburgh, where finding his Party too strong, being of *Hamilton, Huntley, Arguile*, and others, he warily adjourned the arraignment; for, though by this time News came of the Dukes Commitment in *England*, yet his Faction increased very powerful, and his Plot went on in *Scotland*.

The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, in favour of the *Queen of Scots*, and right Rebels to *Religion*, with 6000. Foot, and 2000. Horse, mastered *Durham*, burnt the *Bible*, and *Service Books*, heard *Mass* in *Darnton*, and took *Bernard Castle*, but being pursued by the Earl of *Warwick* with twelve thousand men, and *Sussex* with another army of seven thousand, they were forced to fly into *Scotland* in *December*, and lurked among the *Borderers* and *Robbers*, until *Morton* betrayed *Northumberland* to the *Regent*, who sent him prisoner to *Lochleven*, being an Enemy to all sides but the *Queen of Scots*.

This service *Queen Elizabeth* took well, and gave audience to *Pitcarn* his Ambassadour, to whom she promised, to desist the restoring of *Queen Mary*, and assured all friendship to the *Regent* when he should crave her aid. The effect was soon published in *Scotland*, to the fear, and lessening of *Maries* party, and they not able to Master his Power, took the bold way of base treachery, by one *James Hamilton* (whose life *Murray* had saved) and he undertakes to kill him. His opportunity he takes at *Lithgow* in secret, where he placed himself in a House, as the *Regent* passed by, shot him with an *Harquebuss* out at a Window, the bullet passed thorow his *Body*, and killed the Horse under *George Dowglass* 21. *January* 1569. He dyed that night. *Hamilton* had his horse ready, and scaped beyond Seas, where he dyed not long after.

Murray the
Regent slain.

Murray was base Son to *King James* the fift, and took up *Religion* for the gain of the Spoil of *Papists*. He was a Man full of Ambition, injurious, and ungrateful to the *Queen*, and likely not to have spared her Son, when time had wrought him power to effect it.

He was much assisted in his Regency by *Mortons* perpetual concurrency, and may be coupled as *Parmenio* and *Alexander*, *Nihil Murray absque Morton, Multa Morton absque Murray*.

It comes to be the question, whether for Interest or Friendship *Morton* was so fixt; certainly *Murray* aimed at all, the *Queen* in durance, and his labour so to continue her, or rather to have her in his Custody, and so to have ordered her and her Son, for his own purpose.

To ballance him, the *Queens* faction were, *Hamiltons, Arguile, Athole, Huntley*, and almost all the petty Princes (as the

Scots

Anno
1569.

Scots call themselves) *Earls of Crawford, Rothes, Eglinton, Cassiles*, the Lords *Harris, Maxwells, Johnston, Seaton, Boyd, Grey, Mettallan* the Secretary and Politicquer, and *Grange* the active Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and most of the strong Castles and Forts; the *French* did assist them, and *Spain* favored them, and so did all *Catholiques*. In *England* the faction of *Norfolk*, and *Papists*, and all Male-contents, or Treacheries took up *Queen Maries* cause to mutiny. She had her Rents in *France* duly paid, and her Jewels, and much under-hand support to countenance her Ambassadors abroad, and private Emisseries, and a working brain for her own ends. All the *English* banished Lords, *Dacres, Westmerland*, and all the *Popish* at home.

The other party, which we call the Kings (but indeed they were of all sides partial to their own Interests, Pride and Ambition, and took up factions accordingly) were *Morton, Mar, Lenox, Glencarn, Lindsey, and Glams, Simple, Methvain, Ruthen*; no Castles but *Sterlin* and *Tantallon*, and the Commons, and from *England* *Queen Elizabeth* knew well how to feed them on all sides with a bit and a bob; for in this time she had sent three several Armys against the *Borderers* under that colour, which most horridly burnt all in their way, with incredible mischief to that miserable Nation.

The Murther of *Murray* was lookt upon as more publique than to be acted by one, and a Resolution of his Friends to question it by force or Justice. In the mean time the Estates appoint a day, and this put off was counselled by *Metallan*, who was got out of Prison in this hurrey of affairs, and suspected the Plotter of *Murrays* death.

The Lords meet and stand upon their guard; but agree in nothing for the common safety; the Queens Party elect three Lieutenants, *Arran, Arguile, and Huntley*, and appoint a Parliament in *August* after.

In this while *Queen Elizabeth* sends *Sir William Drury* with three hundred Horse, and a thousand foot into *Scotland*, to pursue her Rebels as was pretended, but sided with *Morton*, and did some mischief to the Queens Faction, and so returned Home.

The 13. of *July* in a Convention at *Sterlin*, *Lenox* the Kings Grandfather is chosen Regent, and *Hamilton* refused, *Queen Elizabeth*, declining her direction in that Election, but well pleased, since she had his wife in her hands. He marches with Forces of 5000. men to *Linlithgow*, and prevents the Lords Meeting of their Parliament in *August* after, and so with increase of men makes up eight thousand, Ranges the Country, and spoils his Adversaries, with Marshal law hangs them up by Scores, and returns to *Sterlin*.

Lenox chosen
Regent, be-
stirs himself.

The

Anno

1570.

The King of *Spain*, not with much affection to the Cause, but for his own interest, and malice to *Queen Elizabeth*, secretly sends money and ammunition to *Huntley* in the North. The Duke of *Castle-herault* and *Arguile* send *Seaton* to Duke *D'Alva* in *Flanders* for aid, and to restore the Captive *Queen*; He promised fair, but did nothing, having much to do for his Master against *Holland*.

Nay the Pope fell to work with his Bulls, excommunicates *Queen Elizabeth*, and absolves her Subjects, and some fears of a *Rebellion* in *Norfolk*, to deliver the Duke, exceedingly beloved and pitied. And therefore upon his humble petition and penitency, abjuring the Mariage, was released the Tower, and restrained only to his own House, but with a Keeper, Sir *Henry Nevel*, whether in favour, or to beget in him more Guilt; for *Henry* the Eighth's Statute of *Treason* to marry the Blood Royall without leave, was repealed by *Queen Elizabeth*, and his Misdemeanours were not yet come up to Felony.

But she, in much trouble, and fear of Forein Forces, and Domestique Insurrections, dayly put in practice in *Darby-shire*, Sent *Cecil* and *Mildmay* with 16. Articles to *Queen Mary* at *Chatsworth* in *Darby-shire*, not unreasonable, unless those concerning the *Scots* interest with *France*, of antient League and Security; which therefore she wittily argued, as not in her power without their consent. For her Dowry was from thence; the *Scots* Guard of *Gens D'arms* in *France* of one hundred Horse, and 124. *Archers*; the interest of some Clergy in pension; and immunities from their *Scots* Merchants and Students in *France*; All which (except the *English* would recompence) she could not remove their Amity; and some *Castles* also required, in *Scotland*, which she could not render, and so these Overtures were quite declined.

The *Scots* Incendiaries at home, fearing that *Queen Elizabeth's* good Inclination, or other Forein assistance, should release their imprisoned *Queen*, and so revenge would follow; *Morton*, with others from *Scotland*, are sent to prevent it, and present a tedious insolent memorial, the gall of the pen came from *Knox* and his Kirkmen, with authorities of *ipse dixit Calvin*, too hateful for president to others, in justification of themselves, and against Royalty, which the *Queen* read and disdained as a Libel. Yet she ordered Commissioners to treat with *Queen Maries* Commissioners and them, concerning her Release, but they excused themselves by a frivolous restraint of their Authority therein. But certainly, *They that came impowred to deprive, had powers to restore; And indeed what needed Authoritie from others at home, when wicked facts had made all equals. Facinus quos inquinat aequat;* and so all return home.

Herein

Anno

1570.

Herein, nothing to the poor captivated *Queens* Release; her Friends in *Scotland* worsted in all their actions of Arms or Treaties; strong places surprized; and many executed for being but suspected of her Party; Arch-Bishop *Hamilton* (Brother to the Duke *Castle-herault*) hanged as privy to the late Kings Murther, without any Arraignment or Tryal; and she here deprived of all her Friends and Domestiques but ten persons.

She then bethinks her self of the last remedy; sends secretly to the Duke of *Norfolk*, renews her affection, and conjures his Assistance; with other Letters to the *Pope* and King of *Spain*, by *Higford* the Dukes Secretary, a fiery Fellow (even such another Creature as might be a President afterwards unto *Cuff* Secretary to his unfortunate Master the Earl of *Essex*,) who, besides his Errand, insinuates to the Duke, fair hopes of Confederacy and assistance from all the Catholique *Princes*, and the *Pope* also. And with this Plot of impossibilities (not without suspicion of Treachery to his Master, for before these letters were burnt, he secretly stole the Minutes of all their private missions, and lodged them purposely where they soon came to light) The poor Duke (easy enough to be cosened, but not into the villany of Treason) detested and disliked his Motions. And yet afterwards, but for meddling with money in behalf of that *Queen*, to be sent to her Friends, (which was misconstrued perhaps in the worst sence) for Support of Enemies against *Queen Elizabeth*, he fell into this mischief and Treason, which *Higford* confessed, and discovered all the former Matters to boot.

The Duke not dreaming what was acknowledged, denied all at his Examination, and so was again committed to the Tower, and presently after him, the Earls *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley* and *Cobham*, with others his Friends, but these scaped with life, and in hope of pardon, told all they knew, and more than truth. And thus was he betrayed, not knowing whom to trust, where he lodged till he lost his head, the next year after.

Bishop *Ross* *Queen Maries* Lieger Ambassadour of long time ago, and so now here, A witty and well-experienced Man he was in his Craft, and up to the ears in all Designs and Plots for her Relief and Advantage, through his Letters intercepted, and all their confessions produced, was sent for and examined; the most guilty Crimes of them all, either the Contriver, or deeply *Accessary*; some he confessed; those which concerned others, he constantly concealed, and cunningly answered unto all. There being sufficient evidence to make him guilty, he stood upon his Privilege, which he wittily defended; and though

Bishop *Ross*
Ambassadour
examined.

Anno

1571.

though he had to do with the wisest Council of our Century and Circle, yet they held it prophane to be their own *Carvers*, and therefore put it to the best *Civilians* to decide, but upon several articulate questions. To which they answer cunningly, as to cut a thread, well knowing the Displeasure of their Sovereign, and yet, withall, considering the *Case*, subject to publike censure, thus they unriddle.

1. Whether an Ambassadour, that procures Rebellion against a Prince to whom he is sent, be subject to Punishment?

Rebellion is not proved.

2. Whether an Agent of a Prince deprived, be an Ambassadour?

She was not lawfully deprived.

3. Whether a Prince that comes into another Kingdom, may be allowed an Ambassadour?

He was, and yet is, allowed to be an Ambassadour.

4. Whether such an Ambassadour, being forbidden to act by the Prince to whom he is sent, may enjoy privilege of his Commission?

His own Prince must first forbid him, his Commission remains to justifie his privilege.

It appears, that for the present he was onely restrained to the Tower, from meddling in publique; and the worst they could do then, and two years after, was to release him to banishment beyond Seas, where he did more mischief, as you shall see hereafter.

Digression
concerning
privilege of
Ambassadors.

It may be worthy the Discuss, how far Ambassadors have privilege, which the Civilians have been put to decide, but conclude only from Presidents; I shall name some of theirs, and of others afterwards.

This Maxim is generally granted, That an Ambassador representing the Person of his Sovereign, is exempt from Legal Tryal. His actions so qualified, are to be accounted his Masters act, until He disavows it, and him.

The Æthurians, Enemies to the Chades, had inveagled the very Ambassadors from Rome to bear Arms for them, and were taken Prisoners, and yet returned safe to Rome, demanding Justice onely against their Persons.

Livy saies, also, that others, *Morte affligendos Romani non judicarunt, & quanquam visi sunt, ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen Gentium voluit.*

And in a design of Murther upon a Prince, *Non aliud mihi factum, quam quod sceleris sui reprehensi essent.*

The Protestant Ambassadour at Trent Council, had published their Tenents, contrary to a Decree, and thereby Treasonable:

yet

yet were qualified from any punishment.

The Tribunes of the People in Rome, were free from question in their Annual Office.

Particular Mischief, submits to the conveniency of the Publique.

Leges de Jure Gentium inductum est ut eorum Corpora salva sint, propter necessitatem Legationis, ac ne confundant jura commercii inter Principes.

Let us come to latter Customs of our own kind.

Henry 2. Restrained the Popes Legat, until he swore not to act in prejudicium Regis vel Regni.

Henry the third did so likewise to another of the Popes Legates.

Another fled of himself, timens pelli sui.

Edw. 1. Complained to the Pope, and had satisfaction, ere his Legate was released.

Henry 8. Restrained the Ambassadour of Charls 5. one Lewis de Prat, for but falsely traducing Cardinal Wolsey to his Master.

Charles the ninth of France did so to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, for Counselling the Prince of Conde, against the King.

In Spain, was Doctor Man, Ambassadour from England, imprisoned for using his own Religion, and yet Gulman de Sylva, at that instant here in England had Mass with freedom. But then the Inquisition mastered that State 1567.

We restrained Don Guerman de Aspes in London for Libelling this State to the Duke D'Alva, 1568.

The French Ambassadour Alpin, and Maluset were also used also.

The Venetian Ambassadour at Madrid protected an Offendor that came into his House (the usual Sanctuary) who by force was taken out from thence, and that State justified that Action, condemning the Ambassadors Servants that opposed; Some to death, and some to the Gallies, but were only all banished. The King of Spain sends the whole Process to Venice, and by His Ambassadour Lieger there, one Mendoza, declares publickly to all the World, That in case his Ministers should so offend, He remits them to punishment where they reside.

And another Mendoza for abusing our Ministers of State here, was first restrained, and after banished, 1586.

See Another hereafter in this Kings Reign, the Marques Inojosa, for scandalizing the Prince, and Duke of Buckingham, 1624.

And our Bookmen say, that a Forein King, though admitted here by safe Conduet (for without Licence he cannot come) may be impleaded for Debt or Trespass, and condemned for Treason; for it is a

Anno

1571.

general Law of Nations, That in what place an offence is committed, according to the Law of that place, they shall be judged, without regard of any Privilege. For a King out of his proper Kingdom hath no merum Imperium, but only retains Honoris Titulos & Dignitatis; and per omnia distringitur etiam quoad personam.

And the same assuredly is of their Ambassadors, Ne occasio daretur delinquendi: He hath protection of His person; Like as a Sanctuary will save a Mans life from Manslaughter, but not when Manslaughter is committed within the Sanctuary; for then he does willfully wave the benefit. Indeed their Persons (as their Masters) are sacred from violation of private men, but not from punishment of offences against the publike State.

See Cook 7. part. &c.

Here are Presidents; but it hath been more nicely disputed, let others conclude.

Pawlet Lord
Treasurer, his
childrens
children 103.

This year gave end of daies to that antient Noble Lord *William Pawlet*, Marquess of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer of *England* twenty years, having lived 97. years, whilst he saw the Children of his Childrens Children, to the number of one hundred and three persons.

Q. Eliz. sends
to moderate
Scotsdifferen-
ces.

Queen *Elizabeth*, to make shew of Moderation for Peace in *Scotland*, sends again *Sir William Drury*, Marshal of *Berwick*, in the heat of their Conflicts, to *Morton* for the Kings Party at *Lieth*, and *Huntley* for the Queens at *Edenburgh*. He rides between their Armies, and procures cessation for that day; but not agreeing who should quit the field first, they fought it out, and *Morton* had the Day, and *Drury* returned, not well pleased at the Success, being a great Friend to *Norfolk*.

The Regent calls a Parliament at *Sterlin* in *August*, where the contest was, betwixt the Court and the Church, Bishops and Prelates, Office and Jurisdiction; wherein the Ministers stickled to decide the quarrel; quick work to make, they moved to have them quite abolished. But the Court then conceived, Episcopacy more conform to Monarchy, Policy, and Civil Government of a Kingdom. Indeed the Courtiers had some lick out of Spiritual Livings, the Bishops but titular, with pension or stipend of the Court, to execute; and none more forward to preserve them than *Morton*. For, expending his last Embassy into *England* at his own cost, he got the vacancy of the Bishoprick of *Saint Andrews* in his Gift, and put in *Douglas* to gather the rents, who was Provost of *New-College* there, and the Parliament sitting, he took place as Arch-Bishop; the Super-Intendent of *Fife* inhibited him, or else to be excommunicate; *Morton* bid him sit, or be a Traytor.

The Ministers Petition for maintenance, and was cast over the Bar by *Morton*, who got his Kinsman *Douglas* installed Arch-
bishop

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

77

Anno

1571.

bishop in spite of *Adamson* a Minister, preaching against that Order, which he divided in three sorts, 1. The Lords Bishop (to wit Christ) and such was every Pastor. 2. My Lord Bishop, such who sit and vote in Parliament, exercising Jurisdiction over his Brethren. 3. The third sort was my Lords Bishop, one whom some Lord in Court substitutes his Receiver, without means or Power Episcopal, whom he called a *Tulchan* Bishop, because the *Tulchan* which is a Calves skin stuffed with straw, is set up to make the Cow give down her Milk. Mr. *Knox* (he preached more and pronounced *Anathema danti, anathema accipienti.*

Parliament surprized.

Whilst the Estates were busie at Parliament, far off from *Edenburgh*, and thereby secure, an attempt was made upon them. There was one *George Bell* in *Edenburgh*, Ensign to a Foot Company, born in *Sterlin*, well acquainted with each Corner there, and each Lords Lodgings, possibly to be surprized in their careless watch; He marches from *Edenburgh* with two hundred Horse, and three hundred foot, *Earl Huntley*, and others, their Leaders thither, and undiscovered, till they had planted the Market place, and set Guards in the Laues, entered the Lords Lodgings, and surprize them Prisoners, the Regent, *Glencarn*, and others. *Morton* only defends himself with his Servants, and the Enemy in hast, set the House on fire, some of his Men slain he yielded to *Balclough*, who had married his Neece *Margaret Douglas*. The Souldiers, careless, fall to plunder the Houses, whilst *Mar* and his men in the Castle, force the Market place, but in vain. Then he sends sixteen pieces of Brass, called *Founds* to his own new House a building, and so not regarded for plundering, got up to the upper Rooms, and shot out at the Windows into the very street, when the Enemy was thickest; who thus amazed, fled without order, and *Mar* pursues them, with such other, that crept out of their Hidings, and make a sufficient number to be again Masters of their own, both Prisoners and Spoil, *Morton* and *Glencarn*, seizing their Keepers, the Regent was taken by *David Spency*, who to save him at first from the Souldier, lost his own life, and His also. So both sides were vanguished, and both victorious in a few hours, Of such advantage is diligence and expedition, and mischievous is negligence and security. *Multum in utramque partem fortuna potest, as Cesar saies.*

Lenox the Regent slain.
Sept. 6 1571.

The Kings Grandfather *Lenox* thus dead, and presently buried, there were three listed for Election, *Arguile*, *Mar* and *Morton*, the first but lately reconciled to the Kings part, the last was best beloved, but *Mar* had the charge of the Kings person, and so caried the vote to be Regent, Sept. 1571. Much he could not do in his small time of Government, he convend the Country, and sate down against *Edenburgh*, but wanting Artillery, returns

Mar elected Regent, Sept.

Anno

1572.

to *Lieth*, parts the Kingdom into quarters, and sends for their Divisions by turns; Those in *Edenburgh* issue out, and set fire on *Dalkieth* with Spoil and Pillage, return, but were so close beset, that wanting victual, they procure the Ambassadors from *France* and *England* to mediate the reconciliation.

And for a Preamble to future peace, the Ambassadors obtain a Truce in *July*, beginning the first of *August* 1572. until *January* following. The Conditions were, that *Edenburgh* should be free, for all the Kings Subjects; which was to say, that the Enemy, could keep it no longer. And before the end of this Truce, *Mar* takes leave of this life, in a desperate Feavour at *Sterlin*, *October* 1572. and without dispute *Morton* was elected to succeed him.

And now let us to return to *England*, where in *November* 1572. appeared a blazing star, alwaies portending ill fate to great persons, It was placed Northwards in the Constellation of *Cassiopeia*, making a Geometrical figure (with three chief fixed Stars) lozing-wise, called *Rombus*. It appeared bigger than *Jupiter*, and less than *Venus*. It never changed place, but carried about by motion of the *Heavens*, as other fixed Stars, and so continued six moneths. The Sphere far above the Moon, where no other Comet was ever seen, or indeed Natural can appear, so strange to Astronomers, as since the Creation was never the like, and had onely reference to Celestial, or rather super-Celestial consideration.

Duke of Norfolk
arraign'd

And therefore forthwith followed in *January* that *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, was arraigned in *Westminster Hall*, before *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward, and 25. Earls and Barons. His Commission being read, *Garter* King of Arms delivers to him the *White Rod*, which he receives and delivers to a Serjeant at Arms, standing by, and holds it up all the time. The Duke was brought in between two Knights, and the Ax held besides him, by the Executioner, with the edge from the Duke (but after sentence it was immediately turned to him.) His Tryal lasted till night; and all the matters before remembred were urged against him, together with his own Letters, as also those of the Queen of *Scots* and Bishop *Rosses*, besides evidence by Witnesses, whereof he was condemned, as in Case of *High Treason*, and after 4 moneths delay, he was executed upon the *Tower-Hill*, where he acknowledged and confessed all.

Commissioners
expostulate
criminally
with the Q.
of Scots.

About ten daies after, Commissioners were sent to the Q. of *Scots*, to expostulate criminally with her.

1. For usurping the Title and Arms of *England*, and had not released them, as was agreed in the Treaty of *Edenburgh*.
2. For the practice of Mariage with the Duke of *Norfolk*.
3. As also all the beforementioned Contrivements, particularly urged.

To

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

To all she wisely answered, and to the most of them Negative.

A League being concluded, between *England* and *France*, the Ambassadour moved for favour to the Queen, who was answered, that she deserved none; for that she had secret confederacy with the King of *Spain*, by the *Lord Seaton*, which being discovered and true, the French were silent.

The Estates of *Scotland*, took some time to present their Desires to *Queen Elizabeth*, how fit *Morton* was for the Regency; which she took well, though she knew they intended the power upon him, for so she had the honour, to say, *She made him*, and with whom, in truth, she alwaies kept the most narrow correspondence, trusting to his Judgement and diligence, to do much for the King, with whom he alwaies sided.

The King was committed to the custody of *Alexander Erskin* (for *Erskin* the then Earl of *Mar* was under age, whose peculiar right it was to challenge that trust) and *Buchanan* designed his Tutor, a man of some fame by the Scale of learning, whom Time and Ambition wrought afterwards a dangerous Incendiary to the King and State.

From this Parliament now sitting, were the Papists utterly excluded, and laws for advance of Religion enacted, to the wonder of all, how soon the Papists (frighted into fears of losing their Estates) very forwardly subscribed to the Reformed, which so heightened the Kirk into swelling Pride against Bishops also, that their violence afterwards could never be brought to Moderation. Though the Protector conceived the Prelatical function, to be no less necessary in State, then warrantable in Reformation. And so he regulated them (as the Bishops of *England*) Votes in Parliament, but abridged their Authority over others. And thus stood the power of Synods, interposing the moderate Prelates, who yielded much in Peace to the publick Ministry, and belike, conceiving that time and experience might mollifie them to a more convenient Constitution.

The faction for *Papists* was of the *French* and *Queen of Scots*, whose countenance were the *Hamiltons*, *Arguile*, *Huntley*, and *Hume*, ancient Barons, Grudging at the *Vice-Roy's* Government, sought to undermine his Establishment; and he at home, by pleasing the people gained the City and Kirkmen.

For now was *Knox* become the Temple incendiary imitating the *Vandalls* devastations, ruins the Monuments of Ancestors Piety, Church-bells and Bed coverings scape not him nor any other such like sacrilegious ravings; himself acknowledged that *Mary* had and did then blame him for his too great rigor and severity, that in his heart he never hated the persons against whom he thundred Gods Judgments, hating their Sins, and forbore none of

Anno

1572.

Morton basely
sells the E.
of Northum.

unto executi-
on

Scotland in
faction of the
King and Qu.

Edenburgh
besieged.

of what ever condition; doing it in Gods fear thus much he said for him selfe, and being the words of a dying man, I say them over for Christian Charity, and Honour to his parts; whose Character needs no more than the former History faithfully set down, wherein it appears, a Beacon he had been, apted to fire the Kingdome. but his blaze was this year extinguished and he died of good age 67. years; whether his History of the Church were his own, is suspected of some, his name supposed to gain credit to the work which in many parts seems ridiculous. Morton in some eminencie and lustre, fell into an obloquie of an infamous Act, upon the person of *Thomas Percey* Earl of *Northumberland*. whose desperate case (together with *Westmerland* forced them from home (as you have heard) to seek for succour in *Scotland*, after some time, *Westmerland* got into *Flanders*; but *Northumberland* wandred in the woods of *Hatles* for habitation, and was (heretofore) by his Comrades betrayed to Morton, and delivered up by him to the late *Regent Murray*; whose Authority preserved him by the Law of Nations, from *Queen Elizabeths* fury, but now Morton powerfull by preferment and plentiful in Estate whom honour, had made so, and some meritt, valuable, yet I know not with what errour of honesty basely sold him for a piece of Money to *Hunsdon*, Governour of *Berwick* and so became headless by the fatall Ax at *York*. The fruit of this ungratious Act, fell upon the Protector himself in the *Ultimum* of his life, by the like fall of the Ax, that often cures great men of these wicked maladies 1581

The Kingdome of *Scotland*, heretofore in severall fewds now was devided into two unnaturall factions of *Son* and *Mother*, the *King* and captivate *Queen*, in which dissention the Nobility side into severals. *England* and *France* interpose accord, but with sinister respects, for the *French* Ambassadour had his *Item*, and meant nothing less. *Queen Elizabeth* to countermine him, sent *Killegrew* to join with the King and Religion; yet a Treaty was perswaded. In the interim, *Kirkaldy* Lord of *Grange*, and Governour of *Edenburgh* Castle, impregnable as thought then for a long siege, being on a high Rock, inaccessible, fortified by a Fen and Lake on one side, and a Moss, which surrounds it; and to his faction (being the chief Baron) the *French* gave hope of assistance; To whom he sends over his Brother *James Kirkaldy* for men and money, with which returning, he lands at the Castle *Blackness*, the Governour thereof *Andrew Stuart*, though before his Confident was of late bribed to seaze him into fetters, whilest he carried the news, and 1000. *French* Crowns of *Kirkaldies* to the *Regent*.

In his absence on this treacherous errand, *Kirkaldy* corrupts his Keepers, and they the Souldiers, and so of a Prisoner he hath

Anno
1573.

hath the Keys and custody of the Castle. In two daies returned *Stuart*, and no sooner entered, but is secured into Irons; which he studies to revenge, and conceived, that the best way might be the same, and so the less suspected, to catch his Adversary in the same *Gyn*, which so lately caught him. With feigned tears, and a cunning tale, he melts the hardned Gaolers into compassion, and they the Guard, with helps of some bribings, some Crowns secretly sowed up in his quilted Waistcote. And, as if better than they could design it, *Kirkaldy* would needs accompany his Wife in a visit forth of the Castle, when as hastily he was shut out, and the late Governour set at liberty commands all again.

During which time the Treaty came on, but ended without effect, and *Grange* begins his fury on the City, as fuel to his fire. Either part implore assistance. The Protector, from *England*, and soon was sent to him by Land and Sea, nine Canons, six demi-Canons, six Sakers, 9. Culverins, with all necessaries, and 1500. men under Command of the Marshal of *Berwick*, Sir *William Drury*, who joined with 500. hired Scots, and so furiously assaulted the Castle, that from the twenty fifth of *April*, in thirty three dayes it was rendred to the Mercy of the Queen of *England*, who referred it wholly to the Regent, and the Lord *Grange*, and his Brother *Kirkaldy* executed by the Hangman. *Metallan* had poisoned himself some daies before, to avoid the Regents severity, which he deserved.

He was a man adorned with all natural parts, wise and prudent, indefatigably busie, but Fortune (the Mistress of humane Counsels) delighted to make him, like her self, inconstant. *Hume*, *Petarrow*, and *Melvin* kept in prison, and so was the renowned Countess of *Arguile*, who was the Daughter of an *Harlot*. *Liddington* was found there also, and sent away Prisoner to *Lieth*; who, because he had been a notable Actor all his life, and being a pen-man, not by Law of Arms to dy by the Sword, we may guess how he came to his end, by poison, the fate of cunning politiques, who if they scape the Ax or Halter, are too wise to be left long-lived for worser effects.

This Success set *Morton* aflote, which he husbands so ill, as made him (though he governed all) submit to base lusts, Pride and Covetousness; to supply which he abused his Trust, to the prejudice of the People, in each particular. His exactions were ingeniously observed by his Fool *Bovy*, that often rubb'd his Masters *Shins* with his *Giers*, some importunate Beggars craved alms of the Regent, the Fool bid him hang them, and why so cruel, said he? Because of your custom and cunning to make an hundred rich men beggars when you please.

He coined for the King some pieces of Gold, with the Kings picture,

Regent relieved out of
England,

and wins the
Castle.

His Coyn.

The Life and Death

Inimicus veritatis, Diabolus dominatur?

The Regal Prerogative have sometime restrained that liberty in Martial Exercises, or private quarrels, and punished non-Conformists.

Edward I. *Publice fecit proclamari & inhiberi ne quis* (under loss of Lands and Goods) either *torneare, bordeare, aut Fustas facere, aventuras facere, &c. sine licentia Regali speciali.*

Nay, none to wear weapons, but the Kings Officers, and some few excepted.

But more often to forbid single Combate, or to determine it, or take it up.

Mawbray and *Hereford*, both banished.

And when *Aneste* and *Chatterton* were ready to fight, *Eandem querelam in Manum suam Rex recepit.*

That of *Fitzthomas*, being challenged by Sir *William de Vessy*, to have defamed the King by Words mentioned in a Schedule. *Willielmus audita tenore Schedulae, dementitus est predicto Johannem, dicendo. Mentitus est tanquam falsus, & proditor, & denegavit omnia sibi imposita, & tradidit vadium in Manum Justiciarii quo illud admisit. Et predict Johannes advocavit omnia, & dementitus est simul dicto Willielmum.*

This was done in *Ireland*, before the Kings Deputy there, but was adjourned into *England* before the King, and there adjudged void. *Quia non sit citatus in Regno isto placitare in Curia Regis &c. Duellum concedere in placis de quibus cognitio ad curiam Regis non pertinet, contra legem & consuetudinem Regni. Igitur concordatum est quod processus totaliter adnulletur.*

Sundry punishments, in several Cases without licence.

The Earl of *Surrey* fined a thousand Marks, *pro quadam transgressione, in insultu facto, in Alanam de la Zouch.*

Inquisitio facta est, de omnibus tenementis & catallis Ro. Garvois, quia Insultum fecit & percussit Edwardum (filium Willielmi) or Williamson.

Cromwell was challenged by *Seagrave* to fight in *France*; Subjecting thereby (saith the Record) this Kingdome to that, was stopt in the way and tryed at the Kings bench. *Et super hoc dominus Rex valens habere avisamentum Comitum Baronum Magnatum & aliorum de Concilio, &c.*

Qui omnes enim dicunt, quod hujusmodi factum meretur pœnam amissionis vite.

He was committed to the Tower, and long time unpardoned, His *Second* was fined two hundred Marks.

Droomlenrig and *Hempsfield*, antient Noblemen of *Scotland* upon Suspicion of Treason had leave to Combate at *Holy-rood-house*, armed like antient *Palladines* fought it out, till the King in presence parted them. *James 5.*

We

Anno

1567.

We read of one in the time of Queen Elizabeth 1571. between *Simon Low*, and *John Ryme*, Plaintiffs, against *Thomas Paramour* Defendant.

It was by Writ of Right for some Lands in the Isle of *Tenet*, in *Com. Canc.* and in issue at the Common-pleas.

Paramour had his Champion, one *George Thorn*, who came to the Bar, flung his Gantlet into the Court, to approve the right of *Paramour* by single Combate, against any.

One *Henry Nayler*, a Fencer, takes it up, to answer for the other Defendants.

And in *Tuttle* Fields, by *Westminster*, the place appointed; A Tent for the Lord Chief Justice *Dyer* of the Common-pleas; and other the Barons of that Court.

The Tilt 60.foot square, railed in with Scaffolds round about for Spectators.

Two Pavillions East and West, from one issues out *Thorn* apparell'd in red Sandals, upon his black Armour, bare legged, bare head, and bare arms to the Elbo, brought by the hand of *Sir Ferome Bowes*, who bore a red Baston of an ell long, tip with horn, his Yeoman with an Ox-hide Target, and the Gantlet bore before them upon a Swords point. To oppose him enters the other, conducted by *Sir Henry Cheyney*, and both Combatants take Oath, to come fasting. But ready to encounter, the Demandant was missing, and so by default, the Chief Justice resites the Writ and former passages of challenge, and gives Judgement for the Tenant, and leaves the Demandant, and his Pledges, *de prosequendo in imperecordia Regina*, vid. *Dyer* 30.

Some preparations there were of late in King *James* time, intended between two Scotch men, the Lord *Ree*, and *David Ramsey*, in point of Treason; but I know of no other policy, preventing the Tryal, than the doubtful effects to decide the question, by this way to find out truth.

But because the matter hath been long laid aside, the manner thereof will not be amiss to preserve to Memory. The Ceremony was wont to be thus, when it was in Authority and use in the Earl Marshal or High-Constables Court.

The Apellant exhibits his Bill in the High Court, Constable, or Marshal, and failing of his proofs, offers force of his own body, upon the Defendant.

And the Constable (as Vicar General in Arms, (so saies my Author) under the King, hath power to join issue in Battel, and within fourty daies after to appoint time and place. The Constable assigns them arms, being a Gantlet and short Sword, and Long Sword and Dagger; They bring able pledges for appearance at the day, and for good behaviour to each other till then.

The

Anno

1567.

The King names the Field, sixty foot long, and forty foot broad, firm ground, and even list about, by Order of the Marshall with Rails, with two Dore, East and West, seven foot high, and kept by the Serjeant at arms.

At the day, the King sits on a Throne mounted, with two seats on each hand for the Constable and Marshall, at the foot of the Ascent; who demand the Pledges, to render themselves to the King, or the *Appellant* and *Defendant*, to come in and make Oath.

The *Appellant* comes on horse-back to the East dore, whom the Constable brings in, and demands his name, and why thus armed; He answers I am *A. B. Appellant*, and demand Entry, to make proof of my intent against *C. D.* and to acquit my Pledges. The Constable takes off his *Bever*, and proclames him to be the Man, opens the door and bids him enter, with his Arms, Victuals, necessary Attendants, and Council, presents him to the King, and sets him on a Seat till the *Defendants* coming, and request being made, his Pledges are discharged.

Then the King commands the Constable, who commands the Marshal, and he the Lieutenant, and he the Marshal of the Heralds of the South (if it be this side *Trent*, being the Marches of King *Clarencieux*) or otherwise if it be Northward, then the Heralds of *Norris* King of Heralds there) to call the Defendant thus. O yes, *C. D.* Defendant, Come to your Action, acquite your pledges in the presence of the King, Constable and Marshal, to defend your self against *A. B.* before three of the Clock after Noon: He enters at the West dore in like manner. Their Appearance presently Registered in the Records of the Constables Court, with the order, time, horses, arms and attendants and their manner.

Two *Knights* are assigned Observant to either Adversary, that they take no charm or spel, or other evil arts, till their Oath be taken, which the King commands the Constable to receive, and what other Protestations their Council shall advise; If not,

The Register saies; you *A. B. Appellant*; do you know this to be your Bill of Complaint exhibited in Court before the Constable, Swear to the Truth thereof in all points, and that you intend to prove the Contents thereof upon *C. D.* so ayde you God, and your Patron Saint; and then proclames, Thou *A. B.* thy Bill is such in all points, continue thy intent to prove it this day, so God help thee and hallowing.

The Defendant *C. D.* in like manner, &c.

Then the Appellant takes his second Oath, That he comes appointed with Arms, as was assigned without knife, or other sharp

sharp weapon, no stone or herb of virtue, charm or spell, of power or belief to be assisted, but only by God, and his own Body, and merits of his Cause. So God him help, &c.

The Defendant swears the like.

The Constable bids them both to take each other by the right hand, without violence, gently, and laying the left hand on the *Book*, He saies, I charge your *A. B.* that you use all advantages to force the Defendant to render himself into your hands, or to demand a Parley, or with your own hands to kill him, before you part out of the lists, by the light of the Sun, and age of the day assigned, by your Faith, and so God help you.

The like by the Defendant.

Then *O Yes.*

The Herauld pronounces; In the Kings name, *That no person approach within four foot of the List, keep silence, give no sign by Countenance, or otherwise, to advantage either, upon pain of life and member, and loss of Chattel.* The King of Arms and Heraulds, are assigned to Minister unto them, to eat or drink of what they brought with them, asking leave of each other. Within the Lists, are admitted a Knight, two Esquires of the Constables Train, and the Lieutenant; also a Knight, and two Esquires of the Marshals, being all in Armour, with Launces unbarbed to part the Combatants at his Majesties pleasure, and these lying flat on the Ground at each side of the List, only the Constables Lieutenant and the Marshals standing.

At the instant of the Kings Direction, the Constable shall say,

Let them go, Let them go; The Apellant advancing upon the Defendant, the Constable stands ready at the Kings pleasure, whilest they fight, viz. to stop, take breath, or otherwise, neither of them ingaged in advantage. They may not whisper; In case of *Treason* the convict shall be disarmed by command of the Constable, one corner of the List to be broken down, his body dragged at a horse-tail to the block of Execution, to be beheaded or hanged on the Gallows; the Marshall to see Execution.

But in cases of particular interests, he shall not be drag'd, but shall be thrown over the lists, and lose the penalty of the Lands or honor in question.

The vanquished forfeits his Horse and Arms, and all which he brought into the Field with him, unto the Constable, as his Fee.

The Lists, Rails, Seats, &c. to the Marshal.

If the Combate be withdrawn by Command, or perswasion of the King, and both content (else not) they shall be led

The Life & Death of Mary Queen of Scots,

out together by the Constable, and proclamation made thereof, with equal honor to them both.

I have read of such a duel Combate, before the King of France, between *Robert le Blanch*, and *Lewis le Force*, in a case of Treason; *Blanch* the Appellant grapples *le Force*, and casts him down; sets his left foot upon the others stomach, holding up his right hand, with his sword by the Hilt, his left hand within a foot of the point, and therewith presently he meant to stab him: but to add more strength, his right foot was somewhat raised from the ground; when instantly the King cryed, Hold, hold, casting his Truncheon, to part them. Whereat *le Force*, nimbly leapt up, without hurt.

The King, being willing to preserve *le Forces* life, not with any good affection (for he supposed him guilty) but for the future examination of Confederacy; Yet he adjudged him *vanquished*, which the Defendant utterly denied, and craved Judgement of the Constable and Marshal, who had a pretty way to save the Kings honour, and yet to do Justice.

Their sentence therefore was, that *le Force* should be prostrate to the fatal stroke as before, and the Appellant, with all his former advantage and form of postures, and so they did. When *le Force* with nimble strength lifted up *Blanch* his right foot, which tript him down, skipt up himself, and stab'd the other to the Heart.

And forthwith kneeled to the King, told him, That besides the Assistance of his Patron Saint, the merit of Innocence, and the event of this legal Tryal, which he in Honour would not refuse; Yet for more satisfaction to his Majesty, he produced six sufficient witnesses attending in the Field, whom he preserved upon all events, and who cleared him.

However, the King quarrelled with the Constable and Marshal for declining his Sentence, being Supream; which they humbly denied. The King being a Party in case of Treason or Felony, cannot be judge, in Lands and Honour he may. This distinction in those times of Treason, was taken for Reason.

But though these Combatings are rarely now in Example, yet have we taken up Private Duells, the more frequent, sometimes for Right, but intollerably too often, for Honour, as we term it.

Certainly, to use the Sword in a private hand, for either party, must be a tempting of God, and an unwarrantable Tryal, though we read two of them in Scripture, The challenge of Goliath, which David undertook, The inveterate quarrel of Joab and Abner in the Interests of their several Masters, David and Ishbosheth, performed by twelve on either part, singly; the Challengers had the worst.

It was commonly imitated by some *Gallant* in the Head of an Army in *France* and *Holland*, or by Parties; but the wise *William* of *Nassaw*, at the siege and loís of *Breda*, after *Briote* was so slain, forbid it any more to be done during his life.

Anno

1567.

In how ill condition is that righteous cause which must be concluded by the Sharp, Force and Fencing: for *Saint Bernard* saies, That he that conquers *Mortaliter peccat*, he that is slain *eternaliter perit*.

The difference of the evil is, the *Challenger* hath in it more provocation. It hath been held lawful for a man slandered by an unjust Accuser, to vindicate himself by his own Sword; But, *It destroyes Justice, and Robs God of his Revenge.*

Ordinary and Common *Challenges* (upon what ground soever, being willingly refused, and yet by the Adversary therefore proclaimed base and cowardise) may diminish the offence of acceptance, but concludes him deeply guilty by Gods Laws; *The Plea of Conscience ought to suppress the Fancy of any Figh-ter.*

The result is thus, To answer the Challenge, let a Man provide to be daily armed, and if he be set upon, God and his Cause will defend his Life and Honour. To make a bargain of bloodshed is damnable, and the intention (though both escape) is murder. The Council of *Trent*, excommunicated all persons whatsoever, none exempt; with loss of Lands, and Christian burial.

But *Bothwell* (who causeth this Digression) being rid of the *Combat*, flies, and was pursued to ship-board, but got to sea turned Pyrate about *Orknay*. *Morton* at his own charge set out several Ships to take him. *Grange* was Admiral, and almost surprized him, yet he escaped in a light *Pinace* (over a crag of the Sea) which grazed on the Sands, but the pursuers stuck fast, and were saved by their Cock-boat; and *Bothwell* got into *Denmark*, was there suspected, examined and imprisoned.

Earl Murray, having with much seeming unwillingness, in *August*, accepted the Protector-ship, which he long thirsted after, Summons a Parliament in *December*; In which the *Resignation*, *Coronation*, *Regency*, and the *Queens Imprisonment*, were confirmed; And forthwith (accompanied with the Conspirators) repairs to the Imprisoned Queen at *Loch-leven*, *Mortons Castle*; She besought him with tears to protect the young King, to govern with a good conscience, and to spare her Life and Reputation.

Then to colour his Villany, he executes divers for being present at the Late *Kings* murder. But they protested at the Gallows, that *Murray* himself, and *Morton*, were the Authors,

and

Anno

1567.

cleered the *Queen*, and so did *Bothwel* Prisoner then in *Denmark*, and so to his dying day, *That she was not privy nor consenting*. And fourteen years after, when *Morton* was executed therefore, he confest, *That he moved that the Queen might be made a Party therein, but Bothwel refused*.

And thus, the Government not so secure, but factions increased, envy to the Regent, hatred to Religion, and duty to the Queen, now *Bothwell* was gone; *Metallan* and *Tylliburn*, the *Hamiltons*, *Arguile*, and *Huntley*, join together. And *Beaton* Arch-bishop of *Glosgow*, now *Lieger* for the Queen in *France*, with much secrecy, gave them hopes of Men and Money.

The Q. escapes
out of prison.

Her cruel Imprisonment forces her escape, by means of *George Dowglass*, brother to the Governour of the Castle, being oft times trusted with the Keys to let in and out the Queens women. And in the disguise of one of them, she got out, and he, and *Tylliburn* rowed her over the Lake, and with a dozen horse men, convayed her that night to *Hiddery*, the next day increasing to five hundred horse, with the Lord *Seaton* and *Hamiltons*, they came to *Hamilton Castle*; and because this Design was her last which she acted in *Scotland*, we have searched out the truth, from several Relators as followeth.

All parties
arm.

The Regent Protector now at *Glasgow*, and pleasing the people with seeming Justice to fettle them, was now himself to seek for Protection. Some advised him to *Sterlin*, where the King was, but *Dowglas* opposed, protesting to do, as *Boyd* had done, who was gone to the Queen, with intention (as he perswaded them) to act *Hussha's* part; for he returned a message to *Murray*, *To do them, better service with Her*. *Morton* and *Simple* advised the same, to stay at *Glasgow*; for safety consisted in scelerity, the Queens liberty would soon gain the People, and the more remote, the more affectionate to her; Their own strength was the Towns-men, and as Enemies to *Hamilton* the Surer their faith to them; *Cunningham* and *Simples*, potent Neighbours; *Lennox* and the Kings party many; and the Earl of *Mars* forces not far off, to whom Messengers are posted round about. The Lord *Hume* came with six hundred Horse, and so conceived themselves four thousand strong, sufficient to dare the Enemy.

Murray 4000.
the Qy. 6000.

The Queen was gotten head of six thousand, and confiding in this advantage of number, she purposed to withdraw her person for safety, into *Dunbarton Castle*, and so to mannage the war with expedition or lingring, at pleasure.

Murray guessing at their aim, drew out into *Glasgow* moor, supposing the Enemy that way, but seeing them on the South-side of the River *Clide*, crossed the Bridge and Foords, and

got

Anno
1567.

got there before them, who being prevented, marched the way of *Rothrington* which leads to *Dunbarton*, but the Regent more wary, galloped his Horse-men, and mounted *Langside-hill*, and his foot hasten after. Two advantages made for *Murray*, *Arguile's* sickness, a sudden *Apoplexie*; the Army halting, he chose the ground. The other was, the Queens too hardy confidence in her own number, which seemed less than they were, ever marching over Hills and Dales without perfect view. These retired to another Hill opposite to *Langside*, drew up in Order, *Arguile* was her Lieutenant, and led the *Reer*, and with him, the Earls *Cassiles*, *Eglinton* and *Rothesse*, the Lords *Seaton*, *Sommervail*, *Yeston*, *Borthick*, *Sanwhere*, *Boyd*, and *Ross*. The *Van* committed to *Claud Hamilton* of *Pasley*, Son to the Duke, and Sir *James Hamilton*; indeed, consisting most of *Hamiltons*; *James Stuart* commanded the Musketeers, 300 men. The Lord *Harris* the Horse, most of them Borderers and Servants.

The Regent divides in two *Battalia's*. The *Van* by *Morton*, with whom were the Lords *Hume* and *Simple*. Himself the *Reer*, and with him, *Mar*, *Glencarn*, *Monteith*, the Lords *Ruthen*, *Uchiltry*, and *Kinkart*, the Sons of *Lennox*, and the Citizens of *Glasgow*; the Horse commanded by *William Dowglas*, *Alexander Hume*, and *Joh. Corinchell*.

Upon encounter these Horse retire, and fell back to their Foot, indeed the other over-powred them, but these were driven back by a flight of Arrowes, that gawled the Horse.

both encounter.

The two Vans join Battel; The Regents shot secretly placed in Yards, Gardens and Orchards of the Village *Langside*, neer the Lane, where they shot at pleasure upon *Arguile*, who being freed from this hazard, were fresh assaulted by *Mortons* Pikes and Speares; and other long weapons, which being broken, they join pell mell within Swords length, and neerer, with daggers, stones and fists.

In midst of fight the Regents High-landers fled first, out of the Ranks of his own Companies, or out of the Wings, as others say, the Lord *Lindsey* at hand, cryed, Let them gang, He supply their place, and stepping forward, charged *Arguile* afresh, whose weapons broken before, and overcharged with new impression, turned backs, and fled disorderly. The Regent seeing the victory, followed the chase, wherein more suffered than in the fight. The High-landers, as yet taking heart, made good their first faults, and slew without mercy, and had done more, but that the Regent sent horse to save the Enemy. Many were taken of Note, *Seatons*, *Rosses*, *Hamiltons*, the Sheriffs of *Air* and *Lithburn* with others. On the Victors side were slain, saies my Author, but one (of Note he means) and for his

The Queen discomfited.

Anno

1567.

The Qu. flies
from danger.

his Epitaph only, we shall name him unfortunate; yet he was called *John Ballony* of *Preston*, *Mortons* man; and not many hurt.

The poor Queen stood a mile off upon a Hill, saw all lost, and then fled, with the Lord *Harris* and his Horse, towards *England*.

Some say the Contention between *John Stuart*, and *Arthur Hamilton*, two Captains of the Queens Musketeers, strove for precedency, and she adjudged it to *Stuart*, for his Name, and once of her Guard; *Hamilton* took it ill, but nobly challenged the other to the Career, who followed as hastily, and were both seconded as inconsiderately, by the rashness of another *Hamilton* of *Pasley*, the Just occasion of the Loss of all.

The Regent convenes the Estates, which the Queens faction opposed, not willing that he should fix himself with greater Friendship, whilst yet their future hopes depended, and therefore caused a rumour of some fresh assistance out of *France*, for the Queen, under conduct of *Mortige* of *Luxemburgh*; and in a readiness he was, but staid to assist the *French* King in his *Civil Wars*. *Arguile* therefore comes to *Glasgow* with 600. horse, and conferred with *Hamiltons*, but to no effect. *Huntley* also with 1000. men, was hindered by *Ruthen*, and returned. Yet these procured letters from the Queen of *England*, to forbear convening, till she were acquainted with their proceedings, and justness of their cause, why they took arms against the Queen her Cousin, of whose wrongs she is sensible, and expects a speedy account. However the Convention continues, and divers are punished. 5000. Horse and 1000. Musketeers are levied for suppressing the incursions of the *Nedisdale*, *Annandale*, and *Galloway* men, seize certain Houses and Holds of severall late Lords in Arms; some oppose, but many are made soon to submit.

She lands in
England, and
writes to Qu.
Elizabeth.

The Queen in miserable distress, sends away *Beaton* unto Queen *Elizabeth*, with that same Ring, an excellent Adamant, (a token of Friendship) received from her before, to tell her, that she intends to come in person, and crave her aid, which was promised; And so by Sea in a small Barge, she followes *Beaton*, and lands at *Werkington* with 16. men, and 4. Watermen, in *Cumberland* 17. May 1568. writes to Queen *Elizabeth*, the State of her Affairs in *Scotland*, most pittifully expressed.

You are not ignorant (most Excellent Sister) how some of my Subjects advanced by me to the height of honour, conspired to oppress and imprison me and my Husband, and yet by your intercession I received them into Favour, when they were by force of Arms driven to flight

Anno

1567.

flight out of the Kingdom; These rushed notwithstanding into my Chamber being big with child, seized my Servant (Rizio) murdered him and imprisoned me; This being pardoned, they devised a New Crime, plotted and signed unto by themselves, and being in battel to surprize me; to save blood-shed I yielded, whom (though innocent) they imprisoned, without Servants, but onely three Maids, a Cook and Physician; compelled my Resignation or danger of death, and in a Parliament of their own Convention, refusing to hear me or my Proctors, spoil me of my Goods, and exclude me (close Prisoner) from all my Friends. Afterwards, by Gods assistance, escaping Prison, and assisted with the flower of Scots Nobility, and numbers of faithful Subjects which flocked to me, I admonished my Enemies of their duty and faith, offered them pardon, and a Parliament for the judicial debate of all differences, to restore peace to the people, now rent and torn with Civil Broils. Two severall Messengers herewith they insolently imprison, proclaim all my Assistants Traytors; Nay they denied caution to the Lord Boyds safety, whilest he treated to compose; And more inhumane, refused your Princely Mediation. And so through many eminent Miseries, Imprisonments, Fears and Dangers of my Life, I betook my self to the Lord Harris, with whom I am come into your Kingdome, upon certain hopes of your approved Princely Clemency, for your assistance and mediation for others also; Most earnestly beseeching to be conducted to your Presence being now in very deep distress, as I shall largely lay open, when you shall please to have compassion upon me. God grant you long life and me patience. Farewel.

The Messenger had it in expresse to procure her to come to the presence of Q. Elizabeth, which she declines, but writes to her kindly by Sir Francis Knowls, and commands her to be conducted to Carlisle, upon fair pretence from the danger of any attempt by the Scots her enemies.

Queen Elizabeth could not but commiserate her case, but was jealous of her Person, and Cause; she was told of her eloquent tongue to move credence, and her condition considerable with the Catholique Princes, to draw Parties to protect her, to quicken the Guises, her Cofins, to her former Clame to this Crown, and the Innovation of others. And so to settle her advantages under Protection, whilest she may provide, to convey her self beyond Seas, at her own pleasure. And many more, likely fears, not unfeigned, caused Queen Elizabeth for more safety of the Kingdom, to detain her Prisoner to Bolton Castle, in Tuition of the Lord Scroop, and Sir Ralph Sadler.

Murray thus at liberty holds a Parliament, attaints many of the Queens friends, notwithstanding Queen Elizabeths displeasure, who requires him to come, or send Commissioners to reason with her the misusage of their Queen, otherwise she threatens

Commissioners treat about the Scottish Queen.

Anno
1568.

tens to restore and protect her. *Murray* obeys, and not knowing who to trust, comes himself on the errand to *Berwick*, with *Morton*, Bishop *Adams*, *Lindsey*, *Liddington*, and others his Confidants. And to boot also, comes that Monster of Ingratitude, *Buchanan* (my Author stiles him so) the greatest Creature of *Murray*. Queen *Elizabeth* sends *Howard*, the fourth Duke of *Norfolk*, created Barons by *Edward* the 4. 1461. and by *Richard* the third, Dukes of *Norfolk*, 1483. the Earl of *Sussex*, and Sir *Richard Sadler*; And for the imprisoned Queen, comes *Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, *Levingston*, *Boyd*, and Others.

Lethington, first advised with them, the danger of calling to question so great a Princess of Crimes, before *English* men their Enemies, and how *France* would resent it; at which they were all mute. And the Queen of *Scots* Commissioners (to whom the first place was yielded) before they took Oath, protested, that although their Queen was content her innocence should be shewed, yet being a free Princess, she did not acknowledge herself Subject unto any. The *English* urged likewise, That they did not admit that protestation in prejudice of that right which the Kings of *England*, alwaies claimed as Superior of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Queen *Maries* Commissioners declare by writing, how *Morton*, *Mar*, and others had levied Arms, misused their Queen, and extorting her Resignation in Prison, that *Murray* had usurped the Regency, and enforced her to fly for succour into *England*. *Murray*, and the Commissioners for the King Infant answer, and relate the manner of the late Kings murder by *Bothwel*, for which the Noble-men called him in question, whom the Queen protected; that she voluntarily resigned, and the Parliament had confirmed it; and all this was evidenced by Letters. Her Commissioners reply, and deny all, telling the Truth of these Stories (in such particular as is before herein declared) and therefore crave aid of *England*, to assist Her.

The *English* Commissioners require better proofs than by Letters, for *Lethington* had counterfeited her hand, and was suspected might do so by these.

Murray refuses other proofs than such Letters as he shewed, with much modest regret (forsooth) To be put to it to accuse his Sister at all, unless the Queen of *England* would undertake, to protect the King, and to relinquish the Queen. But the *English* told them all, though there appeared not, as yet, sufficient for the present to be dilated upon, yet *Murray* is required to leave some of his Company here, to answer Exceptions which their Queens Ambassadors should propose hereafter, and so they departed. Much pleasing to the Duke of *Norfolk*, so to break off, having alwaies favoured *Q. Maries* Cause, and from this time had a Mind to marry her.

But

But Murray to make things more safe, posts to the Queen of England, and to her produces Articles and other Testimonies, and Buchanan's Book, called the *Detection*, which had little credit with her, though willing she was that reproach might lodge upon the Queen of Scots. Indeed many English Lords inclined to pity her distress, at which Queen Elizabeth swore, *She wants not Advocates so long as Norfolk lives*, of whom henceforward she was jealous. Duke Hamilton was returned out of France, whither he had fled, and besought that Murray might relinquish the Regency to him, being (as he said) his due, as next heir to the Crown, but the Queen found his pulse beat too high, and least he should proceed in that Claim, she commanded him not to depart without her Licence.

The Regent and his Company having leave to depart in February, the Duke Hamilton made means to follow, and being Lieutenant for his Queen, and got home, sends forth his Proclamations, and shewes his Authority, which none obeys; For Murray was coming to nip the Bird in the Head, and comes to Glasgow with an Army, to whom Hamilton submits, and prefixes a day for Hamilton (with pledges) to subscribe to his power at Edinburgh, and there likewise he shifts it off, till his Queen sends her consent. Hereupon he and Herries are committed. Arguile and Huntley were the next to be reduced; Both of them had been busie in the Regents absence, but were now suppressed, and so all return to Perth, to hold a Convention of States.

Thither came two Packets from both Queens. Elizabeth made three Propositions.

1. That the Kings Mother might be restored to her dignity and Crown.
2. That her Name might be joined with her Sons, in all writs, and the Government continue in the Regent.
3. And if none of these, then that she might live private, with all respect and honour, without prejudice to the King.

This last was accepted, the other rejected.

Queen Mary desired, That her Marriage with Bothwel might be determined by the Judges, and if unlawful, then so to pronounce it null, and her to be free.

To this was answered, That they saw no such hast, Bothwel being out of the Kingdome, he must be allowed 60. daies after Summons of the Peers at Lieth, and the Judges could not sentence it sooner; but if she had a mind to be rid of him, as she had of the Rest, her shortest cut would be to sollicite the King of Denmark to execute him for Murther and Pyracie. This was somewhat too saucy.

These Queens had several Designs in their Demands, Elizabeth was willing to be rid of the other, rather than she should

Anno
1568.

Regent posts
to Q. Eliz.

Regent re-
turns.

Anno

1568.

The Duke of
Norfolk com-
mitted, and
his story
which Murray
plotted.

mary with *Norfolk*; for she feared her great Friends here, and beyond Seas.

And *Mary* was therefore more earnest to satisfy the *Duke*, who meant not to adventure the Treaty upon uncertainties; And *Murray* for these respects kept *Bothwells* title in being; for from *England* he was assured by his Friends there, that *Norfolks* plot, and *Queen Maries*, was so cunningly conveyed, that no wit nor power was able to countermine. Yet he remained stedfast, and sent one of his Domestiques to *Queen Elizabeth*, with *Queen Maries* Petition, and their answer; but She not satisfied with such an Ordinary Messenger, the *Abbat Pitcarn* was sent Express, from the Convention at *Sterlin*, held only for that purpose.

About the same time of his last arrival at *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was committed to the *Tower*, *October 11.* and the Conspiracy discovered, which was thus.

Murray, with much cunning, before his late departure out of *England*, proposed some hopes to *Norfolk* of marriage with the *Queen of Scots*, and secretly induced a belief of her present restoring, and spread these Rumours to prejudice her, and to increase jealousies, with many other suspicions, which surrounded *Queen Elizabeth*, Of Rebellions at home, and Plots abroad by the Papists. And as many more Tales that *Q. Elizabeth*, and *Murray*, had compacted against the young King. To wipe off these, an *Apology* was printed in *Queen Elizabeths* defence. In truth, she was much perplexed with fears, out of *Emulation* of the other. Yet with some compassion for her Imprisonment; and in both these distempers, there wanted not Instruments to rub the wound. *Mary* often solicited *Queen Elizabeth* with humble, yet Princely, Letters, with such compassionate Eloquence, that though the Queen had a Wolf by the Ears, yet with tears, had oft resolution to return her Home, and dealt with *Murray* by Messengers herein, but he was settled in malice, and would not incline.

Then was rumoured the Mariage of the *Duke of Norfolk* with *Queen Mary*, as advantageous to both *Realms* and security of the Kings person, who must be brought also into *England*, and so under *Queen Elizabeths* power, and she so to be secured of fears. And that for finishing so good a work, the *Dukes* Daughter should be contracted to the *King*. And these Designs, many the chiefest *Earls* in *England* had contrived. *Murray* himself at his being here, intimated no less to the *Duke*, for that, *She having married her self to a Boy, then to a rash young Man, and last to a Mad-brain, might now recover her honor to wed him, a Man of discretion.* Nay more, secretly, by *Melvin*, offered to the *Queen of Scots*, his Service to effect it. And the

Secre-

Secretary *Throgmorton*, with the chiefeſt *Lords*, *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Suffex*, *Pembroke* and *Southampton*, and *Leiceſter* alſo (*his Rival*) were all of the *Plot*, and he broke it very ſeriously to *Norfolk*.

Upon which the *Duke*, not faint-hearted, courted the *Queen* by *Letters*, and all conſenting, *Articles* were propounded.

1. For ſecurity of *Queen Elizabeths* perſon and iſſue.
2. To Covenant a League between both Kingdomes.
3. To eſtabliſh *Proteſtant Religion*.
4. To receive into favour, with pardon, all the *Scots*.
5. To Revoke her aſſignation of the Kingdom of England, and to marry *Norfolk*.

They promiſe to procure *Queen Elizabeths* conſent, and the other to be reſtored, to all which ſhe, in *Prison*, eaſily yielded, and who could blame her in the caſe ſhe was? But ere they had ſo done, *Queen Elizabeth* had ſuſpition, and therefore it was more than time to break it themſelves, ſo from one to the other it was neglected, till *Leiceſter* did it.

She aſked the *Duke* thereof, and charged him to decline it, leaſt he hop't headleſs, and it was good warning, ſufficient to him to look ere he leap't, and ſo he ſtole away in time of *Progreſs* back to *London*.

Cecil wiſely took care of the State, and learned ſo much of the Matter, that the *Duke* began to fear; reſtleſs in any place, withdrew to *Norfolk*, where ſome *Commotion* was purpoſely ſet on foot, and he ſuſpected. To prevent the worſt, he returns back towards the Court, but at *Saint Albans* was taken to guard, and ſecured, for by this time Treacherous *Murray* had out of *Scotland* diſcovered what he knew, and upon which the *Duke* was ſent to the *Tower*, *Biſhop Roſs*, and others committed, and *Pembroke* examined, not well remembering what he had ſaid, or ſhould ſay: for he could not read a word. *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* take Arms, but fearing greater oppoſition fled in-to the North.

But ere all this was known in *Scotland*, Secretary *Metallan* increaſed faction for *Queen Mary*, and ſided with *Hume*, and *Grange* Captain of *Edenburgh* Caſtle; and before it was ripe, he is ſent for to *Sterlin*, accompanied with the *Earl Athole*, to intercede if need were; and need there was, for he is accuſed as Accuſary to the late Kings murther, and committed cloſe *Prisoner*. *Sir James Balfore* in the ſame Condition, were both of them ſentenced by the Convention of States (for by them *Murray* did all his work as in caſes of Treason) but with much ado, *Balfore* had pardon, and *Metallan* reprimed to *Edenburgh* Caſtle; and *Murray* poſted up and down to reduce the *Norfolk* faction, and the *Queens*, who were increaſed; and returns to the *Life*

Anno
1569.

The Earls of
Northumb. &
Westmerland
fly to Scotl.

Trial of Metellan at Edinburgh, where finding his Party too strong, being of *Hamilton, Huntley, Arguile*, and others, he warily adjourned the arraignment; for, though by this time News came of the Dukes Commitment in *England*, yet his Faction increased very powerful, and his Plot went on in *Scotland*.

The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, in favour of the *Queen of Scots*, and right Rebels to *Religion*, with 6000. Foot, and 2000. Horse, mastered *Durham*, burnt the *Bible*, and *Service Books*, heard *Mass* in *Darnton*, and took *Bernard Castle*, but being pursued by the Earl of *Warwick* with twelve thousand men, and *Sussex* with another army of seven thousand, they were forced to fly into *Scotland* in *December*, and lurked among the *Borderers* and *Robbers*, until *Morton* betrayed *Northumberland* to the *Regent*, who sent him prisoner to *Lochleven*, being an Enemy to all sides but the *Queen of Scots*.

This service *Queen Elizabeth* took well, and gave audience to *Pitcarn* his Ambassadour, to whom she promised, to desist the restoring of *Queen Mary*, and assured all friendship to the *Regent* when he should crave her aid. The effect was soon published in *Scotland*, to the fear, and lessening of *Maries* party, and they not able to Master his Power, took the bold way of base treachery, by one *James Hamilton* (whose life *Murray* had saved) and he undertakes to kill him. His opportunity he takes at *Lithgow* in secret, where he placed himself in a House, as the *Regent* passed by, shot him with an *Harquebuss* out at a Window, the bullet passed thorow his *Body*, and killed the Horse under *George Dowglass* 21. *January* 1569. He dyed that night. *Hamilton* had his horse ready, and scaped beyond Seas, where he dyed not long after.

Murray the
Regent slain.

Murray was base Son to *King James* the fift, and took up *Religion* for the gain of the Spoil of *Papists*. He was a Man full of Ambition, injurious, and ungrateful to the *Queen*, and likely not to have spared her Son, when time had wrought him power to effect it.

He was much assisted in his Regency by *Mortons* perpetual concurrency, and may be coupled as *Parmenio* and *Alexander*, *Nihil Murray absque Morton, Multa Morton absque Murray*.

It comes to be the question, whether for Interest or Friendship *Morton* was so fixt; certainly *Murray* aimed at all, the *Queen* in durance, and his labour so to continue her, or rather to have her in his Custody, and so to have ordered her and her Son, for his own purpose.

To ballance him, the *Queens* faction were, *Hamiltons, Arguile, Athole, Huntley*, and almost all the petty Princes (as the

Scots

Anno
1569.

Scots call themselves) Earls of Crawford, Rothes, Eglinton, Cassiles, the Lords Harris, Maxwells, Johnston, Seaton, Boyd, Grey, Mettallan the Secretary and Politicquer, and Grange the active Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and most of the strong Castles and Forts; the French did assist them, and Spain favored them, and so did all Catholiques. In England the faction of Norfolk, and Papists, and all Male-contents, or Treacheries took up Queen Maries cause to mutiny. She had her Rents in France duly paid, and her Jewels, and much under-hand support to countenance her Ambassadors abroad, and private Emisseries, and a working brain for her own ends. All the English banished Lords, Dacres, Westmerland, and all the Popish at home.

The other party, which we call the Kings (but indeed they were of all sides partial to their own Interests, Pride and Ambition, and took up factions accordingly) were Morton, Mar, Lenox, Glencarn, Lindsey, and Glams, Simple, Methvain, Ruthen; no Castles but Sterlin and Tantallon, and the Commons, and from England Queen Elizabeth knew well how to feed them on all sides with a bit and a bob; for in this time she had sent three several Armys against the Borderers under that colour, which most horridly burnt all in their way, with incredible mischief to that miserable Nation.

The Murther of Murray was lookt upon as more publique than to be acted by one, and a Resolution of his Friends to question it by force or Justice. In the mean time the Estates appoint a day, and this put off was counselled by Metallan, who was got out of Prison in this hurrey of affairs, and suspected the Plotter of Murrays death.

The Lords meet and stand upon their guard; but agree in nothing for the common safety; the Queens Party elect three Lieutenants, Arran, Arguile, and Huntley, and appoint a Parliament in August after.

In this while Queen Elizabeth sends Sir William Drury with three hundred Horse, and a thousand foot into Scotland, to pursue her Rebels as was pretended, but sided with Morton, and did some mischief to the Queens Faction, and so returned Home.

The 13. of July in a Convention at Sterlin, Lenox the Kings Grandfather is chosen Regent, and Hamilton refused, Queen Elizabeth, declining her direction in that Election, but well pleased, since she had his wife in her hands. He marches with Forces of 5000. men to Linlithgow, and prevents the Lords Meeting of their Parliament in August after, and so with increase of men makes up eight thousand, Ranges the Country, and spoils his Adversaries, with Marshal law hangs them up by Scores, and returns to Sterlin.

Lenox chosen
Regent, be-
stirs himself.

The

Anno

1570.

The King of *Spain*, not with much affection to the Cause, but for his own interest, and malice to *Queen Elizabeth*, secretly sends money and ammunition to *Huntley* in the North. The Duke of *Castle-herault* and *Arguile* send *Seaton* to Duke *D'Alva* in *Flanders* for aid, and to restore the Captive *Queen*; He promised fair, but did nothing, having much to do for his Master against *Holland*.

Nay the Pope fell to work with his Bulls, excommunicates *Queen Elizabeth*, and absolves her Subjects, and some fears of a *Rebellion* in *Norfolk*, to deliver the Duke, exceedingly beloved and pitied. And therefore upon his humble petition and penitency, abjuring the Mariage, was released the Tower, and restrained only to his own House, but with a Keeper, Sir *Henry Nevel*, whether in favour, or to beget in him more Guilt; for *Henry* the Eighth's Statute of *Treason* to marry the Blood Royall without leave, was repealed by *Queen Elizabeth*, and his Misdemeanours were not yet come up to Felony.

But she, in much trouble, and fear of Forein Forces, and Domestique Insurrections, dayly put in practice in *Darby-shire*, Sent *Cecil* and *Mildmay* with 16. Articles to *Queen Mary* at *Chatsworth* in *Darby-shire*, not unreasonable, unless those concerning the *Scots* interest with *France*, of antient League and Security; which therefore she wittily argued, as not in her power without their consent. For her Dowry was from thence; the *Scots* Guard of *Gens D'arms* in *France* of one hundred Horse, and 124. *Archers*; the interest of some Clergy in pension; and immunities from their *Scots* Merchants and Students in *France*; All which (except the *English* would recompence) she could not remove their Amity; and some *Castles* also required, in *Scotland*, which she could not render, and so these Overtures were quite declined.

The *Scots* Incendiaries at home, fearing that *Queen Elizabeth's* good Inclination, or other Forein assistance, should release their imprisoned *Queen*, and so revenge would follow; *Morton*, with others from *Scotland*, are sent to prevent it, and present a tedious insolent memorial, the gall of the pen came from *Knox* and his Kirkmen, with authorities of *ipse dixit Calvin*, too hateful for president to others, in justification of themselves, and against Royalty, which the *Queen* read and disdain'd as a Libel. Yet she ordered Commissioners to treat with *Queen Maries* Commissioners and them, concerning her Release, but they excused themselves by a frivolous restraint of their Authority therein. But certainly, *They that came impowred to deprive, had powers to restore; And indeed what needed Authoritie from others at home, when wicked facts had made all equals. Facinus quos inquinat aequat;* and so all return home.

Herein

Anno
1570.

Herein, nothing to the poor captivated *Queens* Release; her Friends in *Scotland* worsted in all their actions of Arms or Treaties; strong places surprized; and many executed for being but suspected of her Party; Arch-Bishop *Hamilton* (Brother to the Duke *Castle-herault*) hanged as privy to the late Kings Murther, without any Arraignment or Tryal; and she here deprived of all her Friends and Domestiques but ten persons.

She then bethinks her self of the last remedy; sends secretly to the Duke of *Norfolk*, renews her affection, and conjures his Assistance; with other Letters to the *Pope* and King of *Spain*, by *Higford* the Dukes Secretary, a fiery Fellow (even such another Creature as might be a President afterwards unto *Cuff* Secretary to his unfortunate Master the Earl of *Essex*,) who, besides his Errand, insinuates to the *Duke*, fair hopes of Confederacy and assistance from all the *Catholique Princes*, and the *Pope* also. And with this Plot of impossibilities (not without suspicion of Treachery to his Master, for before these letters were burnt, he secretly stole the Minutes of all their private missions, and lodged them purposely where they soon came to light) The poor Duke (easy enough to be cosened, but not into the villany of Treason) detested and disliked his Motions. And yet afterwards, but for meddling with money in behalf of that *Queen*, to be sent to her Friends, (which was misconstrued perhaps in the worst sence) for Support of Enemies against *Queen Elizabeth*, he fell into this mischief and Treason, which *Higford* confessed, and discovered all the former Matters to boot.

The Duke not dreaming what was acknowledged, denyed all at his Examination, and so was again committed to the Tower, and presently after him, the Earls *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley* and *Cobham*, with others his Friends, but these scaped with life, and in hope of pardon, told all they knew, and more than truth. And thus was he betrayed, not knowing whom to trust, where he lodged till he lost his head, the next year after.

Bishop *Ross* *Queen Maries* Lieger Ambassadour of long time ago, and so now here, A witty and well-experienced Man he was in his Craft, and up to the ears in all Designs and Plots for her Relief and Advantage, through his Letters intercepted, and all their confessions produced, was sent for and examined; the most guilty Crimes of them all, either the Contriver, or deeply *Accessory*; some he confessed; those which concerned others, he constantly concealed, and cunningly answered unto all. There being sufficient evidence to make him guilty, he stood upon his Privilege, which he wittily defended; and though

Bishop *Ross*
Ambassadour
examined.

Anno

1571.

though he had to do with the wisest Council of our Century and Circle, yet they held it prophane to be their own *Carvers*, and therefore put it to the best *Civilians* to decide, but upon several articulate questions. To which they answer cunningly, as to cut a thread, well knowing the Displeasure of their Sovereign, and yet, withall, considering the *Case*, subject to publike censure, thus they unriddle.

1. Whether an Ambassadour, that procures Rebellion against a Prince to whom he is sent, be subject to Punishment?

Rebellion is not proved.

2. Whether an Agent of a Prince deprived, be an Ambassadour?

She was not lawfully deprived.

3. Whether a Prince that comes into another Kingdom, may be allowed an Ambassadour?

He was, and yet is, allowed to be an Ambassadour.

4. Whether such an Ambassadour, being forbidden to act by the Prince to whom he is sent, may enjoy privilege of his Commission?

His own Prince must first forbid him, his Commission remains to justifie his privilege.

It appears, that for the present he was onely restrained to the Tower, from meddling in publique; and the worst they could do then, and two years after, was to release him to banishment beyond Seas, where he did more mischief, as you shall see hereafter.

Digression
concerning
privilege of
Ambassadors.

It may be worthy the Discuss, how far Ambassadors have privilege, which the Civilians have been put to decide, but conclude only from Presidents; I shall name some of theirs, and of others afterwards.

This Maxim is generally granted, *That an Ambassador representing the Person of his Sovereign, is exempt from Legal Tryal. His actions so qualified, are to be accounted his Masters act, until He disavows it, and him.*

The Æthurians, Enemies to the Chades, had inveigled the very Ambassadors from Rome to bear Arms for them, and were taken Prisoners, and yet returned safe to Rome, demanding Justice onely against their Persons.

Livy saies, also, that others, Morte affligendos Romani non judicarunt, & quanquam visi sunt, ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen Gentium voluit.

And in a design of Murther upon a Prince, Non aliud mihi factum, quam quod sceleris sui reprehensi essent.

The Protestant Ambassadour at Trent Council, had published their Tenents, contrary to a Decree, and thereby Treasonable:

yet

yet were qualified from any punishment.

The Tribunes of the People in Rome, were free from question in their Annual Office.

Particular Mischief, submits to the conveniency of the Publique.

Leges de Jure Gentium inductum est ut eorum Corpora salva sint, propter necessitatem Legationis, ac ne confundant jura commercii inter Principes.

Let us come to latter Customs of our own kind.

Henry 2. Restrained the Popes Legat, until he swore not to act in prejudicium Regis vel Regni.

Henry the third did so likewise to another of the Popes Legates.

Another fled of himself, timens pelli sui.

Edw. 1. Complained to the Pope, and had satisfaction, ere his Legate was released.

Henry 8. Restrained the Ambassadour of Charls 5. one Lewis de Prat, for but falsely traducing Cardinal Wolsey to his Master.

Charles the ninth of France did so to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, for Counselling the Prince of Conde, against the King.

In Spain, was Doctor Man, Ambassadour from England, imprisoned for using his own Religion, and yet Gulman de Sylva, at that instant here in England had Mass with freedom. But then the Inquisition mastered that State 1567.

We restrained Don Guerman de Aspes in London for Libelling this State to the Duke D'Alva, 1568.

The French Ambassadour Alpin, and Maluset were also used also.

The Venetian Ambassadour at Madrid protected an Offendor that came into his House (the usual Sanctuary) who by force was taken out from thence, and that State justified that Action, condemning the Ambassadors Servants that opposed; Some to death, and some to the Gallies, but were only all banished. The King of Spain sends the whole Process to Venice, and by His Ambassadour Lieger there, one Mendoza, declares publicly to all the World, That in case his Ministers should so offend, He remits them to punishment where they reside.

And another Mendoza for abusing our Ministers of State here, was first restrained, and after banished, 1586.

See Another hereafter in this Kings Reign, the Marques Inojosa, for scandalizing the Prince, and Duke of Buckingham, 1624.

And our Bookmen say, that a Forein King, though admitted here by safe Conduct (for without Licence he cannot come) may be impleaded for Debt or Trespass, and condemned for Treason; for it is a

Anno

1571.

general Law of Nations, That in what place an offence is committed, according to the Law of that place, they shall be judged, without regard of any Privilege. For a King out of his proper Kingdom hath no merum Imperium, but only retains Honoris Titulos & Dignitatis; and per omnia distringitur etiam quoad personam.

And the same assuredly is of their Ambassadors, Ne occasio daretur delinquendi: He hath protection of His person; Like as a Sanctuary will save a Mans life from Manslaughter, but not when Manslaughter is committed within the Sanctuary; for then he does willfully waive the benefit. Indeed their Persons (as their Masters) are sacred from violation of private men, but not from punishment of offences against the publike State.

See Cook 7. part. &c.

Here are Presidents; but it hath been more nicely disputed, let others conclude.

Pawlet Lord
Treasurer, his
childrens
children 103.

This year gave end of daies to that antient Noble Lord William Pawlet, Marques of Winchester, and Lord Treasurer of England twenty years, having lived 97. years, whilst he saw the Children of his Childrens Children, to the number of one hundred and three persons.

Q. Eliz. sends
to moderate
Scotsdifferen-
ces.

Queen Elizabeth, to make shew of Moderation for Peace in Scotland, sends again Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, in the heat of their Conflicts, to Morton for the Kings Party at Lieth, and Huntley for the Queens at Edinburgh. He rides between their Armies, and procures cessation for that day; but not agreeing who should quit the field first, they fought it out, and Morton had the Day, and Drury returned, not well pleased at the Success, being a great Friend to Norfolk.

The Regent calls a Parliament at Sterlin in August, where the contest was, betwixt the Court and the Church, Bishops and Prelates, Office and Jurisdiction; wherein the Ministers stickled to decide the quarrel; quick work to make, they moved to have them quite abolished. But the Court then conceived, Episcopacy more conform to Monarchy, Policy, and Civil Government of a Kingdom. Indeed the Courtiers had some lick out of Spiritual Livings, the Bishops but titular, with pension or stipend of the Court, to execute; and none more forward to preserve them than Morton. For, expending his last Embassy into England at his own cost, he got the vacancy of the Bishoprick of Saint Andrews in his Gift, and put in Dowglas to gather the rents, who was Provost of New-College there, and the Parliament fitting, he took place as Arch-Bishop; the Super-Intendent of Fife inhibited him, or else to be excommunicate; Morton bid him sit, or be a Traytor.

The Ministers Petition for maintenance, and was cast over the Bar by Morton, who got his Kinsman Douglas installed Arch-
bishop

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

77

Anno

1571.

bishop in spite of *Adamson* a Minister, preaching against that Order, which he divided in three sorts, 1. *The Lords Bishop* (to wit Christ) and such was every Pastor. 2. *My Lord Bishop*, such who sit and vote in Parliament, exercising Jurisdiction over his Brethren. 3. *The third sort was my Lords Bishop*, one whom some Lord in Court substitutes his Receiver, without means or Power Episcopal, whom he called a *Tulchan Bishop*, because the *Tulchan* which is a Calves skin stuffed with straw, is set up to make the Cow give down her Milk. Mr. *Knox* (he preached more and pronounced *Anathema danti, anathema accipienti.*

Whilest the Estates were busie at Parliament, far off from *Edenburgh*, and thereby secure, an attempt was made upon them, There was one *George Bell* in *Edenburgh*, Ensign to a Foot Company, born in *Sterlin*, well acquainted with each Corner there, and each Lords Lodgings, possibly to be surprized in their careless watch; He marches from *Edenburgh* with two hundred Horse, and three hundred foot, *Earl Huntley*, and others, their Leaders thither, and undiscovered, till they had planted the Market place, and set Guards in the Laues, entered the Lords Lodgings, and surprize them Prisoners, the Regent, *Glencarn*, and others. *Morton* only defends himself with his Servants, and the Enemy in hast, set the House on fire, some of his Men slain he yielded to *Balclough*, who had married his Neece *Margaret Dowglas*. The Souldiers, careless, fall to plunder the Houses, whilst *Mar* and his men in the Castle, force the Market place, but in vain. Then he sends sixteen pieces of Brass, called *Founds* to his own new House a building, and so not regarded for plundering, got up to the upper Rooms, and shot out at the Windows into the very street, when the Enemy was thickest; who thus amazed, fled without order, and *Mar* pursues them, with such other, that crept out of their Hidings, and make a sufficient number to be again Masters of their own, both Prisoners and Spoil, *Morton* and *Glencarn*, seizing their Keepers, the Regent was taken by *David Spency*, who to save him at first from the Souldier, lost his own life, and His also. So both sides were vanguished, and both victorious in a few hours, Of such advantage is diligence and expedition, and mischievous is negligence and security. *Multum in utramque partem fortuna potest, as Caesar saies.*

The Kings Grandfather *Lenox* thus dead, and presently buried, there were three listed for Election, *Arguile*, *Mar* and *Morton*, the first but lately reconciled to the Kings part, the last was best beloved, but *Mar* had the charge of the Kings person, and so caried the vote to be Regent, Sept. 1571. Much he could not do in his small time of Government, he convend the Country, and sate down against *Edenburgh*, but wanting Artillery, returns

Parliament surprized.

Lenox the Regent slain. Sept. 6 1571.

Mar elected Regent, Sept.

Anno

1572.

to *Lieth*, parts the Kingdom into quarters, and sends for their Divisions by turns; Those in *Edenburgh* issue out, and set fire on *Dalkieth* with Spoil and Pillage, return, but were so close beset, that wanting victual, they procure the Ambassadors from *France* and *England* to mediate the reconcilment.

And for a Preamble to future peace, the Ambassadors obtain a Truce in *July*, beginning the first of *August* 1572. until *January* following. The Conditions were, that *Edenburgh* should be free, for all the Kings Subjects; which was to say, that the Enemy, could keep it no longer. And before the end of this Truce, *Mar* takes leave of this life, in a desperate Feavour at *Sterlin*, *October* 1572. and without dispute *Morton* was elected to succeed him.

And now let us to return to *England*, where in *November* 1572. appeared a blazing star, alwaies portending ill fate to great persons, It was placed Northwards in the Constellation of *Cassiopeia*, making a Geometrical figure (with three chief fixed Stars) lozing-wise, called *Rombus*. It appeared bigger than *Jupiter*, and less than *Venus*. It never changed place, but carried about by motion of the *Heavens*, as other fixed Stars, and so continued six moneths. The Sphere far above the Moon, where no other Comet was ever seen, or indeed Natural can appear, so strange to *Astronomers*, as since the Creation was never the like, and had onely reference to *Celestial*, or rather *super-Celestial* consideration.

Duke of Norfolk
arraign'd

And therefore forthwith followed in *January* that *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, was arraigned in *Westminster Hall*, before *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward, and 25. Earls and Barons. His Commission being read, *Garter* King of Arms delivers to him the *White Rod*, which he receives and delivers to a Serjeant at Arms, standing by, and holds it up all the time. The Duke was brought in between two Knights, and the Ax held besides him, by the Executioner, with the edge from the Duke (but after sentence it was immediately turned to him.) His Tryal lasted till night, and all the matters before remembred were urged against him, together with his own Letters, as also those of the Queen of *Scots* and Bishop *Rosses*, besides evidence by Witnesses, whereof he was condemned, as in Case of *High Treason*, and after 4 moneths delay, he was executed upon the *Tower-Hill*, where he acknowledged and confessed all.

Commissioners
expostulate
criminally
with the Q.
of Scots.

About ten daies after, Commissioners were sent to the Q. of *Scots*, to expostulate criminally with her.

1. For usurping the Title and Arms of *England*, and had not released them, as was agreed in the Treaty of *Edenburgh*.
2. For the practice of Mariage with the Duke of *Norfolk*.
3. As also all the beforementioned Contrivements, particularly urged.

To

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

79

Anno

1572.

To all she wisely answered, and to the most of them Negative.

A League being concluded, between *England* and *France*, the Ambassadour moved for favour to the Queen, who was answered, that she deserved none; for that she had secret confederacy with the King of *Spain*, by the *Lord Seaton*, which being discovered and true, the French were silent.

The Estates of *Scotland*, took some time to present their Desires to *Queen Elizabeth*, how fit *Morton* was for the Regency; which she took well, though she knew they intended the power upon him, for so she had the honour, to say, *She made him*, and with whom, in truth, she alwaies kept the most narrow correspondency, trusting to his Judgement and diligenece, to do much for the King, with whom he alwaies sided.

The King was committed to the custody of *Alexander Erskin* (for *Erskin* the then Earl of *Mar* was under age, whose peculiar right it was to challenge that trust) and *Buchanan* designed his Tutor, a man of some fame by the Scale of learning, whom Time and Ambition wrought afterwards a dangerous Incendiary to the King and State.

From this Parliament now sitting, were the Papists utterly excluded, and laws for advance of Religion enacted, to the wonder of all, how soon the Papists (frighted into fears of losing their Estates) very forwardly subscribed to the Reformed, which so heightened the Kirk into swelling Pride against Bishops also, that their violence afterwards could never be brought to Moderation. Though the Protector conceived the Prelatical function, to be no less necessary in State, then warrantable in Reformation. And so he regulated them (as the Bishops of *England*) Votes in Parliament, but abridged their Authority over others. And thus stood the power of Synods, interposing the moderate Prelates, who yielded much in Peace to the publick Ministry, and belike, conceiving that time and experience might mollifie them to a more convenient Constitution.

The faction for Papists was of the *French* and *Queen of Scots*, whose countenance were the *Hamiltons*, *Arguile*, *Huntley*, and *Hume*, ancient Barons, Grudging at the *Vice-Roy's* Government, sought to undermine his Establishment; and he at home, by pleasing the people gained the City and Kirkmen.

For now was *Knox* become the Temple incendiary imitating the *Vandalls* devastations, ruins the Monuments of Ancestors Piety, Church-bells and Bed coverings scape not him nor any other such like sacrilegious ravings; himself acknowledged that *Mary* had and did then blame him for his too great rigor and severity, that in his heart he never hated the persons against whom he thundred Gods Judgments, hating their Sins, and forbore none of

Anno

1572.

Morton basely
sells the E.
of Northum.

unto executi-
on

Scotland in
faction of the
King and Qu.

Edenburgh
besieged.

of what ever condition; doing it in Gods fear thus much he said for him selfe, and being the words of a dying man, I say them over for Christian Charity, and Honour to his parts; whose Character needs no more than the former History faithfully set down, wherein it appears, a Beacon he had been, apted to fire the Kingdome. but his blaze was this year extinguished and he died of good age 67. years; whether his History of the Church were his own, is suspected of some, his name supposed to gain credit to the work which in many parts seems ridiculous. Morton in some eminencie and lustre, fell into an obloquie of an infamous Act, upon the person of *Thomas Percey* Earl of *Northumberland*. whose desperate case (together with *Westmerland* forced them from home (as you have heard) to seek for succour in *Scotland*, after some time, *Westmerland* got into *Flanders*; but *Northumberland* wandred in the woods of *Hatles* for habitation, and was (heretofore) by his Comrades betrayed to *Morton*, and delivered up by him to the late *Regent Murray*; whose Authority preserved him by the Law of Nations, from *Queen Elizabeths* fury, but now *Morton* powerfull by preferment and plentiful in Estate whom honour, had made so, and some meritt, valuable. yet I know not with what errour of honesty basely sold him for a piece of Money to *Hunsdon*, Governour of *Berwick* and so became headless by the fatall Ax at *York*. The fruit of this ungratious Act, fell upon the Protector himself in the *Ultimum* of his life, by the like fall of the Ax, that often cures great men of these wicked maladies 1581

The Kingdome of *Scotland*, heretofore in severall fewds now was devided into two unnaturall factions of *Son* and *Mother*, the *King* and captivate *Queen*, in which dissention the Nobility side into severals. *England* and *France* interpose accord, but with sinister respects, for the *French* Ambassadour had his *Item*, and meant nothing less. *Queen Elizabeth* to countermine him, sent *Killegrew* to join with the King and Religion; yet a Treaty was perswaded. In the interim, *Kirkaldy* Lord of *Grange*, and Governour of *Edenburgh* Castle, impregnable as thought then for a long siege, being on a high Rock, inaccessible, fortified by a Fen and Lake on one side, and a Moss, which surrounds it; and to his faction (being the chief Baron) the *French* gave hope of assistance; To whom he sends over his Brother *James Kirkaldy* for men and money, with which returning, he lands at the Castle *Blackness*, the Governour thereof *Andrew Stuart*, though before his Confident was of late bribed to seaze him into fetters, whilest he carried the news, and 1000. *French* Crowns of *Kirkaldies* to the *Regent*.

In his absence on this treacherous errand, *Kirkaldy* corrupts his Keepers, and they the Souldiers, and so of a Prisoner he hath

hath the Keys and custody of the Castle. In two daies returned *Stuart*, and no sooner entered, but is secured into Irons; which he studies to revenge, and conceived, that the best way might be the same, and so the less suspected, to catch his Adversary in the same *Gyn*, which so lately caught him. With feigned tears, and a cunning tale, he melts the hardned Gaolers into compassion, and they the Guard, with helps of some bribings, some Crowns secretly sowed up in his quilted Waistcote. And, as if better than they could design it, *Kirkaldy* would needs accompany his Wife in a visit forth of the Castle, when as hastily he was shut out, and the late Governour set at liberty commands all again.

During which time the Treaty came on, but ended without effect, and *Grange* begins his fury on the City, as fuel to his fire. Either part implore assistance. The Protector, from *England*, and soon was sent to him by Land and Sea, nine Canons, six demi-Canons, six Sakers, 9. Culverins, with all necessaries, and 1500. men under Command of the Marshal of *Berwick*, Sir *William Drury*, who joined with 500. hired Scots, and so furiously assaulted the Castle, that from the twenty fifth of *April*, in thirty three dayes it was rendred to the Mercy of the Queen of *England*, who referred it wholly to the Regent, and the Lord *Grange*, and his Brother *Kirkaldy* executed by the Hangman. *Metallan* had poisoned himself some daies before, to avoid the Regents severity, which he deserved.

He was a man adorned with all natural parts, wise and prudent, indefatigably busie, but Fortune (the Mistress of humane Counsels) delighted to make him, like her self, inconstant. *Hume*, *Petarrow*, and *Melvin* kept in prison, and so was the renowned Countess of *Arguile*, who was the Daughter of an *Harlot*. *Liddington* was found there also, and sent away Prisoner to *Lieth*; who, because he had been a notable Actor all his life, and being a pen-man, not by Law of Arms to dy by the Sword, we may guess how he came to his end, by poison, the fate of cunning politiques, who if they scape the Ax or Halter, are too wise to be left long-lived for worser effects.

This Success set *Morton* aflote, which he husbands so ill, as made him (though he governed all) submit to base lusts, Pride and Covetousness; to supply which he abused his Trust, to the prejudice of the People, in each particular. His exactions were ingeniously observed by his Fool *Bovy*, that often rubb'd his Masters *Shins* with his *Giers*, some importunate *Beggars* craved alms of the Regent, the Fool bid him hang them, and why so cruel, said he? Because of your custom and cunning to make an hundred rich men beggars when you please.

He coined for the King some pieces of Gold, with the Kings picture,

Regent relieved out of England,

and wins the Castle.

His Coyn.

Anno

1573.

picture, and circumscribed, *In utramque paratus.*And contraverſed the Royal Arms of *Scotland*, with this inſcription,*Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.*The ſilver pieces bore two ſwords, with *Trajan's* Motto,*Pro me, ſi merior, ſi non in me.*

He was the firſt Coiner of the Copper in that Kingdom, called *Hard-heads*, and after abaſed them from 3 half pence to a penny, as alſo the black piece, and abaſed them alſo; which never till then were corrupted. And by their neighbour the *Netherlands* coined alſo, and exchanged for good *Sterling*, which in after times made the *Dutch* cunning in that trade of coſening all *Kingdoms*; and thus having reduced the *Kings Coffers* to a ſmall purſe, he ſets upon the Clergy.

Cofins the
Kirk.

In the former Story of the Kirk in *Queen Maries* time, all the Revenues being then in the *Papiſts*, ſhe ſettled a part of the third, with which ſhe was to relieve the *Ministers*, as a *Donative*; and indeed the diſorderly Collection (before mentioned) was then complained of by thoſe parties, and therefore now by remonſtrance, *Morton* (ſiding with them) orders a Supplement to inculpable (or well-affected) *Ministers* annually, and ſo takes in to the *Kings Treasury* all the *Thirde*s, to which the Kirk ſubſcribe irrevocable, and thereby he commits the cure of 3. or 4. *Parishes* to one, and ſo out of the Relique of the third, there muſt needs ariſe much gain.

Melvin a Geneve
Disciplinarian,

The Church therefore in time, open their own eyes, to ſee this fraud, and complain to the Council, but receiving delayes, their implacable hatred to *Morton*, increaſeth with their ſuffering; and in this nick of time (*Knox being dead*) returns *Andrew Melvin*, a Man of the Kirks own making, for being drencht in the *Genevian* diſcipline, he reforms this Church according to a hairs breadth, and ſubjects them all to his vehement ſpleen, againſt the very Office of *Episcopacy*; and thus broached, it drowned withall both *Laicks* and *Church-men*, out of the eaſie apprehenſion of both their advantages, and the Diſpute was preached by their State-meddling Sermons, which begat undominable *Presbyterian* licentious Tumults ever after.

his Rantings.

The *Arch-Biſhops* of *Saint Andrews* and *Glasgow* oppoſe *Melvin's* Diſcipline in moſt accurate Sermons and Declarations.

The difference grew high and dangerous, unleſs to the *Regent*, whoſe aim was to fiſh in troubled Waters, not caring for the future, gave fuel to the *Zelots* flame, which neither command nor Counſel could ever after extinguiſh.

I may not omit to Memory the horrid Maſſacre throughout all *France*, upon the perſons of the reformed Religion, called by the Adverſaries, *Hugonites*, from one *Hugo* (as they would have

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

Anno

1573.

have them) the History is so horrid, and the more uncertain in particulars, because the Papists strain their pens to piece it with some Excuses. But the truth was written then by One *Ernest Varamund* of *Freezland*, in the time of *Charls* the ninth King of *France*, 1573.

In Anno 1561. an Assembly of the Estates in the Kings house at Saint Germans in Lay neer Paris in France, in the time of Charls the ninth, concluded terms of Pacification in Religion, among other Articles, It should not be prejudicial to any Man to profess the Reformed Religion, in the Suburbs of Towns only.

Francis Duke of Guise (a Stranger, of the House of Lorain) was not present, and within few daies after in Champanie slew men, women and children in Vasseley 200. persons; Among those of the Religion was Lewis of Bourbon of the blood, Prince of Conde, Gaspar de Caligni, Admiral of France, and Francis Andelot his Brother, Captain of the Fantarie, and others, Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Katherine de Medices (Pope Clements Brothers Daughter, and Mother of King Charls) born in Florence, a City of Italy, had the Government of the Realm in the Kings Minority; for though by the Law of France, neither Inheritance, nor Government, are admitted to Women; yet by negligence of Anthony King of Navar, She had the power. The Prince of Conde, in fear of the Guises, garrisoned some Towns, stood upon his Guard, and so began their Civil Wars there, and published his Reasons, For Defence of the Kings Edict for Religion. Several Battails, and losses on both sides, and the Duke slain, peace was made, and liberty of Religion in certain places, which continued for five years. The Queen, to strengthen her Party, cunningly brought in six thousand Switzers, and pretended them, for defence, quiet and peace to all; yet suddenly garrisoned such Towns as the Religion had willingly surrendered, saving onely Rochel, who stood upon their former Conditions two hundred years past, Not to be forced to any Garrisons. Upon some rumours and fears, the Prince of Conde, and the now Admiral fly thither, the cause of the third Civil War.

The young King, by perswasion of Charls Cardinal of Lorain, the late Duke of Guises Brother, published Edicts, That no man profess other than the Romish Religion. But both parties wearied out with this last Miserable Distraction, the King politiquely pretends to drown all Discontents by a Reconciliation, and to join both forces against their Common Enemy the Spaniard, who in truth had barbarously murdered the French Plantation in Florida in the West Indies, and Marquisdome of Finall. And to this Contract ingaged the Prince of Orange in the low Countreys, by means of his Brother Lodowick, now in the Admirals Camp at the very time when the

The Life and Death of

Anno

1573.

Emperour had offered to reconcile Orange to the Spaniard. And by these pretences this third War was ended, with Toleration of Religion as before, with unanimous Congratulation by Embassyes from the three Electors of Germany (Princes reformed) and sworn to by the King sacredly to observe. Which so encouraged the Orange party, as to bring all their Sea prizes into Rochel, and this Contract drew in Eliz. Queen of England; and all these overtures committed by the King to the Admirals prosecution.

Notwithstanding these publique Conditions therein, the Pope sent Cardinal Alexandrine from Rome, with Instructions to perswade the French King to enter society with the League of Trent, to make war upon the Heretiques; and had satisfactory answer from the King and Queen-Mother; and on the Contrary all possible tokens of favor to the Admiral and his Complices, in restoring their losses, with a sum of one hundred thousand pound Sterling, out of his Treasure, not leaving the least action undone to amuse the Admiral into firm assurance of the Kings faithful intentions. And to confirm belief, purposed to affiance his Sister Margaret to Prince Henry, Son to the Queen of Navar, who had defended the Cause of the Religion in the late Wars, and this to be celebrated according to the Reformed Religion. The League between Charls the King, and the Prince of Orange, and Articles concluded. The Mariage appointed in Paris, and the Queen of Navar (of the Religion) repaired thither for the Solemnity. The Admiral also sent for by the King to go before to Paris, promising himself to follow; and the Spire-Cross-Steeple, called Gastignes Cross erected in the rage of the Civil War, in Triumph and reproach of the Religion (a Monument of Civil Dissention) was by the Admirals request overthrown.

Great Assistance of Men and Ammunition sent to the Army of the Prince of Orange into Germany; And order to the Treasurer, to deliver moneys to the Admirall for the Publick Service, without accompt.

In this Interim, the Queen of Navar was poisoned at Paris by a pair of perfumed Gloves, by one Renat, a cunning Apothecary, and so the Kingdome descended to Prince Henry her Son, who was to be affianced to the Kings Sister, and the Mariage solemnized with respect to eithers Religion. And five daies after the Admirall solicited the Council in behalf of the Religion, and returning home with divers Noblemen, he was shot by a Harquebuss out of a Window, through both his Arms, by one not certainly named, but the Abettors were Guisets.

The King visits the Admiral in some danger of Death, from whom he receives advice and Counsel in his private affairs, and with great affection and thanks, the King commanded a Guard for security of the Admirals person, by Cossin, Captain of the Kings Guard an utter Enemy to the Admirall, and all his Friends advised to draw in-

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

Anno

1573.

into the Admirals quarters to be neer to him.

Thus all things prepared for the purpose of a Massacre, the Queen Mother summons all the Confederates, with advice, to spare the King of Navars life, and the Prince of Conde, and the Execution to be the next night early, by Order of the Duke of Guise, who summoned the Diziners, and told them the Kings design to destroy all the Rebels of the late Wars, at the sound of the Tocksein or Bell, and the Mark of difference, a white Cross in their hats, and a handkercher about the arm. The Duke of Guise, with the Kings Guard, and the Bastard Son of King Henry, assisted by Coffins, beset the Admirals house, who nothing moved in respect of the Kings several sacred Oaths to peace, the league with the Queen of England, Articles of Treaty with Orange, Faith to the Princes of Germany, some Towns taken in the Low-Countries by the Kings Command, the Mariage of the Kings Sister, solemnized but six daies before, Ingagement of Forein States, shame and dishonor to the Law of Nations; all was by him argued as security.

Coffin with others, enters the house, and slew all in his way; the Admiral comanded his Servants about him to fly, and shift for themselves, being ready himself to dy for the Church. The Villains enter his Chamber, Benuese a German, thrust the Admiral into the Body, and Attin a Picard shot him into the Heart, with a Pistol, and threw his body out of the Window, down into the Court, where the Duke de Guise, and the Bastard, and other staid to view it, and so marching out, cryed, that this was the Kings pleasure, for that the Conspirators had resolved to kill the King.

The Admirals head was sent to Rome, his body dragged through the Streets, and after hanged up on the City Gallows with a rope by the feet, and so all that day murthering and killing all of the Religion, Men, Women and Children.

The King of Navar, and Prince of Conde, in the Louvre were sent for to the Kings presence (their Servants being all slain) and so preserved; all the Noblemen and Gentlemen their friends slain, and the next day a fresh murthering ranged through all the Cities, and all the Offices and Places of the dead presented to the Murtherers, and by this Example Post news commanded all the other Places of Reformation to be so butchered throughout France, as in Orleance, Angiers, Viaron, Troys, and Auxerre, &c.

The King fearing the Dishonor of this base Treachery, and perjury, posted Letters to all his Governours of Provinces, and speedy Messengers to England, Germany and Switzerland, of this great Commotion in France, raised by the Duke of Guise, and his Complices, upon the Guard and person of the Admiral, and his Friends, with the Death of many, and hazard therein of the Kings person, his Mother and Brethren by the safety of his Castle the Louvre; this

The Life & Death of Mary Queen of Scots,

Anno

1573.

disimulation he was forced unto for the present; and yet within two daies after, declared in open Parliament, that the Admirall and his Confederates had conspired his death, with his Mothers, Brethren, and King of Navar, which was prevented by the others death. And this was published in print to this day; and from thenceforth all publique meetings of the Religion were forbidden.

Some Reluctancies there were of several persons that conclude this horrid fact, surpassing the memory of all former ages; Others compare it with the monstrous murthers of King Mithridates, who with one Messenger and one Letter, caused an hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be slain; some said it was like the murthers of Peter of Aragon upon eight thousand French in Sicily.

The difference was, their cruelty was executed on Strangers, this on the Kings own Subjects and Countrey men.

These Discourses put the King to consider how to blanch this monstrous act with some colour of Justice. And therefore they framed a Body stuffed with bottles of Hay, for the Admiralls, dragged again about the Streets, his Arms and Ensigns of Honour to be broken, his memory by a form of writing condemned, his Castles and Houses razed, his children infamous, and his Trees and Woods to be hewn down from the height of six foot.

One Cavaignes and Briquemaul, men of excellent merit (the last being seventy years of age) were imprisoned and tormented for to subscribe, That they were of counsel with the Admiral to kill the King and his kindred, which they indured with horrid reluctance even of their Tormentors, with great constancy, and therefore they had a form of Justice, and were executed with the Halter, and so was the man of Straw the Admiralls Image, hanged with them for a ridiculous example, first murdered, and then by a mute arraignment, sentenced and executed.

Such as fled from slaughter, or were hidden in the woods, were by fair words in a Proclamation promised mercy, but returning home were sure of the slaughter.

And so throughout the whole Realm of France, for thirty dayes together, were so many thousands massacred, that besides the unmarried, there remained above an hundred thousand widows and children, well born, begging their bread.

When all was done, and wearied with slaughter, The Edicts came out, that the former Treaties of Pacification should cease. And a form of abjuration for such as were terrified by others sufferings to renounce the Religion, and none to be suffered to profess other than the Romish faith.

Whilest

Anno
1573.

Bishop Ross
released out
of the Tower,

and banished.

The Borderers
confer,

and quarrel.

Mortons wife
submission.

Whilst these sparks of former feud lay raked up in embers by pacification at home in *Scotland*, Bishop Ross in *England*, and but imprisoned in the *Tower* (as you have heard) though a man full of plots and policies, yet his privileges of *Ambassador* affording him protection for his life; It being too much suspicious to send him under hand to his grave, and legally they could not. He was therefore released, after 2 years imprisonment, and packt away over seas, into *France*; in whose time of imployment here, as a faithfull servant to his *Queen*, many Co-actors were put to death, others detected and imprisoned, yet even with his parting, he left not unattempting; and was for many years following, beyond seas, with all the Catholick Princes in *Christendome*, a most pestilent disturber of *Queen Elizabeths* quiet; for not long after, he delt with Henry 3. of *France*, to turn Morton out of his *Regencie*, and to steal the young King thither, whose faction in *Scotland* might weaken thereby; and as he grew in years (with the *French Tutorage*) his affections might decay towards the *English*; the ancient league with the *French* strengthened, and with *England* dissolved.

In this small time of cessation from War, the *Scots* without cause to implore *England* for any ayd or relief. The Governours of each *Borders* assign a meeting to compose differences for eithers quiet, against the usuall rapines of *Robbers*: where, disputes began, and quarrells followed: the *English* were worsted, and taking the neerer way, fled from the fury into *Scotland*, and so for justice to *Morton*; whose censure being much too partiall, not onely in not doing right, to punish his countrey men, but dismisses the *English*, with much adoe, by *Subscription*, and *Pledges*.

This behaviour of the *Scots*, soon incensed the *Queen*, who being presently upon the posture of a *Bordering War*, *Morton* prudently layes blame on the *Scots* Commanders; beseecheth her *Majesty* not to raise a War with them, whose maintenance must be with much blood, the common cause necessarily begging defence of peace, betwixt the two *Kingdoms*, and if civil War should follow upon *Scotland*, it might introduce a necessity in them, to call in the *French*, whom she in her Princely affection and great wisdom, had but lately afforded them the means to ridd away. And that before time should grow elder, his endeavours should be with such good offices and service for her *Majesty*, as might countervail the inconveniences already happened. And for questioning of the Governour, he remembered a president under Henry 7. for expiation of Sir *Robert Carrs* death (then Governour of the middle borders) which was then referred to a meeting in *Scotland* to enquire. This gray-hair-instance incensed her the more, untill the

Anno
1574.

The Ministers
stiled Præcisi-
ans.

Duke Castle-
herauld dies.

His Character

and Issue.

Ormston exe-
cuted for the
Kings murder.

Heriots death
& Character.

the Scots Governour Carmichell was sent to answer it in England, and then indeed, his Present of Hawkes to the Courtiers, became a saying, *He gave them live Hawks for dead Herons*; Two Brothers of that Name Herons killed in the fray.

This petty disturbance, gave time and leasure for the *Præcisi-ans* (now so stiled) not to forget their ministerial ragings, who evermore upon such occasions put in a spoke for themselves, because *their stipend was not redressed*. And herein were so presumptuous, as to utter their fancies, and to act what ere they thought best for their advantage. But herein the Regent stopt them in their Career, remembring them of the Treaty of Lieth, which *forbad all Innovation in Religion, during the Kings Minority*.

This year took away James Hamilton Earl of Arran, and Duke of Castle-herauld at Poictures a Province in France. He was Grandchild to James 2. And after the death of James the 5. In the vigour of youth, and Mary his daughter succeeding in the Crown, she had this Hamilton a while for her Protector, and then declared her Heir apparent. A mild man and tractable he was, though her birth and quality, drew on turbulent spirits, to bring him on the stage, and sent him into France with her, where he was caressed for their party, and created Duke, and Captain of a troop of Horse. Somewhat he medled in state, after his return home, but soon retired into privacie; for which the mad-headed Ministers and Buchanan blamed him of sloth. From him, proceeds 4. branches, James Earl of Arran; John, Claud, and David, three of them infected with the Mothers disease, became frantick, or rather bewitched.

At this time was John Ormston, commonly called black Ormston, because of his Iron colour, apprehended and had his tryal, and executed for being guilty of the late Kings Murther. Likely enough to have discovered more particulars than he did confess, being Intimate with Bothwell, who communicated the purpose to him, and shewed him the subscriptions of the Earls of Arguile, Huntly, Secretary Lethington, and Balfore, testifying their consents to that horrid Act.

Nevertheless the Regent permitted Balfore to enjoy the benefit of the Pacification, passing an Act thereof in counsel, to the regret of many: for though it was doubted whether the subscription of Arguile and Huntly, were not counterfeit, but of the other, the hate to their persons, made the sensure of their guilt, easie of beliefe to all, but Arguile dying soon after, his office of Chancellor was conferrd on the Lord Glams.

Adam Heriot Minister of Aberdeen dyed this year, and of their Church is accompted worthy Record; he had been a Fryer of the order of St. Austin, living in the Abbey of St. Andrews, learned and eloquent in the Pulpit, subtile also in school divinity. The Queen Mother, heretofore, hearing him preach, was

Anno

1575.

so affected to his wit, and judgment, and integrity, that in reasoning with some Lords upon the Article of Real presence, she offered to be concluded by *Heriots* opinion; who was required to preach thereupon, before her, and a numerous Auditory. But there he flaggd so prevaricate, as most men were unsatisfied, of which being sharply censured by some, his worthy friends, he fell into sadness and regret of soul, till he did openly recant, and renounce Popery, and forthwith joyned with the then congregation. And afterwards in the ordering of distribution for Ministers amongst the *Burghs*, he was elected for *Aberdeen* (the place then, of the ablest Papists) the rather, therefore, to reclame them from their errors, by practice of Piety, and profound preaching, wherein he profited, to the gain of many to the faith, in 14 years labour: and dyed 60 years of age.

And now was *Andrew Melvil*, a fiery zealot, labouring for the absolute Presbyterial discipline of *Geneva*, insinuating with *John Dury* minister of *Edinburgh* in their Assembly, to question the lawfulness of the Episcopall function, and the Authority of *Chapiters* in their election; but himself (cunningly pretended ignorance, but) since the question was so started, he commended the speakers zeal, seconding the purpose, with a tedious discourse of the flourishing estate of *Geneva* Church, and the opinions of wise Mr. *Calvin*, and reverend Mr. *Beza*, and came to affirm,

Innovation in
Church by
Melvil,

That None ought to be Officers in the Church, whose Titles were not found in the Bible. And though that of Bishops were in Scripture, yet not to be taken in the same sense, that commonly was conceived; Christ allowing no Superiority amongst Ministers. Himself only Lord of his Church, and all the Servants in one degree, having like power. Concluding, Then the Corruptions of Bishops were so great, that unless removed, Religion could not be long preserved.

against Epis-
copal functi-
on.

Hereupon divers are selected to confer three to three, and concluded their opinions to the Assembly.

1. *That the Name Bishop was common to able Ministers of a flock; his chief function to preach, to administer Sacraments, and exercise Ecclesiastical Discipline with consent of his Elders.*

2. *That some one Minister might oversee and visit such reasonable bounds besides his own flock.*

3. *And he to appoint Preachers, with advice of the Provincial Ministers, and the consent of the flock.*

4. *And to suspend Ministers from their Office, with consent of the Ministers of the bounds.*

It is strange that the Arch-bishop of *Glasgow*, and six other Bishops with Super-intendents, and all interested, were not called to the conference, though present in the Assembly. Nor doth it appear that they spake at all therein, so humble to hold their

Anno

1575.

their tongues in a case of their own, or rather referring it to the Regents Wisdom, whose opinion had been ever to uphold Episcopacy.

The next Assembly altered the question, and formed it, *Whether Bishops as they were then in Scotland, had their function warranted by the Word of God?* But the Major part approved of those in the last Meeting.

The Regent finding them so to differ, sent them word, to settle upon somewhat, and to abide therein. Of which they take advantage, and with much ado present a form of Policy to the Regent; Acknowledging in their Preface, *That they did not accompt it compleat, but to add or diminish as God shall reveal unto them; But some Troubles in State prevent their further progress.*

The Regent
misgoverns.

The Regent fiesht in the fury of rapine, having fleeced Commons and Clergy, and settled the North and South Borders, cared not for the Gentry, and grieved the Peers; His neereft friends, the Earl of *Angus*, and others, forewarned him of his Slippery station; But *Morton*, settled in the very seat of the Scorn, careless of any complaints, made good his greatness by grace of *Queen Elizabeth*, whom he conserved with all diligent observance. His aim was to ruin *Hamiltons* house, hating them as his Hereditary Enemies, scared thereto by an old Wives Rhime, *which bid him beware of Arrans Race (Hamiltons Family)* whom he banished or suppressed.

Q. of Scots de
signed to dy.

The two last years (as it seems) slipt away in shew (I am sure in silence of any disturbance, for ought that Authors can tell, to much purpose) but it is like the more was in secret hatching. For as the Queens Imprisonment grew to her impatient, so by *Q. Elizabeth* it was heightned to some danger. As a Wolf by the Ear. To keep her in durance, was her own disquiet, and to release her, dangerous to the State; all their study was to counsel what to do with her, and with much difficulty it was agreed upon to put her to Death.

Anton. d'Peres
in Englan.

There was one *Antonio d'Peres*, Secretary to *Philip* of Spain, escaped thence out of Prison, and over he comes to *England*, as best able here to do his Master most injury. He was grown intimate with the Earl of *Essex*, which being known to *Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, he advised, that *Essex* might deal with him, to fish out somewhat from his *Masters* streams, which was done to the purpose, revealing all his designs for the imprisoned *Queen*, and being rewarded here, had his Invitation home again, with some hope of reconcilment and favor also, which fell out, not as he desired, but as he deserv'd, for he was at last hangd for his labor. In many of his Letters to *Essex*, which since came to my hands, I find much of the matter, but for want of the Key, the Cyphers put

put me to trouble, with some consideration, *What uneven policies there were, towards that poor imprisoned Queen.*

Don Juan of Austria, Governour, for the King of Spain, over the *Netherlands*, proud and ambitious; being Neighbourly acquainted with the Troubles of *England* and *Scotland* (for to him all these discontented Fugitives repaired) was made believe, that the Duke of *Norfolk* being gon, the Queen of Scots was most fit to be offered to him, and easie enough to be effected, with the expulsion of Queen *Elizabeth*, and assured hopes of both *Kingdomes*. To which purpose, he hastily makes perpetual peace with the *Netherlands*, and labours his time and means to infest *England*. But underhand to amuse Queen *Elizabeth* the more, gives her the occasion to congratulate the Peace, by sending the Articles for her perusal; intending secretly with all speed to surprize some *Pieces* and *Ports* in *England*, and *Scotland*, with help of the Pope, who sent to the King of Spain in his behalf; and the chief Fugitives of *England* and *Scotland* being with him, he in an instant, had swallowed the Conceit and Mariage of a Queen, with two *Kingdomes* to boot; but his wilde ambition the sooner flatted, and he fooled into neglect, and disdain.

And now dies that Princely Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, old Countess Dowager of *Lenox*, 63 years of age; whom Queen *Elizabeth* kept in *England* at her elbow, whilst her sonne *Darby* was married to the Scots Queen, and her husband had power there. She was descended from Henry 7. by *Margaret* his eldest daughter, married to James 4. who had James 5. And being a widow, married to a second husband, *Archibald Dowglas Earl of Angus*; by whom she had *Margaret Dowglas of Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, who married *Mathew Earl of Lenox*, leaves France and comes into *England* to Henry 8. And here invested with honour and land in *Yorkshire*. From these issued Henry Stuart Lord *Darby*, who married Queen *Mary*, of whom came King James 6.

So then, her descent was royall; in King *Edwards* time in much honnor here, but after in adverse fortune, she lived survivor to eight of her children; thrice imprisoned for affecting mariages with *Thomas Howard*, son to the Duke of *Norfolk*; then for her sons match with Queen *Mary*; and the last was, for her younger son *Charles*, with *Elizabeth Candish* daughter to the Countess of *Shrewsbury*, and mother to the Lady *Arabella*. She was Nobly intombed at *Westminster*, an elaborate Sepulture, and then left living King James the sixth, and this *Arabella*, who was thus neer to the Crowns; And therefore imprisoned hereafter by King James for intermarriage with *Seymour* the now Earl of *Hartford*, but she died without issue, and so without fears of future interest to these *Kingdomes*. See anno 1616.

Amongst

Anno

1576.

Don John
design blasted
in the bud.

Margaret old
Countess Le-
nox dies.

Her Royal de-
scend,

and Issue.

Anno

1577.

Complicators
against the
Regent

Amongst other of *Mortons* plots and processes, for rayfing the Revenues of the Crown, one was, for recovery of some land, which was given by the Queen to *Mary Levingston* whilst she was her maid of honour, and now married to *John Semple*, who made his best defence in the sute; but fearing the Regents rigour, had passionately avowed, *That if he lost his land, the other should lose his life.* This, and other discourse, that he was countenanced by *Lord John Hamilton* and his brother *Lord Claud*; instigating also *Adam Whitford* of *Milton*, Nephew to *Semple*, to kill the *Regent* in the street with an Harquebus. *Semple* upon Torture confessed all, and more also, his cowardize not affording him courage to hold out: *Whitford* did better, his constancie was not terrified with the wrack, and therefore, gave suspicion, that the others confession was extorted, by the pain of punishment; yet to make out the matter, *Semple* was arraigned, condemned, and brought to the Scaffold, but pardoned; the like had the other; and both of them, the favour of the people, to blame the *Regent* for his rigour, whose main intention was thereby, to involve these *Lords* and their estates, to his griping gain.

Arguile and
Athol at variance.

One *Allester Dow Macallan* a notorious thief, was apprehended by *Earl Athol*, who was prohibited by the council, and charges directed against him, for exhibition of the man; the fellow being set at liberty by *Arguile*, falls to his old profession, and robd *Athol*, who in revenge invades *Arguile*, and so the countrey take uprore thereat, until an *Herauld* discharges those convocations, and cites them both before the Council, but were reconciled.

Arguile goes on and arms against *Claudonald*, seizes the *Regents* Messenger, tears his Letters missive, and swears him and his Train not to return to tell tales. This insolencie, fires the *Regent* to revenge, and for the present did no more, than proclaim him Rebel.

Forerunner of
the Regents
fall-

But these and other tumults shewed an Ecclipse of Ministerial Government, and gave means to private mens discontents, to open a way of complaint against the *Regent*. *Alexander Arskin*, attending on the King, takes advantage of *Arguile* and *Athols* reconciliation, plots with them, to open their Causes to the King, which they must countenance, and did, but so craftily, as that the one (*Athols*) counsel was called, upon the others complaint. And advise, to summon the *Lords* (mostly enemies to the *Regent*) to meet at *Striveling*.

Mortons avarice and lust subjects him, from his strength and Power that ruled all, to become weak in Authority over any; His enormities of several natures, numberless, which brought him sodainly to finck. Besides his sins, the *Hamiltons* were his Ene-

Enemies, made so by his own malice, upon that Noble Family; as also upon the Earls *Athol*, *Montross*, and *Arguile*, whose kinsmen he proclaimed Traytors, for not appearing at his Call.

Arguile invites these Lords and others to accompany him to the King at *Sterlin*, with remonstrance of such grievances as the State groaned under; and were seconded by fit Instruments, such as evermore reside at Court. He is sent for by the King, and Council, but delays time to make Friends; their opinions various, it was yet concluded as the safest way, to piece Friendship with *Arguile*, who refused, unless he would also quit the Regency. To this he demurs, and retires from his Enemies power.

And this gave good occasion to the boisterous *Præcisians*, whose pursuit was after such prey, as might innovate Authority, which they hated, because it was Regal, though *Mortons* interest had been ever to preserve them; the Arch-bishops only being lately commanded not to obey the *Synods* Decretalls, against which they complain in the Pulpit, and having there the liberty of the tongue, for that time, they tell all to the people, and of more than he could be guilty. The Earl of *Angus* was his Ally in blood, and the chief of the *Dowglasses*, who with *Carmichel* a Commander of War, advise him to Arms; But *Morton* rather submitted to a Parliament at *Sterlin*.

Thither he sends his Friends (but withdrew himself) and with them his Papers and Notes expostulatory of his good Services, which were not liked, because not Petitionary. And thus they seemed to signify, and first,

He craves leave of publique Justice upon his Accusers. If otherwise that his Majesty thought fit to oversee their disobedience to authority, then to be pleased to disburthen him of his Office, and not to suffer his Royall Name and Authority to be despised in the Person of his Servant; for as he had oft times made offer to demit his Regency to his Majesty, so now the more willing, if a Substantial course might be assured for preservation of his Highness person, the ordering of his Majesties Household, and dispensing of the Revenues of the Crown. And herewith he recommended the keeping of the peace contracted with England as a security to his Majesties Right and Title to Succession. And so recounting his former Services from the Kings birth to this present. His assistance at the Kings Coronation. His and his Friends hazard at *Lanfide* field, the siege of *Brichen*. His legations undertaken into England, the recovery of the Castle of *Edenburgh*, the Pacification of the Realm, all on fire at his first entrance, the redeeming of Jewels and Plate of the Crown, and restoring of the Royall Patrimony to some reasonable condition. And in regard of all, he craved no more, than allowance of his expence, and a discharge of his Intromissions by the Estates of Parliament.

These

Anno

1577.

Complaints against Morton,

which the Ministry increase

Regent offers to resign.

Anno
1577.

Is deposed.

The King 12.
years old is
Crowned.

A faction Geneve
Synod.

Melvin.

Morton plots
revenge by
the Earl of
Mar.

These not sufficient to prevail, and his friends having little Power, and his bad Cause to plead, he was voted non-Regent.

And accordingly into the hands of *Angus, Claim, Ruthen,* and *Harris*, he delivers the *Crown, Scepter*, and other *Regalities*, which were presented by them in a great Convention of Lords, and *Angus* invests them on the King, with the univocal acclamation of all. He having not yet attained to the years of youth, yet in this turbulent time, took upon him the *Scepter*, which was celebrated at *Edenburgh*, and the affairs of State rendered to the King now at twelve years old, but with assistance of twelve *Noblemen*, three of them by turns alwaies about him, and *Morton* of the number, as to bring him to reason, not to cast him quite off to ruin; whose wit and experience was useful to the *State*, which he soon imployed to master them all.

The deposing *Morton* exalted the Presbyterian hopes, to erect the *Geneve Discipline*, by *Pastors, Deans, and Super-intendents*, and now to bring it about, they call a *Synod*, wherein all factions, to the prejudice of the King, were more cherished than Divine Worship intended; for they decree, The *Ecclesiastical Regency to the Super-Intendents*, and left the *Bishops only to one Church, and exempt from Jurisdiction; to relinquish Episcopacy, and to omit Dispensation of Divine duties.*

The King withstood this decree, and revokes the business to his own brest; and therein the Bishop of *St. Andrews* was the greatest Stickler. The adverse party had *Andrew Melvin*, a Man singular with them, but not with the learned; His tenents were *To vindicate equality in the Ministry*, arrogantly endeavouring to suppress the Churches ancient authority, and to erect to themselves, a Statue of honour, from the ruins of the Bishops disgrace.

Sick, and ill disposed, was the estate of *Episcopacy*, the *Presbyterians* prevalent in number. The *Nobles for Episcopacy*, joined with the Kings inclination, *To take protection of the fainting Ecclesiastick Discipline into his Care, commanding the other to infuse fidelity into the people, to abstain from innovation, to reverence Bishops, and follow peace.*

Morton's retirement gave him time and means to meditate Revenge, and prevails with the youthful inclination of the young *E. of Mar*, to quarrel with his Uncle *Erskin* for assuming the chieftie of that family, and the usurpation of the *Kings Tutelage*. It took fire with the Gallant, who secretly with his Train, possesses *Sterlin Castle*, his Uncle *Erskin* and the King, and puts by *Arguile*, one of the three *Assistants*. The noyse hereof brings the Lords into *Arms*, and their care of the Peace of the Kingdom,

dom assign Commissioners herein, who decree all *Erskins* former interest upon *Mar*. The Queen of *England* sends *Randolph*, (whose often Legations had made him exquisite) to congratulate the King, whose rare and various Ornaments of Wit and Learning, eminent in such an age, as no Prince could ever parallel, assures the Queens great affection, and perswades the Lords to peace, which was patcht up for the present.

But *Morton* grows insolent, abolishing the *Triumvirate* rule, and usurps all to himself; of which *Arguile*, *Athol*, and *Montros*, remonstrate to the King, who refers it to the next *Parliament* in *July* at *Edenburgh*, where secretly some Lords covenant, whom *Morton* undermines by faction, and advises for the meeting at *Sterlin*, as more wholsom for the King and Nobles, but indeed fitted for his faction of men of Arms, and so it was to be there, in the Court of the Castle, and not, as usual, in the Common-Hall; against which the other *Edenburgh* Lords protested, as invalid, and would not meet. But the *Parliament* sate, and the King this first time adorned with Majesterial Ornaments, Robes and Scepter, told them, That it was not material where they met, so his safety were included; that his Court entertained all, excluded none; However this place should be no Prescript for posterity; that he intended no innovation against his Predecessors *Institutions*; that the opinions of a few, should not dictate to the whole, and so approves the Act by *Proclamation*.

Montros, a Commissioner for the Lords remaining at *Edenburgh*, posts thither with this news, they take Arms ten thousand men, and yet declare for the King. *Angus*, *Mar*, and *Morton*, do the like at *Sterlin*, where both sides incamp, but fought not, at the earnest endeavour of the *English Ambassadour* Sir *John Bowes*, and all disband. And to piece this Discord, the King proposes *Moderators*, *Lindsey*, *Harris*, *Ogleby*, *Inverness*, for *Arguile*; and *Rothess*, *Bucan*, *Ruthen* and *Boyd*, for *Morton*; but not prevailing, *Morton* retires to his Palace at *Dalkieth*; In whose absence, the *Delegates* accord, and he, and *Arguile*, and *Athol*, meet and feast at *Lieth*, which so pleased the King, that he congratulates those whose endeavours had acted so much good, and they again discuss, what can be commodious for his Princely Dignity, Magnificence, and Profit.

And it began to be time so to do; the Kings wants the Council supply by over value of *Coyne*, which the Citizens withstood, as over bitter for their digest; Experience having taught this truth, That the value of *Silver*, alters the price of victual and all vendables; the King, as the great Rent Master, or Land-lord, bearing the greatest Loss for the future, though not discernable for the present

Anno
1578.

Randolph
Ambassadour.

Parliament
Royal,

disagree,

and are made
Friends.

Coyne overvalued.

Anno

1578.

The Chancel-
lor impoison-
ed by Morton

present, to his raw young Counsellors; and this trick was put up-
on Morton, and worse happened to his destruction.

The Earl *Athole*, Lord Chancellour, by the extremity of his
disease, yielded to nature, or rather a delaying, consuming
poison forced him hence; the suspicion fell sadly upon his Cor-
rival *Morton*, and the revenge fell into the Power of *Arguile*,
who was chosen Chancellour in his Place. This occasion no
doubt, the very Devil put into *Mortons* head, to work himself
mischief; for in pure Conscience, he intimates to the *King* the
story of his death, and so instigates his anger, against the *Ha-*
miltons, remembring also, the slaughter of his Grandfather
Lenox, and of *Murray*, late *Regents*; and for these other crimes
(aforesaid 1573.) and so begins their persecution with fire and
Sword, assisted with *Mar* and *Angus*. The *Hamiltons* within
their *Castle*, and other places besieged, were forced to yield to
the Mercy of the King, who executed the Actors of the Para-
cide, and pardoned the rest. *John*, and *Claud*, the Sons of the
late Duke of *Castle-herauld*, in great distress what to do, adven-
tured to fly into *England*, whom the Queen vouchsafed har-
bouring, and sent Master *Erington*, to intercede with the
King.

Parliament,
the Kings roy-
al appearance.

The next Parliament was in *October* at *Edenburgh*, where the
King shewes himself to his People; his years advanced, with his
Princely understanding to extraordinary Fame, requiring his
person more publike than at *Sterling*. Solemnities and Ceremonies
of Princes being the formal entertainments of reverence and re-
spects. And so he rode in all possible State, the first day of sit-
ting.

A great novelty to many to find Majesty in Man, that had but
seen the shadow, for many years in Queens or Counterfeits,
but now attracted from the peoples hearts and hands veneration
and blessings.

His Speech.

He tells the Houses the benefit of peace, and this blessed op-
portunity to confer with them, for the good of the Kingdome,
which his non-age had denyed them, administring rather occa-
sion of Commotion, than the remedy of publick grievance;
which now he resolves to redress; alwayes reposing confidence
in their wise Counsels, and calls God to witness, his part aim-
ed at the Preservation of *Religion*, Subjects safety, and King-
doms security.

Acts for Reli-
gion.

And first he enacted.

The form of Confession agreed in anno 1567.

To the Prescript administration of the Sacraments in Act and
Will.

That the present Religion embraced was to be esteemed Orthodoxal
in doctrine and discipline,

And

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

93

And to be imposed upon all that went beyond seas, by Oath and Subscription.

The Bible commanded in Scotch to each family.

The Power of Ministers regulated and limited; And the Discipline erected by the Bishops and Super-intendents (which had suffered some Diminution, but no Synodical act for abolition) should be confirmed.

And so with prosperous effects, the Parliament ended, and the King returns to his Sports at *Sterlin*.

The Presbyters now took up some colourable fears, upon landing of one *Amy* (or *Amatus*) *Stuart* Lord *Aubigny*, so called from *Aubigny* a Village in *Aquitain*; a French-man born, but of Scots family, and kinsman to the King. A notorious *Guise* (and Papist, as they would have him.)

The Town *Aubigny* was (by *Charles* the seventh of *France*) given to *John Stuart* of the family of *Lenox*, who commanded the Scots there, and worsted the *English*; which Town and Title, depend ever since, on the younger Sons, and so on this Man. He was sent over by the *Guises*, or rather sent for over by *Montrose*, and *Arguile*, to subvert *Morton*, or to break the Truce twixt *England* and *Scotland*. And no sooner landed, but received with all honor, and advanced in trust; created Earl of *Lenox*, and after created Duke; a privy Counsellor, of the Bed-chamber, and Governour of *Dunbarton* Castle.

He was soon accused for engrossing so suddenly so much favour, and since it hath been taken up for advantage; who ever was like to please the King, was thereupon cryed down by the Church, for a Papist; and so he was presented to *Queen Elizabeth*, a dangerous Man, and what mischief an evil favourite might suggest to the Kings maturity; fitted to act evil impressions; his Mothers Designs, troublesome to both *Realms*, more easy and proper for him to execute.

These in *England*, and somewhat at home, both together to wrest him from the King, and *Bowes* is sent from *Berwick* to charge it home before the King, and his Council. The Queen of *England* not liking any so neer the King so much of the *French* Faction, as he, and one *Monbirnean*, an Actor in the *Massacre* of *France*. *Bowes*, ere he entered into his errand, required to have *Lenox* and him dismiss the Board, which was refused before the cause or crime were charged; and bidden to produce his Commission for his peremptory demand, which he could not, and so was forthwith called home.

Yet to prevent the prejudice of his anger, *Alexander Hume* is sent after to excuse it to the Queen, so to learn the truth of her mistrust; She, as in such Cases to Messengers, so all Princes take, as Affronts to themselves, and so did She, and remits him

Anno
1578.

Aubigny Stuart in great favour.

But disliked there and in England.

Qu. Eliz. Messenger neglected.

Anno

1580.

Burleighs
speech to the
Scots Ambaf-
fador.

Morton dis-
content re-
tires.

Charged with
the late Kings
Murther.

Randolph
rides post
from Q. Eliz.

abuses his pri-
vilege of an
Ambassador.

him to Burleigh, disdaining to see him her self.

Burleigh Wisely assured him, the Queens affections to his own person, as a Protestant, and his merits to his Master, which she would own in any of his Ministers, besides, she knew him a good Counsellor for her Kinsman the King, but denies you her presence, who looks not upon any Ambassadour, from another, where her own have been unheard, and his Commission demanded, without President. But, these are the fruits (said he) of your young Kings new Counsellors, whose first principles are to discredit your best friends, and interest their factions, such as the Cosin Guises, and a Frenchman or two of theirs, sent over for that purpose, to hazard ruin to the State, if they be let to run on, unless the Queens prudence and power prevent. And so he parted.

Morton full of malice, retires in discontent to Dalkieth, disliking the state, and manner of Court Miners; for in doubt of some danger to his own person, he came not neer the King, but as commanded to counsel. This distance gave his Enemies cause to fear, and to prevent his hatred, hasten their resolution to ruin him, by the accusation of James Stuart, sonne to the Lord Ucheltrie, a bold-faced young man, and had his arrand to charge him home, which he did, (of murthering the late King;) and thus accused to his face, and confined to his lodging, he might expect no better, than the last act of fate, to take away his life; and though a Pensioner to England, this was done, without dread of any. But this ill news coming to Queen Elizabeth, she Posts away Randolph, now Post-master of England, to remove Lenox, and to plead for Morton.

And in their great Assembly he recounts the Queens favours, in freeing the Scots of the French, with expence of English blood, and treasure; when her power could have seized all, for her self, the King then in his cradle; his Regents successively owning these kindnesses, till Aubigny and that other, came in to ruine Religion, and rule the King, as their ward: producing letters to some purpose, which most men thought, to be counterfeit; and so effected nothing.

When nothing would serve his turn, to turn out favorites; Randolph takes upon him to set them by the ears, and deals with both factions, Lenox and Mortons (underhand) working jealousies, to free themselves by force, from eithers fewd, which grew high and dangerous; offering ayd from England, to set things square, which he made round. These being marched to the Borders, and the Scots (as for the King) prepared to receive them, the English faction withdrew then, and being discovered, many were sent to prison, and Randolph thus far besides his Commission, durst not indure the power of his privilege, but slipt away, leaving his Nephew, and Angus and Mar, chief in-
cen-

cendiaries, to shift after ; and Morton to his just reward, who was forthwith arraigned, convict and beheaded, for the murder of the Kings father ; and so confest by him, before he dyed, with this excuse, that in those times of distraction, he durst not but to do so. The fatall *Axe* (called the maiden) himself had Patterned from that at *Hallifax* in *Yorkshire*, which he had seen, and liked the fashion ; for falling down between two posts, executed him sure and sodain. His Honour and Title was conferred on *John Maxwell*.

Anno
1581.
Morton be-
headed with
his own Ax.

He was an able man in what he undertook, so that we may say as of *Cato*, *In hoc viro, tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut quocunque loco natus est, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur ; nulla ars, neque privatae, neque publicae rei gerendae, ei defuit, urbanas rusticasque res pariter callebat.* He was slow of speech, with a natural composed gravity, his countenance Majesticall, his actions Princely, had not that guilt of too much gathering and griping, degraded those excellencies, and left him naked to deserve nothing. He desired to have a thing done which dyed with him, the Scots lawes reduced into Methode, and it was urged as useless. A great question with them, to have Order in any thing, that had none to serve God ; their opinion then hath since infected us.

His character.

His great wealth got together, was scattered by unfaithful hands and hearts. *Livor post fata quiescit.*

*Discite mortales, mortalia temnere, & illa
Quarere, quae miseris non rapit aura levis.*

About this time *Ruthen* (lately created *E. Gowry*) the son of *William Ruthen* *Queen Maries* deadly Enemy, with other conspirators, under pretence of conserving the peace of Religion, to which they were urged by the factious Ministry, and which to secure, they endeavour to remove *Lenox* and *Arran* from the King (that was their colour) but in their absence they invite the King to *Ruthen Castle*, and their seize him Prisoner, with threats of death, untill he consented to the imprisoning of *Arran*, banishing of *Lenox* into *France*, and the return of the fugitive *Angus* out of *England*.

Ruthen crea-
red Earl of
Gowry.

Of this the distressed *Queen of Scots*, Prisoner at *Sheffield*, writes to *Queen Elizabeth* a long letter full of miserable sadness, Exquisitely expressing all her sufferings, from the first of her subjects very oft Rebellion against her, & from which persecution being invited by her Majesty to rest secure upon her Princely succour and defence, she is now by length of time drawn on to despair of releefe from that hand, which lodes her with lingring of a lothed life ; plainly and justly demonstrates her, to be active and passive consenting

Q Mary writes
to Q Eliz.

Anno
1582.

consenting to all her Mishaps. She calls God to witness her Impartial affection to her Person, and her innocency from prejudice of her affairs and State. Desires justice of God and her, and implores the mitigation of her misery, and some more freedom, though with Imprisonment of her Person. Lays all particular differences home to the Conscience of the Queen, and signs to her Letter,

Vostre tres desolei plus proche parente

& affectionate

Seure

Mary Reg.

Which troubles her conscience.

Indeed these were sharp and peircing, which so much disquieted Queen Elizabeths Conscience, that she consults to release her, jointly to govern with the King. And eight Articles were drawn up (even such as they were) the world knew she would never refuse; for her extremity enforced her to yield to most unreasonable: but this was but to spin time, till the State could find some other expedients, or some exceptions, which dayly happened by *Examinations*, *Confessions*, or *Suspitions*, grounded upon slender, yet continual attempts of private persons, and publique *Designes* of Forein States, for the poor Queens interests; which failing for her good, she was, though innocent, sure to smart.

But because the manner of the Kings restraint in *Ruthen* is diversly related, and which the Kirk justified for their own ends, I shall adventure upon the Truth in these particulars hereafter.

Surprize of
the King at
Ruthen.

Some of the Lords combining mischief to the King, under colour of Religion and Liberty of the Kingdom, took occasion and advantage of the Duke of *Arrans* absence from the Court, and detained the King at *Ruthen*. These Conspirators were *John* Earl of *Mar*, *William* Earl *Gowry*, Lords *Lindsey*, *Boyd*, *Clames*, and *Oliphant*, Some *Abbots* and *Lairds*, and stopt the King going to hunting, who not being answered to the reason and cause, grew in passion, which concluded in tears to be thus vilified. But it was reproached, *That better bairns should weep than bearded men.*

This news hastens the Earl of *Arran* to Court, where he was soon secured, and bid be patient, with safety of his life, for his brother *William Stuart* was wounded by the way, and kept Prisoner. The like course they take with some *Noblemen* sent by

Anno
1582.

by the Duke of *Lenox* to enquire of the King. Who cried out to them *that he was a Captive, and desired his good subjects to release him.* The conspirators excused themselves, that their surprize only restrained the King from *Arran*, and from *Lenox*, whose banishment they threatned into *France*. And forcing the King to pacifie the people with a Proclamation, That for removing some differences, His Majesty interposed himself Mediator, and resolved to reside at *Perth*, being his own free and voluntary choice, and commanding such as were in Arms upon pretext of his restraint, to dissolve within six houres, on pain of death.

The Duke raises Forces, but was countermanded by the Kings Letter, to depart the Realm within twenty daies, yet he retires to *Dunbarton*, where the Noble-men, and others, flock to defend his Cause. These uprores were posted to Queen *Elizabeth*, who sends Sir *Henry Cary*, and Sir *Robert Bowes* to advise the King to be counselled by the Lords, against the Duke and *Arran*, and to restore the Earl of *Angus*, exiled in *England* since *Mortons* execution. This last was obtained, and soon after, he was accepted into favour, but much ado to incline the King to part with *Lenox*.

The Lords carry the King to *Edenburgh*, where the Ministry justifie their act, joyfully singing in Procession the 124. Psalm, *Now Israel may say, &c.*

Removed to
Edenburgh,
and are confir-
med by the
Clergy.

And the Assembly then convened, ratifie the attempt on the Kings person at *Ruthen*, and published it in all the Churches of the Realm, to the regret and grief of all good men, to see a bad cause thus coloured over and defended by the Church, which made much for their Popedom, that by these means of distraction the Lords gave themselves up to be governed by the Others Judgements. Many there were that sided herein, the most honest refused to subscribe. But *Arran* was detained prisoner, till the Duke was gon over Seas to *France*, who fell sick at Sea, and had leave to land at *Blackness*, and so to pass, by Queen *Elizabeths* favour, though *England*, where his sickness contracted into a Disease, of which he died in *Paris* next year after, and confessed the faith of the Church of *Scotland*, which he alwaies maintained; though in the Kirks policy he was accounted a Court Papist.

Two Ambassadors come from *France*, *Menvel* and *la Matt* through *England*, with whom was sent *Davidson* from Qu. *Eliz.* to undermine their Message, being, To work the Kings Liberty, to confirm him to the French, and renew the purpose of Association, which was, That the Queen of Scots should communicate the Crown with her son, and administration of Justice, so that he may be acknowledged a lawful King by all Christian Princes; and thereby all domestique factions suppressed.

Ambassadors
ill used.

This

Anno

1582.

The King Orders to feast them, but the Kirk command a fast.

Buchanans death and Character.

The King free himself.

This Embassy was voted in the Kirks Assembly to be a special grievance, a wicked practice, declaming in their Pulpits against *la Matt*, who being a Knight of the Order of *St. Esprit*, wore the badge of the *White-Cross* upon his Shoulder, which they called, *The badge of Antichrist*, and him, *The Ambassadour of the bloody Murtherer*, meaning the Duke of *Guise*, who sent him thither.

The King, not able to do it otherwaies, desired the Magistrates of *Edenburgh* not to demit them without a Feast at parting, which was concluded on the *Monday* after. And all cost prepared in Order thereto. When on *Sunday* the very day before, the Kirk proclame in their Pulpits the next day to be kept fast; and in malice to the Kings honour therein, appointed three Preachers, the one succeeding the other, to weary the poor peoples attention from Morning till night, *Thundering Curses, Anathema's and Excommunication against all Nobles, Magistrates and Others that attended the Ambassadors*. The good King sees these insolencies, but lodges them up in silence, till he got power to remedy these wrongs.

About this time dies *Buchanan*, whose Character is chronicled by the Arch-bishop of *Saint Andrews* in his History of their Church, *For his excellent wit and incomparable learning*. Born near the Highlands. After his first commitment 1539. for his verififying against the Fryers, he escaped to *France*. Returning 1560. he professed Philosophy at *Saint Andrews*, and became the Kings Tutor.

He is concluded by all moderate and faithful Recordes, That he penned his Scottish History with eloquence, and with such Judgement, as that he is justly blamed by most men, for joining with all factions of the time, and evermore to justifie any base and scandalous proceeding against *Queen Mary*, and falsly and fowly he endeavoured to depresso the Royal authority of Princes, siding with the Treasonable tenents of rebellious Subjects, which afterwards he expressed with bitter unmanerly fau-ciness of his Sovereign Queen then deceased. This is the joint opinion of some, with whom we may be convinced to incline.

This next Summer the King got free from his Attenders, for being in *Faulkland*, he desired to visit his Uncle the Earl of *March* then at *Saint Andrews*, where he took a view of the Castle, and being entered, the Captain of the Guard, Colonel *Stuart* (acquainted with the Design) clapt to the Gates and shut out the Company, and the next morning came the Kings friends the Earls of *Arguile, Marshall, Montross* and *Rothess*. And of his former Jaylers none but the Earl *Gowry* was admitted by the Collonels means, who had been his Servant, and upon his humble

Anno
1583.

ble submission for his Fact at *Ruthen*, was received to mercy, and all these Lords elected his Counsellors, with Inhibition that none should presume to come to Court with more attendants than fifteen with an Earl or Bishop, ten with a Lord, or Abbot, or Priour, and six with a Baron. And now declares in publique, *That however his Majesty did with patience perforce endure his restraint at Ruthen, and all those former passages of Treasonable disloyalty, yet willing to be an Example of Clemency to others he in favour pardoned all, admonishing the Lords to do so too amongst themselves.* Yet their consciences accusing left not to convene in tumult; and therefore for more security to the King, they were confined to several Places by Proclamation, which they disobeying were denounced Rebels, except *Angus*, who submitted; and now was *John Metellan*, admitted Counsellor, and hereafter became Chancellor of State.

These affaires took up the summer, and at the fall of the leaf comes secretary *Walsingham* from *Queen Elizabeth*, exostulating the Kings receiving of *Arran* and casting of his nobles, who though thus mutenous as you have heard, were yet justified by her to be *defenders of his Crown*.

The King told him, *He was not to be taught to rule in his own affaires, being as free, as his Princess, and that his promise against Arran was made under his restraint, but now being at liberty himself he doth him but the like justice. Expecting his so much friendship from his Sister the Queen, not to countenance his Subjects in Rebellion.*

The Ambassadour replied *that his Mistress medled not, but for his good, and complains that one Holt an English Iesuite and plotter in Throgmortons treason, should be imprisoned by the King, and yet permitted to escape by means of the French, and not rather sent to the Queen; he was answered that Archibald Dowglas guilty of his fathers murther and in England, was not rendered to him, as was desired. Though in truth, Holt got loose without leave. And so the discourse ended in peace.*

And in November Lodawick eldest sonn to the late Duke of *Lenox*, from *France* at 14 years of age (the King having sent for his Brethren before) Investing him with his fathers honnors and lands, and the Earl *Montross* to be his Trustee. Some years after came over his sisters, *Henrieta* married to the Earl of *Huntley*; *Mary* to the Earl of *Mar*; the third avowed her self a *Virgin* to the *Cloister*. A yonger sonne remained in *France* untill the King came into *England*, where he was advanced to great honours. Thus did a gracious King for a distressed family.

The former Declaration against the mutenous Lords, could not deter them from conventions, pretending the time too short, which was limitted for their submission unto confinement. And

Ambassadour
from England
pleads for the
Rebels.

The late D. of
Lenox chil-
dren prefer'd.

factions Lords
submit.

Anno
1583.

The Ministers
meddle.

Melvils ill
manners.

therefore in an Assembly of the Peers the King renews his offer of pardon to such as would confesse their foule act at *Ruthen*, and submit to conforme themselves accordingly. The Earl *Rothess* protests his subscription to that fact, was forced upon him, and repents to mercy, from whose example the rest followed, and the faction to fall asunder. They had pardon and leave to depart some into *Ireland*, others to *France*. Amongst whom was *Gowry* who yet delayed his journey, whilst he fell into new practises, which brought him to his death.

No wonder, to finde the Ministry much concerned in their Sermons to justifie, one or other of these Revolters, and the fact of *Ruthen*, necessary and lawful. *Andrew Melvil* affirming to the Council, *That the Presbytery only had power and authority to judge and censure the Pulpit, and not the King, nor his Council. In prima instantia, to meddle therewith though they should be treasonable.* Telling the King to his face, *That he perverted the laws of God and man.* Upon which he was charged to enter his person in *Blackness* forthwith, but he turn'd back, fled to *Barwick* that night; and alwaies after the Ministry complaining, *That the light of the Countrey for learning, and the only man to resist the enemies of Religion was exiled, and compell'd for his life to quit the Kingdome.* And though the King descended to satisfie the people by Proclamation therein, yet it caused a murmuring, and encouraged *Gowry*, to expect *Mars* and *Glammins* returne out of *Ireland* to joyne in Armes, for Reformation of abuses in Church and State, for preservation of the King and Kingdome. The wonted old pretence of all Rebels.

Gowry impri-
soned,

Hls confession.

Gowry to colour his intended treason from suspicion, comes to *Dundee*, and there presseth a ship for his voyage. But the King quickly advised, sent Collonel Stewart Captain, of the Guard to seize him, who with others made some resistance, but the Town concurring with the Captain he was taken and conveyed to *Edenburgh* under custody of *Arran*. Within two daies after *Angus* and *Mar* surprise the Castle of *Sterlin*, but hearing of the Kings march, with formidable forces, they fly into *England*. *Gowries* confession under his hand sets down their practises thus, *That himself perceaving the Kings favour declining and his estate aimed at by power of his enemies, he was forced to seek his own relief by concurring with other Nobles in the like Case, by the means of James Erskin, who travelled therein, and assured me of their Return to Sterlin, where we concluded, That at home it was expected, that all those who subscribed the bond in the first alteration would join with us; and besides them, the Earls Marshall, and Bothwel, the Lord Lindsey, and others of the West; From England we expected supply, and that the Queen would intercede for restitution of the Hamiltons.*

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

101

At his comming to *Sterlin* he writ to the King, thus ;

Anno

1584.

Petition.

Please your Majesty, *It is neither diffidence nor despair in your Highness favour and clemency towards me, nor any desire I have of life, that moves me to require some short audience of your Majesty: But there is a purpose of such weighty importance, which is needfull to be imparted to your Highness, that might have endangered the Lives and Estates of your Mother and your Self, if I had not stayed and impeded the same, the relation whereof concerns you more than the lives of 500. such as my self, wherein I am assured of your Majesties gracious answer.*

The matter is not the concealing of a Treason, but the revealing of a benefit, April 1584.

His Petition is denyed, and the same brought in evidence at his Tryal, being in *May* indicted of four points.

Arraignment.

1. *That in February last David Hume (Mars Man) came at night to him at Perth, communicating the surprizing of Perth and Sterlin, and so concealing and consenting to Treason.*

2. *The like he conferred with James Arskin a Trafficker from Mar, Angus, and others.*

3. *That being in Dundee, and charged by his Majesties command to render himself to the Lord Petten Weym Chancellour, and Captain of the Kings Guard, he did notwithstanding oppose him with Men and Arms, convoking aid of the people to assist him in his Treason.*

4. *That being obliged to maintain his Majesties, Life, Honour, and Crown, and having Intelligence that concerned the life and estate of the King and the Queen his Mother, he treasonably concealed the same.*

He excepts against Sir *John Gourdon*, who sat chief Justice, for some enmity betwixt *Gartland* (his Kinsman) and him. But this exception was soon refelled; being only *affinitas affinitatis*.

His exception.

Then, that the Noblemen that examined him, promised that his confessions to them, should not be urged against him.

But it was answered, That their words could not warrant him.

He stood upon forty daies time to answer for Treason.

He was told, that the King might arrest at his own pleasure.

To the last point of Indictment, That what he offered to reveal to the King was not of Treason.

But he was answered, that the concealing might tend to the Kings destruction.

The Indictment was found, the Jury were eight Earls, and eight

Anno

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Condemned
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His Character

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Declarations.

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And in this Parliament in May, the Attempt of Ruthen, was ratified, the Kings authority over all persons confirmed, the declining his Majesties Judgement and the Councils to be Treason, the impugning of the authority of the three Estates, or procuring their diminution to be Treason, all Jurisdictions and Judicatures spiritual or Temporal, not approved by the three Estates, to be discharged.

And an Ordinance made, That none should presume, privately or publickly, in Sermons, Declarations or Conference to utter Speeches to the reproach of the King, his Parents and Progenitors, or to meddle with the Affairs of State under grievous pains.

Now was the Ministers Spirits on fire, that they were not first heard, and *Lindsey*, was committed, *Lawson* and *Balcunquhal* flies into *England*, so did *Poul*, who impudently protested against the Parliaments Ordinance, and were all accounted Rebels.

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their zealous wrestling with God, they had revelation to depart, and hoped after destruction of the Antichristian Prelates, to return home to their several flocks in Peace.

But by the Kings direction, this insolent Letter was replied unto by the Session; wherein after the just confutation of their abuses on the King and State, *They discharge themselves of being their flock, and of they their Pastors; and thank God, the Revealer of secrets, that made them manifest their own shame, and relieved them from such wolves in shew of Pastors, and being assured that his Majesty will furnish them with more quieter Ministers, they commit the others to Gods mercy, and to repent for their former offences.*

This letter subscribed and sent to England, was copied out and divulged to their eternal condemnation, and out of regret of the guilt thereof, afterwards, Lawson died with grief at London.

And at home occasioned others, to follow per force, many imprisoned, some executed for meddling with State-matters, Subscriptions and Sermons so treasonable, although the Kings mercy endeavoured to reclaim them, such were their insolencies, that sundry of them suffered for example to others conformity.

These troubles in *Scotland* brought disadvantage to the poor distressed *Queen Mary*, for whose relief, some practises were set on foot in *England*, by *Throgmorton*, *Lord Paget*, and others, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Arundel*, the *Howards* also (rather suspected out of their general profession of Papistry and affection to *Queen Mary*) and also by *Morgan* and others in *France*, and all for her; As more particular by *Mendoza* the *Spanish Ambassadour* in *England*; who being discovered, stole away secretly to *Paris*, being charged with *Throgmortons* Plot, to bring in forein Power, for which he was hanged. And *Mendoza* as boldly recharged this State with practices against his Master, for at this time *England* countenanced, the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Anjoy*, and *Don Antonio* the *Portugall*, and the Ambassadour of *Navarr* now in *England*; and all these against *Spain*.

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And at home occasioned others, to follow per force, many imprisoned, some executed for meddling with State-matters, Subscriptions and Sermons so treasonable, although the Kings mercy endeavoured to reclaim them, such were their insolencies, that sundry of them suffered for example to others conformity.

These troubles in *Scotland* brought disadvantage to the poor distressed *Queen Mary*, for whose relief, some practises were set on foot in *England*, by *Throgmorton*, *Lord Paget*, and others, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Arundel*, the *Howards* also (rather suspected out of their general profession of Papistry and affection to *Queen Mary*) and also by *Morgan* and others in *France*, and all for her; As more particular by *Mendoza* the *Spanish Ambassadour* in *England*; who being discovered, stole away secretly to *Paris*, being charged with *Throgmortons* Plot, to bring in forein Power, for which he was hanged. And *Mendoza* as boldly recharged this State with practices against his Master, for at this time *England* countenanced, the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Anjoy*, and *Don Antonio* the *Portugall*, and the Ambassadour of *Navarr* now in *England*; and all these against *Spain*.

But to colour these to excuse this State, and to complain of the Ambassadour, *Wade*, Clark of the Council, posts into *Spain*, whom that King refers to his Council, without vouchsafing to see him; and not being heard at all, returns home again. And by some papers of *Creighton* a *Scotish Jesuite* intercepted, and discovering fresh plots of invasion by the Pope, *Spain*, and the *Guises*, the State of *England* began more narrowly to look about, and to begin with the *Queen of Scots* miserable Tragedy, herein *Leicester* and other Lords associate by oath to persecute to the death the obstacles of *Queen Elizabeths* peace and safety.

Mary

Anno

1584.

And are sharply answered.

Designs in England for Queen Mary.

Wade an Envoy to Spain.

Anno

1584.

Condemned
and executed.

His Character

Some Mini-
sters for med-
ling fled to
England.

Declarations.

and Acts of
State.They reply
with Letters
to Edinburgh

eight Lords, and his Sentence as in Treason, and so in the evening was only beheaded.

He had been of good Fame and Honour in Court, accounted wise, yet he dealt in Witch-craft for revealing the future state of things, though for the general misopinion I find of the Presbyters against Judicial Astronomy, we may conceive him no otherwise liable to their idle censure therein. Nor was he accused thereof in his Tryal, nor did repent of it at his death; yet is acknowledged to take it with peace and patience in contempt of the World, and assurance of Gods mercy. His Death shewed the way to *Archibald Dowglas* and *John Forbes*, executed after him, the rest of the Conspiracy had Banishment or Pardon. The Ministers had been nibbling at these treasonable Baits, and *Polwart*, *Galloway*, and *Carmichel*, not compeering, were denounced Rebels, and fled into *England*.

And in this Parliament in May, the Attempt of Ruthen, was ratified, the Kings authority over all persons confirmed, the declining his Majesties Judgement and the Councils to be Treason, the impugning of the authority of the three Estates, or procuring their diminution to be Treason, all Jurisdictions and Judicatures spiritual or Temporal, not approved by the three Estates, to be discharged.

And an Ordinance made, *That none should presume, privately or publickly, in Sermons, Declarations or Conference to utter Speeches to the reproach of the King, his Parents and Progenitors, or to meddle with the Affairs of State under grievous pains.*

Now was the Ministers Spirits on fire, that they were not first heard, and *Lindsey*, was committed, *Lawson* and *Balcunquhal* flyes into *England*, so did *Poul*, who impudently protested against the Parliaments Ordinance, and were all accounted Rebels.

Hereupon the King declares his Reasons to curb the Ministers.

First their allowance of the Fact at Ruthen. Melvils Declining the King and Council, The Fast kept when the Ambassadors were to be feasted, and other general Fast through the Realm without the Kings Authority; usurping Ecclesiastick Jurisdictions. Alterations of the Lawes at their pleasure and a number of such abuses.

To these they impudently replied in Pamphlets, Libells, and Scurrilous pens against the Court. And Letters from those Fugitives to the Ministry and Session of the Church and Council of the Town, Excusing their Absence, for resisting the wicked Ordinance, and not submitting to the Tyrannical Regiment of Bishops, whom they stiled *Libertines*, *Belly-Gods*, *Infamous*, That after their

their zealous wrestling with God, they had revelation to depart, and hoped after destruction of the Antichristian Prelates, to return home to their several flocks in Peace.

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Mary

Anno

1584.

And are sharply answered.

Designs in England for Queen Mary.

Wade an Envoy to Spain.

Anno

1585.

Mary propo-
ses conditions
The Kirk dis-
quiet.

A Parliament.

The Kings su-
premacie and
other Lawes
confirmed.

Ministers fly
into England.

Presbyters e-
quivocation.

Divers execu-
ted for Con-
spiracies.

Mary fearing the effects, made the most humble and satisfac-
tory propositions and concessions to what Queen Elizabeth
could possibly urge, and to which she (indeed) inclined; but
the Scots opposed, especially to hear of her return home.

And to assist the hight of evils, the Presbyters in Scotland are
alwaies at hand, railing at her and the King in the Pulpits, and be-
ing summoned to answer their contempts, absolutely refuse, say-
ing, *That Ecclesiastick persons were exempt the Kings authority.*
Although to suppress their insolencie (very lately, even this
year, and last Assembly of States) it was enacted, *The Kings
authority over all persons Ecclesiastick and Layick, and confirmed
for ever. Their Assemblies, as well general as particular, were con-
demned, as arrogating boundlesse authority, when they list to meet,
and to prescribe lawes, even to the King and Kingdome. And here
the popular equality of Ministers were abrogate, and the dignity of
Bishops restored, whose vocations the Presbyters had condemned as
Antichristian. The scandalous books of Buchanans Chronicles,
and his Dialogue De jure regni apud Scotos, and other such were
condemned.*

So you see in this Parliament, the King had Royally and
Religiously confirmed the Articles of true Religion, and had
united to his Crown the supream Authority Ecclesiastick and
Civil, heretofore usurped by Papists, and lately by Prebyters.
Hereupon they declare the King inclin'd to Popery, and no-
thing to be left of ancient form but the shadow, and not being
suffered to vent their spleen, they fly into England under pre-
tence of persecution.

Yet the King delt with them by hopes and fear. Appoints
their appearance in November from all parts; And were then
pressed to subscribe obedience to their ordinary. *To obey and
acknowledge Bish. according to the Word of God,* which words they
construed to be a restriction or limitation; for say they, *The
Word of God commands no obedience,* Thus either deceived or
deceiving, to redeem their ease with yeilding, cover it with equi-
vocation; some subscribed, others refused, preaching against
them. And evermore *Praying for the banished rebellious Lords as
the best Subjects who fled from tyranny.* Amongst fundry of such
men that suffered trial, and others executed. *Daglish* the chief
Minister of St. *Cuthberts* upon that score, and for corresponding
by letters with *Walter Balcanqual* he was sentenced for Treason,
but upon his humble supplication, was pardoned. *David Hume*
and his brother executed, and indeed divers grand designes of
Treason put the State to necessary jealousies and fears. *Robert
Hamilton* accuses *Douglas of Mains* and *John Cunningham* of
Drumhofel, for conspiring to intercept the King at hunting, and
to detain him, till the banished should return and receive him.

Upon

Upon which they were found guilty, and executed at *Edenburgh*.

Anno

1585.

Angus and other Fugitives in Engl.

And indeed *Angus* and others lay lurking at *Barwick*, who were removed therefore further into *England* to *New Castle*, lest the Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of *Barwick* should suffer suspicion in their designs, against all reason of State, which now in *England* seems to side with King *James*,

And at *New Castle* they lodge; *John* and *Claud Hamilton* retire and take up by the way to settle all here. The Scots Ministers wanderers were all found out, and called to the Juncto, *Lawson Carmichel*, *Erskin*. And Mr. *John Colvil* sent away to Secretary *Walsingham* at Court. Who led them with hopes that the Queens fleet (usual) rigging was intentional for their interest; this encouraged them, and gave occasion to the Scots Ambassadour to draw up Criminations against them, and so they were removed to *Norwich*, and after to *London*; and lodge at *Long ditch* beyond *Tuttle street* against the Park-wall, to whom all their Ministers resort (a petty corporation) preach, pray, keep fasting, more than private, and were so bold, as to expect leave, to be allotted a Church of their own as *French*, *Italian*, *Dutch* and other strangers, but the conformity of language with us, and the deformity in discipline, made their request insolent; of which they complain in their preachings, and therefore are all silenced; which they say brake the heart of *Lawson*, their Malapert minister, or rather the letter from *Edenburgh* aforesaid renouncing him their Pastor, who deserting his cure upon pretence of conscience, not to subscribe, yet takes part with Rebels against his Sovereign. But the particular manner and occasion in *Scotland* was as followeth.

Insolent.

In civill affairs, the Earl *Arran* comanded all; keeper of the Castle, of *Sterlin*, *Edenburgh*, and *Provost* there, lately made Chancellor upon the death of the Earl *Arguile*. The office of secretary he conferred upon *John Metellan*, *Lethingtons* son, having banished the Abott of *Dumferlin*, who possessed that place, and made himself Lieutenant of *Scotland*; which greatness, procured private envy of others at Court, plotting his ruine. To conserve himself, he endeavoured to gain Queen *Elizabeth* to be his friend; and after, he had privately conferred with the Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of *Barwick* several legations were sent to *England* by the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews* to confirm the Kings constancy in Religion, much suspected by the cunning informations of the banished abroad, and Kirkmen at home. And after him the Master of *Gray* came to remand the fugitive Rebels and *Lewis Ballandine* Justice Clark, was sent to accuse them, as guilty of the conspiracy of *Mains* and *Drumhofell*; but indeed *Ballandines* interest con-

Arran made Chancellour his great power, in State

Anno

1585.

Maxwell mis-
used,takes arms a-
gainst the L.
Johnston.Arrand declines
in Queen Eli-
zabeths favor.

Holy League.

Wootton sent
Ambassadour
to Scotland.

conniving, his accusations were so slenderly urged; that the very ground was laid, to work their restitution and *Arrans* destruction; the Queen and her counsel under hand giving ayme to all.

Arran abused with hopes of the Queens friendship, continues his greatness into terms of Tyranny; against *Athol*, *Hume* and *Casils*; With frivolous, arbitrary justice. It fell more particular upon the Lord *Maxwell* for refusing exchange of Lands; the Barrony of *Kinnell* fallen by attainder, with the Barrony of *Mernis* and other Lands of *Maxwell* Heath. And to work out the mischief, the Lord *Johnston* is made *Provost*, thereby being warden of the *West Marches*, might curb the power of *Maxwell*, whose right it was to the *Provostry*, and therefore rayses forces of his friends, and apposed *Johnston*; for which and other Insolencies, he is denounced *Rebell*, and commission to *Johnston* with power to pursue him: *Maxwell* sends his two brothers to intercept *Lamby* and *Cranston*, ere they should joyn head, in the fray the first is killed, the other made prisoner; which encouraged *Johnston* to incurse upon *Maxwells* lands by fire and sword, with great spoyl & booty: the same were answered upon return of the like against *Johnston*, who is taken prisoner, and the regret therof, greived him to his grave, shortly after.

The Quarel now engages the States, who convene, and a subsidy granted of twenty thousand punds (or pounds) levied also to pursue him; but the great plague raging at *Edenburgh* that expedition for the present, was put off till next year.

In this interim Queen *Elizabeths* favour declines from *Arran*; the occasion being a Tumult, arising between the Governours of the middle *Marches*, *Sr. Francis Russell*, son to the Earl of *Bedford*, was killed neer the *Borders*, the deed done by instigation of *Arran*, and *Farneyhast* the slayer, was denied to be rendred to the Queens justice; yet not much insisted upon at that time, but rather to contract former friendship; by Ambassy of *Sr. Edward Wotton*, offensive and defensive with the King in cause of *Rebellion*; for then, came on, the *Roman holy League* (so stiled) with the *Pope*, *Spain* and *Guisits* in *France* and others in *Germany* to exterpate the reformed Religion in all *Christendome*, though principally aimed against *Q. Elizabeth*, who courts *Leagues* with other Princes reformed; *Sr. Thomas Bodly* treats therein, with the King of *Denmark*; *Wotton* with *Scotland*; and at a *Parliament* in *Iuly* was by Act confirmed for ever, supposed sufficient, to return *Wotton* the sooner home. But he had private comands countermines for the fugitive Lords restitution, lately concluded before in *England* by the late *Ambassadors*; with whom now he keeps private meetings, gaining time by the occasion of certain *Ambassadors* from *Denmark*, who under pretence of remand to the

Isles

Isles of *Orknay* and *Sbethland*, upon the Northern coast of *Scotland*, alienated of old from that *Crown*. But in truth, they propounded reasons of State, *For a Mariage with the King, and a Sister of Denmark, happily effected 4 years after.*

Anno
1585.
Propositions
of a Mariage
with Den-
mark.

These Ambassadors taking leave, the rumour grew high of the banished Lords Conspiracy, which causes a Proclamation for a general Convention of all good Subjects, to meet the King at the Castle of *Crawford* in *October*, to repell the Rebels; which the *English* Ambassadors craftily prevent, whilest the Lords march apace, and come to rendezvous at *Linton* in *Tweeddale*, and there *Covenant by Oath, not to separate till they should seize the King, and remove Arran*: and thither comes *Maxwell*, with a thousand Horse and foot, that served heretofore against *Johnston*; all the rest making up but so many more; and to be even with the King, they proclaim also (the old and new Rebels rule) *Defence of the truth, the deliverance of the King from evil Counsellors*, and add, *the Amity with England*. Interlacing each line with Odiums against *Arran*, amongst other charges; That he claimed descent from *Duke Mordach* (beheaded by King *James* the first, upon that title) which *Arran* now takes up, to be Heir to the *Crown*, by the name of *James* seventh. And indeed this was now enforced, and a scandal, which all men understood; for, whether he had feigned such a pretence the last year, or others for him had formed it, he was forced to purge himself then in *Parliament*, by serious Protestation; which truly in pride of heart he did, rather to deceive the World with that folly.

The Lords
conspire,

and declare.

Thus far *Wootton* plotted with the Revolters agents at Court, and being almost discovered by *Arran*, he departs hastily, without leave, towards *Berwick*, and after him posts an Express, who overtook him at *Anwick*; expostulating, *Whether His Mistress directed him this mannerly departure?* He acknowledged to the Messenger, that he could not grant, that he came away *Insalutato hospite*, seeing he performed that Office with Heart and Hand; and would ever endeavour, by all possible means, that his suddain departure, should rather help to maintain, than to dissolve the amity betwixt his *Sovereign* and the King. By the word *Hand*, he referred to a Letter, which he left for the King, in which he so far complained, that the cause lodged upon *Arrans* discredit, who (he said) governed all. By which *Arran* suspected somewhat amiss, and accused the Master *Gray* for hastening *Wootton* away.

Wootton plots
with them
and posts
home.

The Lords Revolters that had intelligence of all, march with speed to *Sterlin*, and were let in by a back-way at *Mid-night*. And, whilest *Arran* was busie with the watch, at the other end, the Town was taken and rifled; *Arran* and others escaped. The

The Lords
seize the King
at Sterlin, &
treat.

Anno
1585.

King inclosed within the Castle, sends out two Counsellors, to tell them, That *humble Petitions* better became the duty of *Subjects Complaints*, and private address more fit than to force their *Sovereign*, which violent forms they would find unsure, that should be extorted by force or fear, and he never to want men and means hereafter to undo.

They not as yet let in, were not to learn the art of *dissembling*, excusing their actions, by their miserable conditions, reduced to this necessity, to seek relief rather for the King than themselves. His honour and safety, highly endangered by evil Counsellors (excepting them that were sent) and labouring these with arguments to intercede for his Majesties grace and favour, and to admit their address to his person.

The King knew their meaning, and intending to say no more than willingly they should hear of, For my self (said the King) I never liked the mans arrogancy (meaning Arran) but I must secure my Servants about me; the quarrels betwixt Crawford and Glamis, Angus and Montros, and Col. Stuart, as ill beloved for serving me.

No sooner said, But they vow, Not to arm for private quarrels of their own, or any others, not minding to mix particulars with the publique.

Upon which, they get in, fall down on their knees to the King, and the Lord Hamilton, being the best in blood, was their spokesman, who only craved mercy.

To whom, My Lord, said the King, I never knew you till now, and I am sorry to see your face in this fault; you have been faithful to my Mother in my Minority, and, I fear, may suffer more than these.

As for you (angrily browning upon Bothwell,) Francis, what ailed thee that never could be injured?

But---To you all that mean me no mischief, I am pleased to hold out my hand and my heart, carying your selves from henceforth, as dutiful Subjects.

It was no time to do other, and the next day in Council, to confirm by Act, their Pardon, and their Assistants, and so proclaimed. Crawford and Montros, delivered up to Hamilton, and Col. Stuart permitted to depart. Arran was gone before, fled to Coil, deprived of all honors, lived from thenceforth privately.

And now new Lords and Laws share old offices. The Guard was given to Glamis, the Castle Dunbritton to Hamilton, Sterlin restored to the Earl Mar, and the Castle of Edinburgh delivered to Sir James Hume.

This relation the most certain, though I know it is otherwise reported.

And no wonder to find designs in policy how to clear these
Lords

Lords of former accusations, and confessions; the very Examinants and Deponents must now voluntarily offer new Oaths, to purge them from all Treasonable Attempts. Amongst whom *Duntraith* now confessed to be suborned to accuse *Mains*, out of fear to save himself.

Besides these powers that overmastered the Kings party, the want of supply from *Edenburgh* lost the Court; the raging Plague swept away twenty thousand persons, and that City quite forsaken. He is forced now to yield to their Domination; this Success imboldens the disloyal Ministers to return home also, from all parts, insupportable insolent. One of them (*Gibson*) to the Kings face, terms him *Feroboam*, a Persecutor; threatens him, *That if he went on in the former way, he should be the last of his race.*

And before the King and Council, he and *Watson* (such another) impudently maintain the same and more to their teeth, which no *Catiline* could have done more treasonable.

Then their Synod, being assisted by a number of the Laicks, convene the Bishops; *Saint Andrews* was compeered before them, upon accusation of *Andrew Melvil*, in malice and private revenge, but his pretence was that the Bishop devised and penned former Acts against the Presbytery; the Bishop protests against their Judicature, and disputes his Innocency from any evil therein, and to avoid their censures, appeals to the King and Estates, and they therefore in fear what to do, a young Fellow, *Andrew Hunter*, professes to be armed by the Spirit, and so usurping the Chair, he pronounced Sentence against him. *Cunningham* the Bishops man, did the like, the next day, against *Melvil*.

These and other such disorders involves the King and Estates what to do with them, where the Secretary of State perceiving their vexations, advises the King to leave the Ministry to their own courses; That in a short time, he should see them so intolerable, as the people would chase them out of the Nation. True (said the King) if I were careless to undo the Church and Religion, it were the best Counsel, but to preserve both I must suppress disorders, lest Religion be despised.

And therefore, as these insolencies gave the King occasion wisely to foresee the dangerous events, if not nipt in the Bud, *So ex malis Moribus, bonæ leges nascuntur*, for the State publish these Articles.

That all Preachers should obey the King.

Not to pretend privilege in their allegiance.

Not to meddle in State matters.

Not to revile his Majesty.

Not to draw the people from obedience.

And being questioned, not to allege inspiration of the Spirit.

Anno

1585.

Nor to serve themselves with colour of conscience, &c.
It is strange to observe, both before, and then, and sithence, even to these our last daies (as were by Wisemen alwaies foretold from the beginning) how this Gangreen spread, and that we are now wearied, as well as the Reader, with these relations. Let me onely observe further the Scots Acts and Ordinances concerning their Episcopacy, and let any Historian tell me, when and how they started into such a sincere Reformation, as to have no Bishops at all, as many would pretend.

1567.
Parl. cap. 2

For first, reforming from Popery in 1567. That no Bishop, nor other Prelate should use any Jurisdiction in time comming by the Bishop of Romes authority (but it appears by all subsequent Acts, That Arch-Bishops and Bishops were not only allowed in their Kirk, but also had Jurisdiction and authority to govern the same).

1572.
Acts 46.

That Arch-Bishops and Bishops have the Authority, and are ordained to convene and deprive all Ministers inferiour, who shall not subscribe the Articles of Religion and recognoscing of the King and his Authority.

48.

That Arch-Bishops and Bishops have authority to assign Ministers Glebes.

54.

That they shall nominate and appoint Visitations, &c. and persons in every Parochin for settling Taxation for upholding Kirks, &c.

1573.
Acts 55.

That they shall direct charges how the Minister of the Parochin shall proceed to excommunications.

1578.
Acts 63.

That they shall try the rent of Hospitals, and call for the foundations thereof.

1579.
Acts 69.

The Jurisdiction of the Kirk is declared to stand in preaching the Word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners, and administration of Sacraments.

And no other Authority allowed; but Arch-Bishops and Bishops intended to continue in Authority, as is cleer by these Acts following.

Acts 71.

First, All persons returning from forein Travails are within twenty daies to pass to the Bishop, Super-intendent, Commissioner of the Kirk, to give a Confession of their faith.

1584.
Acts 130.

That none presume to impugn the Dignity and Authority of the three Estates, or to seek or procure the innovation or diminution of their power and authority, or any of them in time, coming under pain of Treason.

132.

That Bishops are to try and judge Ministers guilty of crimes, meriting deprivation.

133.

That no Ministers exercise any other Office beside their Calling, and to be adjudged by their Ordinaries of Bishops.

1587.
Acts 23.

All Acts whatever heretofore, anent the Kirk of God and Religion now professed are ratified.

That

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

III

That the three Estates (especially considering the persons exercising the offices, titles and dignities of Prelates, which persons have ever represented one of the Estates, &c.) Therefore declare that the Kirk in Scotland is the true and holy Kirk, and that such Ministers as the King shall provide to the Dignity of a Bishop shall have vote in Parliament, as any Ecclesiastical Prelate ever had by-gon.

And null all manner of Acts made in prejudice of Bishops, Honours, Dignities, &c. competent to them or their estate since the reformation of Religion.

The same revived.

Ordains Arch-bishops and Bishops to be elected by their Chapters, and consecrate by the Order accustomed.

And yet we must confess, they were oftentimes striking at the root and branch of Bishops, as others of them did against the Power and Majesty of Princes; for Buchanan terms the praises of Majesty, Highness, Excellency, Solacismos et Barbarismos aulicos.

Jeering at the outward State of Princes, comparing them to childrens Puppets, garishly attired. That a good Prince should be defended with innocency, *Non superbo speculatorum et catu sericatisque nebulonibus stipatus.*

Another of theirs Davison, his Pamphlet printed in those times forced through with base invectives, both against the Government of Scotland and England, with most dangerous insinuations to Rebellion.

The Genevian Ministers and their Tenents also were dispersed in England, wholly into such Arguments. Out of two more pestilent sundry seditious positions may be collected, Goodman and another Author stiled True Obedience; or rather perfect rebellion.

It may be true, tis no Treason to resist the Sovereign for defence of Religion, nor no treasonable assertion, That a lawful Prince may be deposed in case of revolt from God, and these are the proposition of all Christian Professors, but these Men following their own deceitful wiles, and irregular opinions, adjudged that to be error, or idolatry, which perhaps may not be so, and may traduce goodness and virtue by the rule of their own strained conceit, and so differ in the manner and matter, as reason and conscience differ from fury and frenzy.

And yet these their Doctrines Whittingham (afterwards unworthy Dean of Durham) in his preface to Goodmans book, saith, that they were approved by the best learned, meaning Calvin, and the rest of the Genevians, Gilby, Coverdale, Whitehead, and others.

But then let me tell them who were the other, *worser learned men* (as he will have them) that fled Queen Maries persecution to

Anno
1586.

1597.
Acts 231.

1606.
Act. 2.

6.
1617.
Act. 1.

Buchanan.
See his de ju-
Regni Pag. 50
usque 57.

Davison.

The ase truly
stated.

Genevians,
Whittingham
Goodman,
Gilby,
Whitehead,
Coverdale,

Orthodox
men.

Anno
1585.

Scory, Barlow
Cox, Beacon,
Bale, Park-
hurst, Grindal,
Sands, Nowel,
Wisdom, Jew-
el.

Udal, Penry.

Martin, Gilby,
and others,

See after an-
no 1591.

Learned
Hooker.

Cartwrights,
and others,

League offen-
sive and defen-
sive England
and Scotland.

to Franckford, Zurick and Basill, declining Geneva; those were Scory, Barlow, Cox, Beacon, Bale, Parkhurst, Grindall, Sands, Nowell, Wisdom, and Jewell, and very many more, that maintained the Reformation of King Edwards time; and therefore Knox said, *That the English at Geneva were separated from that superstitious company at Franckford.*

Notwithstanding these quarrellers, heretofore (at the first) yet in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth dayes, they pretended to agree in Harmonical Confessions, though in several disciplines, till Cartwright and Travers in his *Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, makes their own tenents so positive, as that, *If every hair of their heads were a life, they would lose them all, to defend their Discipline.*

Then came in to their Gang, Udall and Penry, and call that discipline *onely, pure, perfect, righteous, full of goodness, peace and honor; ordained for the joy and happiness of all Nations.* Therein followed them, Martin, and his two sons, and Gilbie; and so like very apt scholars in evil, they out-went their masters to the Devil; for joyning with Copinger, Hackett, and others, they fell into a desperate designe of Treason, for which, Hacket was hanged.

At last, increasng in very bold wayes, and desperate tenents, dispersed in Pamphlets, Rithmes and Ballads; It was thought fit to open their eyes and understandings, by some grave, and learned declaration, for setting their mad brains, which was effected by that most reverend and learned Divine Hooker, in his *Ecclesiast. Policie*, which for a long time (during the time of times) silenced all their Railings; and so satisfied the wiser sort, that the Church of God got quiet from such disturbers, till of late daies.

But to return to our History, In June was compleated the League with England, hammered out for defence of both Nations against the holy League (as the Papists would have it) the Commissioners meeting at Barwick, concluded these Articles, upon the former reasons.

1. To joyn and unite in a more strict League than ever had been before.

2. To draw other Princes Reformed into their society.

3. To be offensive and defensive against any Contractors with their enemies.

4. Not to assist any Invader of either Kingdom.

5. That the Scots to assist England against any Invasion with two thousand horse and five thousand foot at the Queens charge from the borders. The Queen the like to Scotland, but with three thousand horse, and six thousand foot.

6. If

6. If the North of England, there the Scots to assist with all their force for thirty dayes (the usual time of attending their own King.)

7. The King not to suffer Scots to be transported into Ireland, but by leave of the Queen.

8. Not to countenance either Rebels or Revolters.

9. That all the controversies of the Borderers be civilly reconciled.

10. Neither Princes to enter League with any other without the consent of both.

11. All by-gone Treaties of either, with other Princes, shall stand in full force, the cause of Religion excepted.

12. These Articles to be confirmed by Oath, and Hands, and Seals.

13. Lastly, That the King, at twenty five yeers old, shall confirm these, by the States of Scotland, as the Queen will then do by her Parliament of England.

This was the begining of Q. *Elix.* design, which she presumed would in time be considerable, with other reformed States confederate; though in earnest, the whole intention of the Papists, had reference to the Church of *England*, the absolute orthodox Conserver of the true ancient Apostolick faith, though by observation of succeeding times in some relations, it appears of late wonderfully indangered. But, besides that of Religion, and strengthening her affairs in policie with other Princes, upon that score, she had a further aim, to confirm amity with the King whom she was assured forthwith, mightily to offend, and to endanger her safety and honour with all the Christian world.

Against the
holy League
of Papists.

For now (with leave of the Reader) having been led somewhat too long in the Church affairs; let us remind the poor Captive Queen *Mary*, upon whom all the former suspitions reflected, and so hastened to her ruin; for Queen *Elizabeth* casting about to make things safer, than fast, resolved upon the way, most desperate, which if it took not well, was yet the onely way, by taking *Mary* out of the way, and so give end to *Elizabeths* jealousies; to secure her Person from Treasons; to joynt her power now divided; and to settle her people from imbroides and divisions.---But soft and fair, the wily wits of *Walsingham* and *Burleigh*, must be busied about it.

Return to Qu.
Maries story.

For now she is removed from her fifteen yeers custody, under the good Earl of *Shrewsbury*, unto Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drew Drury*, on purpose to put her upon extremity of redress against their extream imprisoning. And so she endeavors, and deals with the Pope and Spain, by *Englefeild*, to hasten their designs, however; which designs indeed, is so peeced and patcht together,

Removed into
custody to
Pawlet.

Anno
1586.

Arundel fin-
ed.

Northumber-
land pistols
himself.

Babingtons
Treason.

Pooley.

Betrayed by
Gifford a
Priest.

Gifford a false
Priest.

ther, by those that writ of them, as if each mans fancy, in re-
ference to the publick, must needs take effect of *Rebellious in-
terpretation*. And what ere was whispered in that sence, was
sure to be put upon the poor *Queens account*, by which she smar-
ted; for in this *Parliament of England*, the former *Association* of
the Lords was confirmed by both Houses, and strict Acts a-
gainst *Catholicks* and *abetters* in *Treason*, which occasioned *Philip
Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, eldest son of the late *Duke of Norfolk*,
(three yeers since restored in blood) to complain of his enemies,
pursuing him to the death, as others had done to his *Great Grand-
father* condemned, and never came to tryal; his *Grandfather*
beheaded for trifles, and his *father* likewise for concernments of
lesser moment. *Himself* thus afflicted, endeavoring to retire
out of the Kingdom, but was taken and sent to the *Tower*, where
he found *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* (as accessory to
Thorgmortons design) who Pistolled himself some dayes after, but
Arundel was onely fined in Star-Chamber.

The *Catholicks* desparate to do something, were animated
thereto by *Ballard* a Priest, who from hence goes into *France*,
and there layes his designs with the Old *Plotters*, *Pope*, *Guises*, the
Spaniard and *Parma* to invade *England*, and free *Queen Mary*;
and returning home, confederates with *Babington* and six more
principal gentlemen, to kill *Queen Elizabeth*. All which their
plottings were daily discovered to Secretary *Walsingham*, by
one *Pooley* their companion; and so confident were they of suc-
cess, that *Babington* had his own picture, and those about him, all
to the life, with this verse circumscribed,

Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt.

But this verse too plain, they inserted in the place,

Quorsum hac, aliò properantibus?

The *Queen* being shewed these faces knew none but *Barn-
well*.

Babington to hasten this design, resolves to go over himself.
And by *Pooley's* means insinuates with *Walsingham*, and ingages
to discover Fugitives, if he might be trusted with the *Queens*
License, which was promised to him, but delayed, whilst all
was discovered to *Walsingham* (by one *Gifford* a Priest) whom
he recommended unto *Amias Pawlet* to suffer his servants to
be corrupted by him, and so to intrap the *Queen* his *Prisoner*;
but though *Pawlet* refused to conspire with his servants, yet he
permitted one that depended on the necessary service of his Fa-
mily, a *Baker*, to be bribed; and at a hole in the wall, to give
out

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

113

Anno
1586.

out and take in letters, between the *Queen* and all the confederates, which were (as sure) to be opened and read by *Walsingham*, who got the *Keys* of the *Ciphers*, and had answers counterfeited, to involve whom he pleased to suspect, in the Plot. At last (the time being ripe for Execution) they were proclaimed *Traytors*, and at several places seized, examined, and confessing to every particular, they were executed as *Traytors*, seven of them most cruelly; the other seven with more mercy.

Traytors all
executed.

The *Queen of Scots* was so narrowly watched, that she knew nothing of the discovery; no, not when *Mr. Gorge* was sent to her, to expostulate these plots. She being then on horseback a hunting, was not suffered to return; but in shew of honour, was led to several Gentlemens houses, in the mean time, that her servants and her Secretaries are severed from *Communication*, her *Cabinet* and *Desks*, and Copies of Letters, with sixty several *Ciphers* discovering all, were seized and sent to the Council.

Now is *Gifford* sent by *Walsingham* into *France*, and given out as banished; who leaves a Paper indented with the *French* Ambassadour, in charge, not to deliver any letters from the *Queen of Scots*, or from the fugitives, that came to his hands and to be sent into *France*, but to such onely, that brought the counterpain of the Indented Paper, which he secretly sent to *Walsingham*. And so departed into *France*, where soon he died; for, having done the main work, ere he went over, was for his reward discovered to be a counterfeit (even by flight of hand and *Walsingham's* contrivement) and so had sauce to his knavish face, that pined him away by inches.

Gifford sent
into France,

and there im-
poisoned.

In this condition was the poor imprisoned *Queen* at *Fotheringham* Castle in *Northampton-shire*; when the Council were as busie what to do with her. At last, they concluded to proceed upon the Act of 27. *Eliz.* made the last yeer, against *Plotters* or contrivers of the *Queens* death, as before said.

Q. of Scots
comes to her
Tryal.

To which purpote a Commission under the great seal issued out, impowring twenty four Noblemen and others therein, who came to the Castle the 11. of *October*, to try and censure her.

Against which she excepted, As being her self a free Princess, and not liable to tryall for life; Her ignorance of the *Laws* of *England*, and without Council; Her papers and writings seized; and so utterly refuses to be tryed. Yet being over-born, and convinced with many strong arguments of Law and Reason, she submits.

The manner of her Tryal was thus. A chair of Estate was set as for the *Q. of England*, under a canopy at the upper end of the *Presence Chamber*. Beneath, against it, was placed a Chair for the *Queen of Scots*;

The manner.

Anno
1586.

Scots; close to the Walls on both sides of the Cloth of Estate, Seats were made for the Lords, Chancellour, Treasurer, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincoln, and Viscount Mountacute. On the other side, the Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Sturton, Sands, Wentworth, Mordant, Saint John, Compton, Chenos. Next to these the Knights, Privy Counsellours, Sir James Croft, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amias Paulet. Forward before the Earls, sat the two Chief Justices, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer; And on the other side the other two Justices, Delt and Ford Doctors of the Civil Law. At a Table in the midst, Popham Attourney General, Egerton Solicitor, Gawdy Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries.

L. Chancel-
lours Speech.

The Prisoner being set, Bromley Lord Chancellour turning to her, said, The most illustrious Queen of England, being certified, to her great grief, that you plotted hers and the Kingdom of Englands ruine, and the overthrow of Religion established; Out of duty to God, her Self and People, and no malice or ill meaning, hath authorized these Commissioners to hear what can be laid to your charge, and your Answer, to defend your own innocency.

Her Answer.

She rising up said, She came into England to implore aid, and was promised it, but ever since kept Prisoner. That she is not the Queens Subject, but a free and absolute Princess, and cannot be compelled to appear before Delegates or any other Judge, for any cause whatsoever, but before God alone the Supreme Judge of all; which otherwise were derogatory to her own Princely Majesty, to her Son the King of Scots, her Successors, and all other absolute Princes: Nevertheless she did present her self to refuse all Crimes that could be charged upon her.

Chancellours
Reply.

The Chancellour replied, that her Protestation was vain; for whosoever offends the Laws of England, in England must be subject to the same, examined and judged; and therefore not to be admitted. Yet the Delegates commanded her Protestation and his Answer to be registred.

The Patent, and late newest Statute made a Law was read and opened: to which she answered, that it was purposely made to entrap her.

Gawdy.

Gawdy averred, that she had transgressed every part and parcel of that Law: with a Narration of Babingtons Treason, to which she was accused, as conspiring, abetting, assenting to effect it.

Queen.

She denies all, never to have received Letters from him, nor written to him, she knew him not, and requires Proofs of her Hand by any Subscriptions or Letters, nay, she never heard tell of any such Treason; Ballard she knew not, onely, she understood, that the Catholicks were grievously used, and therefore she writ to the Queen for some pity upon

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

115

upon them. She confessed those Letters produced from many whom she knew not, that profered their endeavours for her enlargement, but she excited none to any wicked Design, and being a Prisoner she could not hinder their Attempts.

Anno
1586.

Then was Babingtons Letters read, his Confessions and Correspondencies with her, wherein the whole Conspiracy was expressed.

She answered, that Babington might write them, but prove any receipt of them; if Babington or any other affirm so much, I say plainly, They lie. A Packet of Letters detained a whole year came to my hand, but I know not who sent it: But Babingtons confession accused her therein.

She blamed Sir Francis Walsingham for his cunning plottings to entrap her, with counterfeiting Letters and Cyphers, which he lamely excused, and put all upon policy of State.

This held out the Fore-noon.

After Dinner, was produced Charls Pagets Letter, and Curls (one of her Servants) confession that she received it; touching conference with Ballard and Mendoza for invading England, and setting her free.

She acknowledged that a Priest told her, that unless she interposed, her Self and Son would be excluded from inheritance to this Crown, for that the King of Spain claimed a Right, and would give place to none, except to her self.

Queen.

It was insisted upon the Letters of Nave and Curl.

She answered, Curl was an honest man, but no sufficient Witness, and Nave was sometime Secretary to the Cardinal of Lorain, and commended to her by the King of France, and might be drawn by hope, fear, and reward, to bear false witness, and had a hand over Curl; either of them might insert into Letters more than she dictated, oft times she not examining them, before she signed; that all Princes may this way fall into mischief, if their Servants and Secretaries may falsely accuse them; I desire their presence face to face, to reply to my Exceptions.

Queens

The Treasurer objected, that she purposed to send her Son into Spain, and to transfer her Right and Title to England upon that King.

Treasurer.

She answered, that she had no Kingdom to bestow; however, what was her own, she might dispose as she pleased, and not render account to any.

Queen.

It was urged her Assistance and Pension to Morgan, who sent Parry into England, to assassinate the Queen.

She said, Morgan for her sake, had lost his Estate; and therefore she was obliged in honour to relieve him; nor was she bound to revenge an injury done to the Queen by a Friend that had deserved well of her; yet that she did always deterr him from any bloody Enterprises;

Queen.

Anno
1586.

Queen.

prizes; However Pensions were allowed out of England to Sir Patrick Grey and other Scots my adversaries, and to my Son also.

The heads of her several Letters to Paget, Inglefield, and Mendoza were read; She said, they made nothing to the Queens destruction, but if any forein Prince would endeavour her enlargement, it ought not be a crime in them or her, having often intimated herself, to the Queen, that she would endeavour her own freedom.

She complained of her Servants and Secretaries perjury and treachery, and very unfaithfull unto her; that being a distressed Prisoner, and grown in years, there could be no hope to perfect those things which were expected from her, and therefore she was advised to confirm the Succession of England to the King of Spain, or to some English Catholick Nobleman; And said, that a Book was tendered to her for that purpose, which because she not admitting incurred the displeasure of some eminent persons, for being no hope from England, she was to entertain forein help.

She desired to be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen and her Council.

And now rising out of her Chair in great Majesty and confidence, she exchanged some words with Burghley, Hatton, Walsingham and Warwick apart. And so the meeting again was prorogued till the 25. day of October next, at the Star-chamber at Westminster, before all the Commissioners; where Nave and Curl constantly affirmed, *viva voce*, all those particulars which concerned them to ayer, and which she had denied.

So then Sentence was pronounced against her, and ratified under their hands and seals, in these words recorded.

Sentence against the Qu.
of Scots,

By their unanimous consent at the Day and Place abovesaid; they do pronounce and declare this judicial Verdict, and say, That after the end of the said Parliament (specified in the Commission) viz. after the first of June in the seven and twentieth Year of the Queen, divers matters were compassed and imagined in England by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of Mary Queen of Scots, pretending Title to the Crown of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen. And furthermore, that after the said Day and Year, and before the Date of our Commission, the said Mary hath compassed and imagined in this Kingdom of England divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign, against the form of the Statute specified in the said Commission.

All the Commissioners declaring that this Sentence did no way derogate to James King of Scots in right or honour, but that he continued in the same right and honour, as if that Sentence had never been passed.

Opinions of
her Sentence.

This Sentence (you see) depended upon Nave and Curl, and not

Anno
1586.

not face to face, according to the first Statute 13. *Elizabeth*; divers opinions passed, whether credulous or incompetent. *Nave's* Apology to King *James* afterwards 1605. purges him with deep Protestations, neither *Author* nor *Abetter*, nor remits in his duty by negligence, or otherwise; but opposed the heads of her Accusation to the death. But this appears not by Records; his guilt shewed somewhat that needed an apology.

Not many days after a *Parliament* is called, the which was begun by authority from the Queen, derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*, and the same it seems not without former Presidents. A kinde of modesty perhaps, that if a Virgin Queen must look upon her horrid act, it must be seen through her fingers, and *Maries* Sentence accompanied with the Proscriptions of the Lord *Paget*, *Inglefield*, *Throgmorton*, *Babington*, *Salisbury*, *Jones*, *Tichburn*, *Tilves*, and others, confirmed; and their Goods and Estates confiscate. And the House of Peers by the Chancellor petitioned the Queen, that the Sentence might be promulgated, and besought her Majesty for safety of her Person and Kingdoms to execute justice on the Queen of *Scots*.

The Queen was not to be taught her Answer. She acknowledged Gods protection, and their love and circumspection, for preservation of Her and her People, against the many and mighty Plots of Hers and their Enemies. How sorry she was, that the Scots Queen, notwithstanding her forewarnings, should be thus entangled and guilty; whom (she protests) as a Princess, as her Kinswoman and Sister, she had reluctancy to spare, and to forgive, were not the security of her People involved; for, their Peace she values before her own life. Concludes, her thanks for their care and advice. But in a cause of so great consequence, she will not be rash, but consider.

Twelve days after, she desires the Parliament to consult some other way of safety, and to spare the Queen of *Scots*; but they answer with no other satisfaction. To which the Queen in an excellent method requests them to be answered, without an Answer. For if I should say, (said she) I will not do what you desire, I shall then say what I do not think; and if I shall say, I will do it, I may precipitate my self to danger, whom, I know, you wish to be conserved.

Then was Queen *Maries* Sentence proclaimed throughout London, and all the Kingdom, which she apprehends chearfully and resolute, and writes to the Queen, for her Body to be allowed Christian Burial in France, where her Mothers rested, since violence was offered to the Ashes of her forefathers by the Puritans in Scotland; nor could she hope for burial with the Kings of England; that she might take her Death not in secret, but where her Servants and Friends could give good testimony thereof.

King

A delegate
Parliament
require Exe-
cution.

Q. Elizabeths
cunning re-
ply.

Sentence pro-
claimed.

Anno

1586.

King James
perplexed
sends Keith
to Qu. Eliz.

With several
directions.

The Queens
Answer.

Other Letters
more calm,

and Ambassa-
dours.

K. James her Son in sad perplexity for his Mother, sends William Keith of his Bed-chamber with Letters to Q. Elizabeth; though it seemed strange to him, that the Nobility and Counsellours of England should take upon them to sentence a Queen of Scotland, and one descended of the Royal Bloud of England; yet he would think it monstrous justice for her Virgin Majesty to stain her hands with the Bloud and Death of his dear Mother, a Lady of incomparable excellency in the worlds opinion, and of the same Royal condition and Sex with her Self: So, if it should be resolved, desires her to consider, how his Honour stood engaged that was her Son and a King, to suffer his Mother an absolute Princess to be put to an infamous Death.

Keith, after some time of delay, urges for an Answer, but finding no hope, he receives other Letters, commanding him to shew the Queen how unjust the Proceedings had been against his Mother, the Laws of God and Nations, for an absolute Prince to be sentenced by Subjects, and she the first Example of profaning Sovereign Diadems, Himself concern'd in Nature and Honour to revenge such indignity; and wills him to labour the delay of her Execution, till he could send Ambassadors of his own into England; for by Letters from Archibald Dowglas his Lieger in England, he found him evil disposed to the business, and therefore resolved to send one more honorable, and of greater trust, in his place.

But Keith doing his duty, shewed the Queen his Masters direction, enforcing her into some passion, till Leicester and others calmed her; and then she told him, *She would give no Answer in anger, but consider till morning*, when she told him, *that no haste should be used, if any other should come from the King in reasonable time, Proceedings should be staid, and be glad to receive overtures to save the Queens life and assure her own.*

The King certified of her passion, posts other Letters more calm, since his other were construed as threats to her Estates; and therefore he courts her into kindness, protesting that the Rumours spread amongst his Subjects moved them into disquiets and mutiny at the forms of Proceedings against their Queen. That for his part, he could well distinguish any pressure, by the peril of her own life, and so not blaming her directly, prays her to put a kindness upon Him, Her real Friend; desires time till his Overtures be heard, hastily coming by the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil, who were to set out on Saturday after, and came to London in eight days.

Queen Elizabeth was better satisfied with these, being frightened before into fear of breach of the late League, and War with her Neighbours, and so gave them speedy Audience.

She told them, *how sorry she was, no means could be found to save their Kings Mother, and secure her own life.*

They

Anno
1586.

Ambassadors
reason with
the Queen.

They answer, *Their Sovereign to save her life will interpose his credit, his Nobility as Pledges, that no Plot or practice should be contrived by her against your Majesty; or otherwise to set her at liberty, and send her into Scotland, and so the better to secure the Queen.*

Asking the reason, What should move any man to attempt against her Majesty for Queen Maries sake?

Because (said she) *they think Her to succeed me, and she a Papist.*

Then (say they) these means being taken away, the Danger apparently ceases, for if her Right in Succession to England shall be made over in our Sovereigns Person, Papists will have no more hope, and this we are sure his Mother will resign to him.

But (replied the Queen) *she hath no Right, being declared incapable of Succession.*

If so, that she hath no Right (said they) the Papists pretences cease, and so no fear of them to enterprize for her.

But (said she) *the Papists allow not our Declaration.*

Then let it sink (said they) in our Sovereign, by her Resignation.

Leicester being by, objected, that *She being a Prisoner could not dimit.*

They answered, It being made to her Son, with advice of all her Friends in Europe, in case Queen Elizabeth should miscarry, none would partake with the Mother against her Son; all the Princes her Friends standing engaged for her Resignation, that it should be valid and essential for her Son.

The Queen mis-understanding, was told the Ambassadors meaning, *that the King should be in his Mothers place.*

Is it so, says she? Gods Death, that were to cut mine own throat. He shall never come to that place, and be party with me.

She was told, that coming in his Mothers place through her Death, he would be more party.

Well, (says the Queen) tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head since he was born; and for my part I shall keep the League betwixt us, which if he break, shall be a double fault: and in passion got away.

Melvil made after, requesting respite of execution for eight days.

Not an hour, said she.

The King by this Conference expects extremity, and therefore writes to Gray, *Think not to reserve your self any longer, nothing doing good if her life be lost, adieu dealing with that State. As you affect my favour, spare no pains, nor plainness. Reade what I writ to Keith, and accordingly conform; and in this your industry, let me reap the fruit of your great Credit there, and Duty here, either now or never. Farewell.*

Leicester

The King
writes to
Gray.

Anno

1586.

And Leicester
to the King.So does Wal-
singham to
the Lord
Thirlstan.

False Tale.

Scotland in
disorder.The Ministers
refuse to pray
for their Qn.Cooper a
faucy Mini-
ster.

Leicester took some pains in a tedious Letter to satisfy the Kings importunity, by telling him the common jealousy of all Princes for their own security, especially by such persons, as being within a Kingdom, and claiming Title to that Crown, should conspire with Traitors to kill the Queen; comforting the King (as well as he could) how more dangerous Queen Elizabeths Death would be, than his Mothers liberty would advantage; concluding with grave advice, not to quarrel the breach of amity, and their last League of firm friendship.

And to boot, *Walsingham* writes to the Secretary of Scotland, the Lord *Thirlstan*, (with whom he kept private intelligence) as a wonder, the Kings earnest desire to save his Mother, seeing all the Papists in Europe affecting the change of Religion in both Realms, built their hopes altogether upon Her, who in passion to Papistry, had transferr'd her Right to both Crowns, unto the King of Spain, in case the King her Son should persist in his Profession.

And true it was, that such tricks were rumored, to divert the King from constancy in Religion; but never so done by her; if you will credit her Declaration at her Death: though I know (for I have seen it) a Popish Abbot in the life of Cardinal *Lawrence*, at that time Protector of the Scots Nation, affirmeth, the said Translation of these Realms to be in his hands, and delivered to him by Count *Olivarez* the Spanish Ambassadour at Rome; but such forged Tales and Titles might have served the turn, if the Enterprize of Eighty Eight had taken effect against England.

Thus the King leaving no means possible unattempted for a prudent and pious King, but to none effect; the State of Scotland then in a miserable distraction, made so, partly in policy from England, and the most powerfull Faction soliciting Queen Elizabeth for their Queens Execution; insomuch that it was objected, (as *Pilate* said) Shall I kill your Queen?

And therefore now the King commanded the Ministers and Kirk in Scotland to commend her cause to God in their publick Prayers, which by no means their charity could afford, but absolutely refused; then he appoints a solemn Day of Fasting and Prayer, with Supplications to God for Her, commanding the Bishop of *Saint Andrews* to pray and preach; against whom the Ministers opposed, and in presence of the King put up in the Pulpit a young Fellow *John Cooper*, not entered into the Function, to whom the King cried out, Master *John*, that place was designed for another, yet since you are there, Do your Duty, and obey the Charge, to pray for my Mother.

He replied, To do no otherwise than as the Spirit should direct him.

Where-

Whereupon, the Captain of the Kings Guard pulled him down, and the Bishop performed the Office, most grave and learned.

For this insolency, *Cooper* was called to accompt, accompanied with *Balcagnall* and *Watson*, who were discharged their Ministry, and *Cooper* committed prisoner to *Blackness*.

Then he concludes his last Messenger with letters, Advising the Queen to conserve her fame and renown by her clemency, as yet unspotted from any stain of cruelty, not to be now defied and polluted with the blood of his *Mother*, the wound reflecting to his smart, which he should never leave unconsidered, to the tyranny of them that thirsted his destruction long since, as they do his Mothers now. Beseeches the Queens mercy and compassion to them both.

In a word, It was a business that till that time had no *President*, and Queen *Elizabeth* to say truth, as much perplexed what to conclude, brought her minde the more into confusion.

At length, she signed a Warrant for a *Mandate*, fitted for the great Seal, and her Execution; and trusted it with *Davison* one of her Secretaries, to be in readines in case of danger. But he too hastily had it made up under the Seal, which (some say) she would afterwards have recalled, but was prevented by the earnest prosecution of *Beale* Clerk of the Council, Queen *Maries*emie. Him the Council sends to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby* and *Cumberland*, for her Execution, unknowing to Queen *Elizabeth*; for (it is said) at that instant, *She told Davison that she was resolved of another way than by death*. Indeed she was in distraction what to do, but whilst she doubted, the Council did it for her. And so had her head taken off by the Axe at *Fotheringham* Castle in *Northampton-shire*.

But, because her high birth and Excellencies deserve particular Memorial, I may not forget her behaviour in the last Act of Life and Death. The Earls comming thither, *Pawlet* and *Drewry* being there before, were added Commissioners to see her Execution.

And gave her warning on Monday the sixth of February 1586. to prepare against Wednesday next, the eighth day following. At which, she smiled, it being very sudain, short, and unexpected: But said, that her death was welcome, seeing her Majesty (meaning Queen *Elizabeth*) was so resolved; And that, that soul was unworthy of Glory, and the joyes of Heaven, whose body can not indure one blow from the Hangman. A good while, she was silent, then weeping bitterly, retyred into her Chamber, where she spent her time in devotion, and setting her Will.

The eighth day brought her forth, to a sad execution. She was of Stature tall and Corpulent, thick shouldered, fat-fac'd, and broad;

S

double

Anno

1586.

Is committed

More letters
from the K.

A Mandate
for execution.

Davison.

Beale.

The manner
of her Execu-
tion.

Her features.

Anno
1586.

Her apparel-
led.

Comes forth
of her cham-
ber.

Commission-
ers receive
her, who

speaks with
Melvin her,
man.

And to the
Commission-
ers.

double chinn'd, hazell eyes; Her (borrowed) hair, somewhat appear-
ing, was Aburn'd; and her attire thus,

On her head, a drefs of Laun, edged with Bone-lace; a chain
of Pomander, and an Agnus Dei about her neck, a pair of Beads
at her Girdle, with a golden Crofs at the end of them; a Veil of
Laun fastned to her Call, bowed out with Wyar, and edged with
Bone-lace.

Her Gown of Black Sattin, printed, with a train and long sleeves
to the ground, set with Acorn-buttons of Gett, trimed with pearl;
her short sleeves Black Sattin cut, which opened upon purple Velvet
sleeves under them.

Her Kirtle whole, of figured Black Sattin, her Petticote and upper
bodies of Crimson Sattin unlaced in the back; and the skirts of
Crimson Velvet; her shoos Spanish leather, the inside outward;
a pair of green Silk Garters, watchet Silk Stockings, clock't and
edged on the top with Silver; and under them, a pair of white Jersey-
hose.

Thus set out (and not hastened) she willingly leaves her Chamber,
and paces towards the Scaffold, gently supported with two Gentlemen,
Pawlets servants; Thomas Andrews high Sheriff of North. go-
ing before.

The Commissioners attended her coming into the Anti-Cham-
ber, with divers Knights and Gentlemen of that County. And a-
mongst them, her servant Melvin, designed by her to go to Scotland;
Ah Madam (said he) what unhappy wretch am I, the Messenger
of my gracious Queen and Mistress, and of her death.

The Queen not till then weeping, My good servant (said she)
mourn no more, thou shalt see Mary Stewarts troubles ended in an
instant; The world is all but vain; Say thus much from me, That I
dye true to My Religion; faithful to the Interest of Scotland and
France. God forgive them that thus long have sought, nay thirst-
ed for my blood, as the Hart does for Water-brooks.

O God, Thou the Author of Truth, the searcher of the secret
Chamber of my heart, knowst that I was ever willing to the Union of
Scotland and England. But well, Gods will be done.

Commend Me to my Son; Tell him, that I have done nothing
prejudicial to the State and Kingdome of Scotland, nor to mine own
Honor. And so resolving her self into Tears, bids Melvin fare-
well, and kissing his cheek, said, Once again, Good and faithful
servant farewell, pray for thy Queen and Mistress.

And turning to the Commissioners, she made some requests to
them, That certain monies in Pawlets hands, might be paid to one
Curl her servant, which was promised.

Next, That her servants might enjoy what she had given them by
Will; and to have conveyance into their several Countries, and this
my good Lord of Shrewsbury, I conjure upon you.

Then,

Then, That her poor servants might be witnesses to the world, of her patient suffering; and that she died a constant Romane Catholick.

Anno
1586.

To this she was refused, and Kent humbly told her, It might interrupt her quiet in their passions and behaviour, as is usual (said he) in dipping their linnin and skarfs in blood.

Who denie
her some re-
quests.

My Lord, said she, smiling, I will give my word (though but in death) they shall not deserve blame. Ah las! poor souls! they desire to bid me adiew. I hope your Mistress being a Maiden Queen will vouchsafe Me the modesty of Woman-hood, to have of my own about Me at my death.

You have not such strict Commission, but may afford Me more, were I less then the Queen of Scotland.

But, being denied, She burst into tears and scorn, I am, said she, Cosin to your Queen, descended from that Royal King Henry the Seaventh; a married Queen of France; and anointed Queen of Scotland. This is not well.

At which she
weeps,

Upon which importunity they consulted, and appointed to her Melvin and an Apothecary, her Chirurgion a Burgonian, and one man more; and two women of her Chamber.

And they
yield.

And now, she passed on into the Hall, with undaunted courage, stept up upon the Scaffold, raised two foot high, and twelve broad, railed about, a low stool, a Cushion and the Block, all covered with black.

and she comes
to the Scaffold

Being set, the Lords and Sheriff on her right hand, Pawlet and Drewry on her left; the two Executioners (common Hangmen, the one of London, the other of that County) stood before her; the Knights and Gentlemen, placed round about without the Rails.

Sits down.

After silence made, Beale Clerk of the Privy Councel, having read the Commission for her execution, the people shouted, and cried, God save our Queen. During which, the Queen with very careless regard, seemed as not there concerned.

Beales speech.

Then Doctor Fletcher Dean of Peterborough standing before her, without the Rails, bowing his body with due reverance, gave her this exhortation.

Dr. Flercher
Dean of Peter-
boroughs ex-
hortation.

Madam (said he)

The Queens most Excellent Majesty (notwithstanding this preparation for execution of Justice, justly to be done upon you, for your many trespasses against Her Sacred Person, State and Government) having tender care over your soul, presen tly to depart, does by me, offer to your consideration, that by the true faith in Christ our Saviour, you may live for ever. First to consider,

Your estate past and transitory.

Your condition present and to come,

And the means of blifs, Or

Bane everlasting.

Anno
1586.

She interrupts
him.

Herein, having read her a tedious Lecture of the bodies frailty, commends to her consideration the Glory of Immortality, with comparisons of Mercy or Misery for ever: and so concluding (with the best Counsel he could) to deny her Romish Religion.

But she, not able to hold out till his ending, interrupting three or four times, tells him, he need not trouble himself nor her, to change her faith, in which she was settled during her life, the ancient Catholick Roman Profession, In defence whereof she had been alwayes, and yet would be ready to sacrifice her blood.

The Earls said, Madam, we will pray with your Grace, that you may be enlightned with the true knowledge of Jesus Christ, and dye therein.

The Queen thanked them, but refused to pray together, unless in her own devotions.

He prayed for
her.

Then they required the Dean to pray, who effectually in a long Prayer, desired God to open her understanding by Faith and Repentance, to turn from her vain affection of Papistry, and to dye in the true Protestant faith.

Her demeanor
in Prayers.

All which time, the Queen sate on her stool, with a Latine prayer-Book in her hand, a Crucifix and Beads, not regarding what he said; Her servants also did the like.

But then the Queen, with all her people, with a loud voice, and in tears, prayed in Latin.

And after that, her self concluded with an English prayer, for the Church afflicted, for her Son, and for the Queen, and professed to be saved by the blood of Christ. Upon this, kissing her Crucifix (said she) will I shed my blood.

She earnestly prayed, That God would avert his judgements from the sins of this Kingdom, and to afford the people grace of Repentance.

And prayed for forgiveness of her Enemies, who so long had sought her destruction, to convert them into the truth, and desired all Saints to pray for them and her.

Kissing her Crucifix, crossed her self, and besought Our Saviour who spread his Arms for all, to receive her now unto his mercy, Amen.

Executioners
and servants
disrobe her.

The Executioners kneeled to her, and begged forgiveness, which she granted very unfeignedly, as she said, heartily willing to receive this cup, the end of all her miseries.

Her women began to disrobe her; one of the Executioners took from her Neck the Agnus Dei tyed behind, which the Queen laid hold on, gave it to her woman, and told him, he should have money. But suffered them, with her women, to take off her chain and apparel in some hast and gladness, alwayes smiling; and putting off her strait sleeves with her own hands, denied the fellow, who rudely offered at it.

With

And of James the sixth King of Scotland.

125

With more than smiling scorn, told them all, never such Grooms, disrobed a Queen, nor never did she undress before such company.

And now in her Petticote and Kirtle, prepared for death, her women skreeking, cryed out with exceeding sorrow, crossed themselves, and prayed in Latin.

The Queen crossed and kissed them, desired their prayers without mourning, and crossed her men servants, who stood without the Rail, weeping and crying out.

One of her women with a Corpus Christi-cloth wrapped corner-ways, kissed it, put it over the Queens face, pinning it fast upon the Call of her Head.

Then she kneeled down upon her Cushion, resolutely undaunted, spake aloud in Latin the whole Psalm, In te domine confido, ne confunder in aeternum.

And groping for the Block, laid down her head, put her chin over the block with both her hands, and held them there, which might have been cut off with her head, had they not been espied.

But being advised, she quietly ordered her self again, and stretching forth her Arms and leggs, cryed out, In Manus tuas domine, &c. three or four times, when one of the Executioners gently held her down, and the other gave two strokes with the Axe, before her head was off, leaving a little gristle uncut, without the least stir or remove of the body. He lifted up her head, and said, God save our Queen.

Her dressing fallen off, her hair appeared so grey as at seventy yeers, very short: Her lips stirred a quarter of an hour after.

Then said the Dean, So perish the enemies of our Queen. So said the Earl of Kent.

Very remarkable was there, one accident; The Queen had a little Shag-dog, that alwayes followed her Person, even to her foot-steps, who (unespied) crept under her Garments, and would not remove but by force, snarling and biting; nor would afterwards depart, but laid down between her head and shoulders, most notoriously noted by all. The Commissioners gave way to the humor of the Dog, who imbrued himself in her blood, snarling and casting up his eyes as if to quarrel with them all, and bite at them who washed him, as they did all things else, that were bloody.

The Executioners had mony, but no part of her Garments. The Corps was carried up into the great Chamber, and there imbalmed, and afterward buried in the Cathedral of Peterborough: and her funerals were kept more Magnificently by the Guises at Paris; and yet more illustrious twenty six yeers after by her son, the King, in the remove of her Corps from thence to Westminster, where she lies intombed amongst the Glories of her Royal Ancestors.

And thus she died, Mary Queen of Scotland, great grand-daughter

Anno

1586.

Her servants
sorrowful.

She kneels at
the Block.

And is execu-
ted.

46. yeers old
18. yeers pri-
soner.

Observable,
her Dogs de-
meaner.

Her Corps
buried in the
Cathedral of
Peterborough.
Magnificent-
ly removed
by K. James
to Westmin-
ster, 1612.

Anno
1586.

Her Epitaphs.

ter to *Henry the Seventh of England*, by his eldest Daughter *Margaret*, six and forty years of age, and in the eighteenth year of her Captivity, Anno 1586.

Let us give her to the World in this brevity.

She was designed by *Henry the Eighth* to his Son *Edward the Sixth*, and by *Henry the Second*, King of *France*, for *Francis the Dolphin*; at five years of age she was conveyed into *France*, at fifteen married to the *Dolphin*, who was after King of *France*.

She was sole Sovereign Queen of *France* one year and four moneths. Her Husband being dead, she returned into *Scotland*, and married the Lord *Darby* by whom she had King *James*.

Near to her Tomb in *Peterborough Church* was this Epitaph fixed in *Latine*, but soon pulled down.

Maria Scotorum, &c. Thus Englished:

Mary Queen of Scots, a Kings Daughter, the French Kings Widow, near Kinswoman to the Queen of England, and next Heir to the Crown, adorned with royal virtues and a kingly minde; often, but in vain, demanding the Privilege of a Prince; by barbarous and tyrannical Cruelties, the Ornament of our Age, and a right Princely Light is extinguished; and by one and the same infamous Judgment, both Mary Queen of Scots, (to a natural Death) and all surviving Kings, (being made common persons) are doomed to a Civil Death; a strange and uncouth Grave, wherein the Living are shut up with the Dead. Cum sacris enim divæ Mariæ cineribus, omnium Regum, atque Principum violatam atque prostratam Majestatem hic jacerre scito; & quia tacitum regale satis superque Reges sui Officii monet, plura non addo, Viator.

Indeed so much was said and censured, that the Queen and State began to double; she in a monstrous sadness and tears, denying Address of the Counsellours; and her self excuseth her Death to the King of Scots by Sir Robert Cary.

Q. Elizabeths
Letter to the
K. of Scots.

M*Y dear Brother, I would to God you knew, though not to feel, how my minde with incomparable grief is disquiet, in regard of this lamentable Event, against my meaning and intent, which because my Pen trembles to utter, by this my Cosin, you shall understand it. I intreat you, that God above and many on earth may be witnesses of my innocency therein; and that you would credit, had I commanded, I would also now not deny it. I am not so poor of spirit, to be afraid to do what is just, or to deny it, being done; nor appertaineth it to a Prince, to shadow the meaning with ambiguous words, nor will I dissemble my Actions, out of their own colour. Perswade your self to the truth. As I know this is deservedly come to pass, so if I had meant it, I would never have laid blame on others; nor will I impute to my self what I never dreamed. The rest he shall impart, by whom you receive these; as for me,*

me, I would have you credit, that there is none more truly affected towards you, or more studious for you and your affairs; if any shall otherwise suggest, believe them not. God keep you long in safety and prosperity.

Anno
1586.

And Cary on his Journey, poor Davison her Secretary (to make good the Errand) is called to trial in the *Star-chamber*, before *Delegates* assigned; a man of singular modesty and mildness, answered much for his innocency, as being unwilling to contest with the Queen, yet could he not endure his modesty should wrong the Truth and his own Integrity, and so suffered himself to be guilty and censured a thousand pounds Fine and Imprisonment, which he endured a long time, and never could procure the Queens favour, though he was relieved by her charity in his great necessity, which after followed.

Davison sentenced in
Star-chamber.

The Qu. (saith he) upon the Departure of the French and Scottish Ambassadors from Her, of her own accord commanded me to prepare the Commission, for executing the Sentence against the Queen of Scots, and when it was exhibited, she willingly signed it with her own Hand; and after, gave order for it to be made ready under the Great Seal of England; and merrily said, Signifie thus much to *Walsingham*, who is sick, though I fear greatly it will make him die with grief.

His apology
unto Walsing.

She added also Reasons, why she had deferred it so long, to wit, That she might not seem to be drawn unto it forcibly or maliciously; though she were not ignorant all the while how necessary it was.

She blamed *Paulet* and *Drury*, that they had not freed Her from that care, and wished that *Walsingham* would try them therein.

The next Day the Great Seal was to it, she sent Injunction by *Killegrew*, that it should not be done. And when I shewed to Her, that it was done, she reproved my haste, intimating, that some other course by some wise Persons might be taken.

I made Answer, That that was always the best way, which was the justest.

But fearing that she might lay the fault on me, (as she had done the Duke of Norfolks punishment on the Lord Burghley) I imparted the whole matter to *Hatton*; protesting not to engage any further in so great an Affair. He strait way did communicate to Burghley, and he to the rest of the Counsellours, who all consented to have it hastened: and severally vowed, that they would bear the blame; and they sent down Beal with the Commission and Letters.

Three Days after, perceiving her minde doubtfull, by reason of a Dream which she told, of the Queen of Scots Death; I asked, if her minde were altered? No, (said she) but some other course might

Anno

1586.

might have been thought upon. And with all demanded, if *Paulet* had returned any Answer?

Whose Letters when I shewed to her, wherein he plainly refused to undertake it, as being neither honorable nor just;

She in anger accused him and others, which had tied themselves in Association of Perjury, and their Vow violated, who had promised great matters for their Princes safety, but would perform nothing: yet there were amongst them (she said) that would do as much in their own cause.

But I shewed, how infamous and unjust a thing that were, and with all into what Dangers she should cast *Paulet* and *Drury*; for if she allowed the Fact, she must draw upon her self Danger and Disgrace, besides a note of Injustice, but if she disallowed it, she must ruine well-deserving men and their posterity.

Afterward, the same Day, that she was put to Death, she gave me a Check, that the Sentence was not all this while put in execution, as thinking it not done.

Foul play on
all hands.

Hereby appears foul play intended, by another (no doubt) wicked way, which *Paulet* and *Drury* boggled at to perform: and yet we see, what daubing there was on all sides, to cast the blame and after-shame on any, to keep the stain and blot from the eminent Actors.

And the cunning of *Walsingham*, who having the greatest hand in the contrivance towards her Death, craftily got out of the way at the Deed doing; and therefore *Davison* appeals to him, telling the truth in his politick absence of a counterfeit cold.

Walsingham's
Letter to pa-
cifie the K.

And *Walsingham* is put upon it, to work his wits how to pacifie King *James*, with a tedious Letter to the Lord *Thirlstan*, who had the chiefest interest in the *Scottish* affairs of State; propounding to him, important Reasons, to keep the King from enmity with *England*; which though very effectual, might meet with the like resolution in Him, to forbear violence, and to take up a more calm consideration. But though the Letter be long, we may not hinder it the worlds approbation.

Walsingham's
Letter to the
L. *Thirlstan*.

S I R,
Being absent from Court when the late Execution of the *Queen* your Sovereigns Mother happened, I did forthwith upon my Return impart to Master *Dowglas* some things, concerning the course was conceived here, by your said Sovereigns best Friends, fit to be holden in this remediless Accident; for continuance of Peace and Amity between the two Crowns, as the best for both Nations.

The rather, for that by advertisement out of *Scotland*, I understand

derstand that the *Queens* Death is like to breed a strange Alienation of his *Majesties* minde towards this *Realm*, tending (as is reported) wholly to violence and revenge of that, which hath been done so necessarily by the whole Body of the *same*; whereof, as for my own part I should be sorry, so it is generally hoped, that his *Majesty* being of that singular judgment himself, by the good help and advice of such as you are in credit and authority about him, men of wisdom and experience, whom he will hear, this mischief, will (notwithstanding) be carefully and prudently prevented; considering how every way all things being rightly weighed, this course will be found prejudicial, as well to your *Sovereigns Estate*, as to his Reputation, if he resolve to persist therein.

For first, the Enterprise will undoubtedly be condemned, in the sight of all such as shall not be transported with some particular passion; for that they shall see, that he takes *Arms* for revenge of an *Action* (besides the necessity wherein it is grounded) full of so honourable and just Proceedings, as, however the effect was contrary to their liking, the manner thereof, by the late *Queens* great Favourers, could not but be approved and allowed. And as on the one side, the *King* your *Sovereign* oppugning the course of Justice; of so unlawfull, unjust and desperate a Quarrel, cannot be expected any other thing than an unhappy and miserable issue: so, we being assured, that in the defence of Justice, the assistance of God his mighty Arm will not fail us, whose Judgment this was, need not to fear, what ever man shall attempt to the contrary, against this *Realm*.

But not to stand upon the justness of the Quarrels, which every man perhaps will not so much regard; It would be considered, what means your *Sovereign* shall have to go through with such Enterprise, if he take it in hand. For, the Forces of his own *Realm*, being so far inferiour to these in *England*, no man is so simple, but seeth it were no way safe for his *Majesty*, trusting onely thereto, to make Head against the power of this Land, neither is it thought, that any man will be found so unadvised, as to wish him so to do.

But, as it may be, that a great Number (for lack of understanding) are carried away with such Discourses, (as some without solid ground imagine) of that might be done in this case by a King of *Scotland*, backed and assisted (as they conceive in the air) with the *French* and *Spanish* aid; so it is likely enough, there shall not want those, that either in satisfaction of their private passions, or supply of their necessities, or better affectionating of some other their private design, would be content to serve themselves of this present publick occasion and opportunity, who will propound and promise more to his Majesty, of such foreign

Anno

1586.

rein assistance, than they know in their consciences, can be performed, if he would declare himself Enemy to this Realm; which that he should, (though to his own ruine) the Enemies of both Nations, will do what they can to procure.

But men of wisdom and understanding, laying before their eyes, as well the accustomed delays, and after long sollicitation and pursute, the simple supplies and support, commonly found at these forein Potentates hands; as also, how doubtfull and uncertain the success of War may appear; *England* (God be thanked) being so prepared, and in case to defend it self, both otherwise, and also by the conjunction of *Holland* and *Zealand's* Forces by Sea; in respect whereof, this *Realm* need not fear, what all the Potentates of *Europe* being bended against us, can do, to afford the same; Due consideration (I say) being taken hereof, you will easily judg and finde, how vain it were, for your Sovereign, upon so uncertain hopes, to embarque himself and Estate in an unnecessary War: but much more, if you shall consider, what a sequel and train of Dangers, this War draweth therewith, the consequence whereof reacheth to whatsoever your *Sovereign* possesseth, or hopeth for in this life. For, escaping to be slain in the field, if he should happen to be taken Prisoner, or be constrained to retire himself out of the Realm, (things that have often fallen out in experience) and then, having incensed this whole *Realm* against him, he should be disabled from any Right in the Succession of this *Crown*, (as authority is given to do it by the same Statute, whereby they proceeded against his Mother) for attempting the Invasion of this *Land*, what extremity should he be reduced unto?

And truly it could not otherwise be, the antient enmity between the two *Nations* now forgotten, being (by drawing blood one of another again) likely to be in such sort revived, that it would be impossible to make them to receive a *Prince* of that *Nation*, and especially *Him*, who had (upon so unjust ground) been the *Author* of so unhappy a Breach.

Besides that, the greatest part of the *Nobility*, by whose judgment the late *Queen* was condemned, and the rest of the principal *Gentlemen* of the *Realm*, who confirmed the same in *Parliament*, should have just cause to adventure any thing, even to the marching over their bellies, rather than to yield to his Government, who carrying such a vindictive minde, they might doubt, would one day call their Lives and Honours in question.

And as for the remedy and relief which he might attend (standing on those terms) of forein *Princes*, there are many Examples of former Ages, and within fresh memory; as the *King* of *Navar's* Grandfather by the Mothers side, and *Christian King* of *Denmark*, both being allied to *Francis* the First, and

Charls

Anno

1586.

Charls the Fifth, two of the mightiest Potentates that reigned of long time; and that this present *Don Antonio*, may suffice for Examples, to teach all *Princes*, (if they can avoid it) to beware how they fall into that state, whereby they shall be enforced to seek their own by other *Potentates* means; *Princes*, not being so ready in these days, to embrace other mens Quarrels, but where they are extraordinarily interested in their own fortunes.

Wherefore I doubt not, but it will be seen by men of judgment, (not transported with passion, or led away with private respects) that it should be every way, the onely best course for your *Sovereign*, by a good and kinde usage of *Her Majesty*, and by shewing that *Princely* moderation, as well in this grievous Accident of his *Mothers* death, as his whole proceeding with this Realm (which his Highness excellent Education seems to promise) to seek to win the hearty good wills of this *Nation*; as the chief and principal assurance he can in any sort obtain.

For, to trust and depend either upon the *French* King, or the K. of *Spain*, as if by their assistance, he might attain to the present possession of this *Crown*, they being indeed the only two *Potentates*, whom he must have recourse unto, if he reject the amity of *England*; whosoever shall so counsel your *Sovereign*, (as things now stand) shall in the judgment of men of the best understanding, be blamed either of fidelity or want of wisdom, drawing his *Majesty* unto so untoward and desperate a course.

For, it is no way safe for any *Prince* to repose his trust and strength upon their favour and assistance, to whose desires and designs his greatness may yield any impeachment or hindrance; so it were clearly against common reason, to expect other support and assistance from them, than might stand with their own commodities and pretensions, in respect whereof, neither of the two foresaid *Kings* can simply and roundly joyn with his *Sovereign* to his good.

First, his *Religion* being odious to them both, and likely to prove most prejudicial to the *Catholick Cause*, he growing so great, as he should be made by the union of the two *Crowns*; the consideration whereof, caused his *Mothers* affairs to stick a long time, and made now in the end, to leave him quite out of the reckoning, ordaining the *King* of *Spain* her Heir, if her Son became not *Catholick*.

Next, it is meerly repugnant to the policy of *France*, were it but in respect of the ancient claim which *England* maketh to that *Crown*, to suffer the uniting of this *Island* under one *Prince*.

They have been content in former times, when *England* had footing in *France*, to serve themselves of your *Nation*; therewith to annoy this *Realm*, by the means of diverting or dividing the Forces thereof; and so perhaps the Politicks of *France* can be

Anno
1586.

content to wish at this day, by your *Sovereigns Quarrel*, or any such like, to be eased of the burthen and miseries of the present War, wherewith they are plagued, by transporting the same into this *Island*. But as this *Realm* hath good means to prevent the mischief, if it were intended; so were your *Sovereign* to look, when all were done, but to be made an Instrument, as his Predecessors have been, of the effusion of much *Scotish* blood, for *French Quarrels*, and the desolation of that *Realm*.

And as things stand presently in *France*, it is not to be thought that you shall finde the *King* ready to hearken unto any Enterprize of this *Land*; He being most desirous to live in peace, both with his Neighbours abroad, and with his Subjects at home; but that he hath been forced full sore against his will, by the practice of them of the House of *Guise*, to countenance with his authority the Civil War raised in that *Realm*; which maketh him (what ever shew he hath to shadow out the contrary) to hate them in his heart.

Neither would it be held sound counsel, to be given him, by any that depends upon his fortune, to further the advancement of a *King of Scots* so nearly allied to that Family, which he hath discovered, and greatly feareth to level at his own *Crown*, with any intention to depose him, which by the greatness of a *King of Scots*, they should be so much the sooner and better able to effect.

The *King of Spain's* assistance, being now in War with this *Realm*, were more likely to be obtained, but far more dangerous to be used, in respect of his most insatiable ambition, deep practices, and power, accompanied in this case with a colour of Right, wherein how far he would seek to prevail, any opportunity or advantage being offered, it may be justly doubted, by the experience that sundry States have had, which upon slender grounds of Title, have been extorted and wrung from the true Inheritors, and annexed to his own *Kingdom*, as *Navar*, *Portugal*, and all that he possesseth in *Italy*, hath been.

It is believed, that the *King of Spain*, considering his years, and unsettled Estate every way, would willingly incline to peace, if it were offered, with reasonable conditions, and not over readily at this present, imbarque himself in any new Enterprize.

But, otherwise it is well known, as he had fancied to Himself the *Empire* of all this part of *Europe*, so he had an eye to this *Realm* ever since he was *King*, in Right of his *Wife*. The Conquest was intended under colour of *Religion*, as it was discovered by some that were of his *Privy Council* at that time; his pretension to be Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and (since the late *Queen of Scots* Death) the first *Catholick Prince* of the Bloud Royal

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

133

Anno
1586.

Royal of *England*, as also the Donation of this *Crown*, made to him by the *Queen of Scots* in her Letters, with a promise to confirm it by *Testament*; (things blazed abroad by the *Spanish Ambassadour at Paris*) ought to breed jealousies and suspicions in your *Sovereigns* head, and give him true cause to think, how he should be used at such an *Assistants* hand. Auxiliary Forces have ever been reputed dangerous, if they either in number or policy were superior to them that called them in. The Assistance therefore of *Spain* and *France* being of this nature, as your *Sovereign* hath need of neither, so he shall do well to forbear them both, and so shall it be well for his ease.

It may be, some will pretend by change of his *Religion*, your *Sovereign* shall better his condition, in regard of these forein *Princes*; besides, a great party within this *Realm*, that thereby shall be drawn wholly to depend upon his fortune; but the poor distressed estate of *Don Antonio*, being a *Catholick Prince*, spoiled by a *Catholick*, and receiving so little succour at *Catholick Princes* hands, shall be a sufficient bar to all that can be said in that behalf.

As for the *Catholick* party in *England*, in his *Mother's* life, it was never so united, as they drew all in one line, much less will they be brought suddenly to rely upon him, if he should alter his *Religion*, (as God defend) which would be his utter discredit and overthrow, both with the one and the other party; neither having cause to repose confidence in him; the *Protestants*, because he had renounced the *Religion*, wherein he was with great care brought up.

The *Papists*, because they could not be assured in short space, that he was truly turned to their faith; yea, all men should have reason to forsake him, who had thus dissembled and forsaken his God.

And whereas it was given out, that divers do insinuate into your *Sovereign*, that his Honor and Reputation is so deeply interested herein, as it must necessarily turn to his perpetual ignominy and reproach, if he give not some notable testimony to the world, of the affection and dutifull love he bare to his *Mother*; your *King* being of that singular judgment, that he is thought to have, cannot be ignorant, how far true honour ought to possess a *Christian Prince*, that is, not whither *Passion* or fury useth to carry men, but whither Reason or Wisdom have laid the bounds, that is, within the compass of *Possibility*, *Decency* and *Justice*.

If the late *Queen* had been innocent, *Revenge* had been necessary, just and honourable; but being culpable, contrary, (in all reasonable mens judgments) he hath sufficiently discharged the duty of a *Son*, in mediating for his *Mother*, so long as she was alive, and

Anno
1586.

and so far as he was able to prevail, they which require more at his *Highness* hands, may be presumed, not to regard what be seemeth his Place and Dignity, but to seek the satisfaction of their own particular passions and desires.

And whoever perswadeth his *Majesty*, that the mediation used by him for his *Mother*, contrary to the humble pursuits of the whole *Parliament*, hath already given that offence to the Nobility and People of this Land, as it behoveth him of force to have recourse to forein supports, doth greatly abuse both his *Highness* and this *Realm*; for as they were not ignorant, what Nature might and ought to move his *Majesty* unto, so long as there were any hope of her life; so they do not doubt, but that reason will induce him to leave sorrowing, and thinking of her, in due time.

Thus have I troubled you with a long Discourse, whereunto the desire I have of the continuance of amity between the two *Crowns*, hath carried me unawares further than I purposed; all which, I refer to your consideration, not doubting that you will afford most readily and willingly all good offices that shall lie in your power, to the end that a happy conclusion may ensue hereof, which shall tend to the common good of the whole *Island*. And so I commit you to God.

Your Lordships assured Friend,
From the Court at

Greenwich,

Martii 4.

1686.

FR: WALINGHAM

The Kings deportment upon his Mothers death.

Here was good Counsel for the King, but for the present, in great discontent he calls home his Ambassadors out of *England*; the States of *Scotland* urge him to a revenge, to seek aid of forein Princes, and a Navy from the King of *Denmark*, whose daughter then was in treaty of Marriage with him.

The *Catholicks* suggested, rather to joyn with the *Pope*, *Spain*, and *France*, and to desert the *Puritans*; who (they said) would murther him, as his Mother. Some willed him to be Neuter, to take time to bethink, and by that means, whilst his distempered condition gave excuse for his Acting, he might piece himself to that party, where he should be sure of best support. Alwaies, he resolved to keep peace with *England*, and constancy to his *Protestant Religion*.

Whom Queen Elizabeth careffed.

And thus, whilst his wisdom beyond his age (twenty two yeers) sate still, the *Queen* feared the more; not knowing, what Counsel might provoke him to her prejudice, and so stayed some time, till the length thereof might mitigate her sorrow, being indeed

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

135

Anno

1587.

indeed too big to be cured, till it should lye down, and rest with its own weight and weariness.

Therefore knowing how mightily the *French* wrought in their mine to provoke both Nations to publike Jefeance, she maturely sends several Messengers, and afterwards the Lord *Hunsdon* her Ambassador, with studied arguments, to take off his adhering to foreign friendships, and the danger thereby to both Kingdoms, where his interest in succession was most of all concerned, being his just right, to which his *Mother's* sufferings could be no prejudice.

But the next year, *Philip* King of *Spain*, sends to the Duke of *Parma* his Governor in the Low Countries, in his Name, to promise to King *James* money and Amunition, sufficient, to attempt revenge for his mothers death. *Parma* sends over to *Scotland* *Robert Bruce*, a Scot by birth, and noble family, with money to quicken his purpose. The *Pope*, also, *Pius Quintus*, dispatches thither his Bishop of *Dublin*, to promise to the King the *Infanta* of *Spain* in marriage, if he would turn *Romane Catholike*; but faithfull, *Metallan* the Chancellor, frustrates those hopes, and returns him home with a flea in his ear.

But ere he departs, he designs on *William Creyton* a Scot also, and sometime *Rector* of the College, of *Jesuits* in *Leyden*, to stay behind; and this man treats with *Bruce* to murder *Metallan*. *Bruce* refuses that Assassination; and then he is urged to hire with *Parma's* money, some needy noble man there, at a banquet, to poyson the King his invited guest, and was denyed in that also. Then he quarels with him to part with fifteen hundred Crowns, to distribute them to three other Lords to effect it, but being refused in all these, he stayes the time to work out other mischiefs hereafter; and *Parma* dying, he accuseth *Bruce* of *Treason* (for not willing to be a *Traytor*) and for which he indures long imprisonment ere he got liberty.

The Earl of *Angus* (to make him quiet) was sent the Kings Lieutenant on the Borders; this was done to rid him out of the way of disordering the Court, where he was ever factious, and to his own liking also, for he was contented with the condition of those people, with whom he spent much of his former time of treachery and trouble; But his disease, there, increasing, he dies. He was of a swart complexion, tall and slender, well proportioned and strait; of a weak and tender constitution. His death was ascribed to witchcraft (frequent profession with them) by one *Barbery Nepair* in *Edenburgh*, wife to *Dowglass* of *Castogle*, who was condemned, but execution deferred, she being with child, and for the present reprieved, and after neglected, and so saved from the Gallows. *Annia Simson* also a famous Witch confessed, That a picture of wax was brought unto her, having the letters *A.D.*

written

Designs upon
the King to
revenge.

Designs in
Scotland.

Earl Angus
dies bewitcht.

His Character.

Anno
1587.

Civil broyhin
Scotland to
kill the Lord
Thirlston by
Gray,

accused,

of Treason al-
so.

He was bani-
shed.

A Parliament,
the King re-
conciles the
Lords.

And endea-
vours to do
so by the Kirk-
men, who re-
fuse mediati-
on.

written on it (which she was told, signified *Archiball Davidson*) and which she execrated after her form; but it seems it proved *Archiball Dowglas* (or *Davidson*) for his father was named *David*. He dyed the ninth Earl, and the last of his race.

If it were not natural to the *Scots* to be contrivers of mischief in their own Bowels, yet now it was not policy for *England* to let them need their helping hands therein; and therefore new troubles are stirred up in the *Scots* Court. The Master of *Gray* conspiring with the Lord *Maxwell* to kill the Lord *Thirlston*, Sir *James Hume* and *Robert Dowglas* reveale it to Sir *William Stewart* (who was returned to Court) and assure him, that *Thirlston*, *Gray*, *Blantine* and himself brought in the Lords at *Sterlin*, and put his brother Captain *James Stewart* from Court, which now he repented, and would this way assist him to revenge.

Stewart not confident in the man, discovers all to the King and *Thirlston* complains to the Councel, which *Gray* denies, and Sir *William* justifies, and more, accuses him of abuse in his late Ambassie into *England*, and treacherously consenting to the death of the Kings Mother. But these accusations referring to truth and a leasurely Tryal, they were both committed. Which came again to examination and further accusation of *Gray*, for letters to the *French* King and Duke of *Guise*; not to assist *Scotland* in revenge of *Queen Maries* death, unless the King would tollerate *Catholiks*, which *Gray* could not deny, but begged mercy, ingenuously confessing that he finding *Queen Elizabeths* resolution, advised to put her to death, rather in private, than in forms of Justice; and acknowledged those words *mortui non mordent*, to be his, and so meant, and not as they were detorted. And so craving the Kings gracious favour, was condemned and banished; *A rule of the Kings clemency, never to ruine, whom he had affected.*

The King now twenty one yeers compleat (and more) calls a Parliament in *July* at *Edenburgh*, and for preparation, summons the Noblemens whom he reconciled from all controversie, and feasts them all at Court: And being the better whittled, they went hand in hand by couples to the Market-cross. A rare sight to the people if it would last.

He hoped to do as much with the *Churchmen*, Ministers and Prelates: But soft, they are not in charity with the King himself, for the committing of their brethren *Gibson* and *Cooper*, which was an offence to the Godly, and for the admitting *Montgomery* (by the Kings desire) who was excommunicate. It must not be but by sparing some of his punishments, in case the King release *Cooper*; so nothing done for either. And being now up in spiritual Arms, they petition the Parliament, That the Prelates might

might be removed from sitting among the Estates, as having no authority from the Church, no function nor charge at all. But the Abbot of *Kinlase* made answer, That the Ministers had disorderly shut them out of their Churches, and now would turn them out of their places in Parliament. And indeed do what the King could to the contrary, there passed an Act for annexing the Temporality of Benefices to the Crown, upon pretext of bettering the patrimony, and to leav the honor of Estate without Taxe on the people, but to the utter decay of the spiritual; Priors and Abbots being turned temporal Lords, which the King afterwards finding inconvenient, advises his son in his *Basilicon Doron* to annull, *That vile and pernicious Act*, as he calls it.

The Borderers were up, taking advantage of any quarrel, now make incursions upon *England* with fire and sword, beginning the revenge for their Queen Mother, as they termed it. Hereupon *Hunsdon* Governor of *Barwick* gets audience of the King (all others before being refused) urging the most of *Walsinghams* reasons before mentioned, as a hazard to his succession, to raise war with *England*, and satisfies the King with a Declaration of the Judges, and the sentence of *Davison* in Star-Chamber, as if all had been done without Queen *Elizabeths* knowledge, and so the Borderers were commanded to be quiet.

An Ambassadour *Patrick Vaus* of *Barnborough* from *Denmark*, accompanied *Peter Yong* the Kings Almoner, who had been sent to Treat of the Marriage in *May* last, return now in *August* with the conclusion; and that in the spring, a Nobleman should be directed to accomplish the Ceremony in *Denmark* and bring home the Bride. But the death of King *Frederick* her father in *Aprill*, delayed the business for certain moneths after.

To end this yeer, comes over divers Jesuits and Priests, to deal with the Catholicke Lords in *Scotland*, to assist the next yeers invasion of *England*, in hope to find friendship if they should be forced on their Coast, and outwardly made it their business of revenge, for his Mothers death, promising to conquer the Crown for his sake, that was sure, otherwise to wear it; but the King hastily returns them home again, and proclaims against them, and their Abettors.

And the Church-men taking fire, though all fear was quenched, they Assemble Lords and Laicks, and in a confused multitude beset the Kings resolutions, to do of himself, what they so earnestly desired. And therefore in great choler sends them word, *That they meant to boast him with their power, and force the execution of their demands*, and admitting some of the number, they confer with the Kings Council, and so a good course was concluded against the Catholicks, and the Ministers bidden to depart.

Borderers in
fewd.

Hunsdon Am-
bassador to
Scotland?

Ambassadors
about the ma-
riage with
Denmark.

Jesuits arrive
in Scotland.

Kirk-men in-
solent.

Anno

1588.

and in mutiny
for Gibson.Gibson's abuse
of the King.He flies into
England to
the Schismaticks.Puritans of
England.

Martin, f. 780.

Nay, now they are up, allay them who can, for ere they disband, *the grievances of the Church must be rectified.* James Gibson heretofore censured for his misdemeanour against the King, and had liberty upon promise of his *Recantation and Submission* in the Pulpit; but the man had a new Light, and told the People, *that out of infirmity he had confessed a Fault, but his conscience now was otherwise revealed; that his actions heretofore were innocent.*

The Chancellour hath the opinion of the Assembly, whether To call the King Persecutor of the Church, and threaten him to be the last of his Race, were well done? and this to the People out of the Pulpit?

Much ado in dispute, to finde error in so godly a man; the major Votes made it offensive; and in the afternoon he was to appear for defining the Censure; but in the mean time Gibson gets away, and was excused, *being in fear of the King, so great an Adversary;* and this endured a long debate, in behalf of him, ere the Kings Advocates could plead a distinction, between his Majesty and their Ministry; and all that could be gotten for the King was, the man to be suspended, during the pleasure of the Assembly, which lasted but the next meeting in August, where Gibson gives his Reasons of not appearing before, *for fear that the affairs of the Church might be hindered by disturbance, if his person had then suffered in presence of the People.*

Upon this deep Declaration, without asking leave of the King, he is purged of his contumacy, which so incensed the King, who taking upon him to be some-body, the Fellow was forced to fly to the factious Brethren in England, who were labouring to bring in the holy Discipline into that Church also.

For the infection of Schisms had spread abroad in England greater Injuries and more impudent Contempts than had been known before, upon the Temporal and Ecclesiastical Magistrates, by the Puritans (as one calls them) of those days; and Queen Elizabeth, *Semper eadem*, not enduring Innovation, as impugning directly or obliquely the Royal Prerogative.

The Zealots for the Geneve Discipline, railing at the English Hierarchy with scurrilous non-sense Libells, by names of Martin-Mar-Prelate, *The Demonstration of Discipline*, sought mischief upon the Bishops; the chief Authours were Penry, Udal, Ministers; Job Throgmorton, Knightley and Wigstone, Laicks; their Favourites drawn in, to defend their Railings, and were soundly fined in Star-chamber; yet they privately held conventicles, and had their Synods, Classes and Presbyteries; for this cause Thomas Cartwright (the Father of the Disciplinarians) Snape, King, Proudlow and Pain, were questioned, whom certain conspired to rescue; and so great was the petulancy of these Patriarchs and their

their *Disciples*, as would require a particular Volume to unfold. See *Hist. 2. Eliz.* by *Martin*, fol. 782.

The *King*, to keep things fair with *England*, resolved to visit the Borders with some Forces to the *West Marches*, whither the Lord *Herries* was fled, but submitting, and promising to conform to *Protestancy*, he was dismissed, and sent to his charge there again.

Whilest the *King* was in this Expedition, the Lord *Maxwell* formerly having leave to travel into *Spain*, and perceiving there the great preparations for an *Armado* of Ships to invade *England*, returns home (invited by some *Scottish* Catholics) against his promise, without the Kings leave; and lands in a part of *Galloway* in *April*, where it was rumour'd that the *Spanish* Navy should land, about the West of *Scotland*, and so by *Maxwells* means and assistance, they would joyn with the *Borderers* and enter *England* that way, the most likely to prevail; where numbers of loose Libertines and out-lodgers repaired to *Maxwell*, of which the Lord *Herries* (being in his *Wardenship*) acquaints the *King*. *Maxwell* is sent for to compeer, but refuses, and fortifies his Houses and other Holds, levies Horse and Foot, and expects to encounter with the *King*, who came to *Dunfres* with so hasty marching, that *Maxwell* was almost surpris'd in the House, but gat away some hour before to *Galloway*, whilest some resistance at the Town Port, gave him that opportunity and leasure to escape.

And on the *King* goes, summons *Laugholme*, *Trewe*, and *Carlawarock*, places of strength, who surrender, but the Castle of *Lochmaben* commanded by *David Maxwell*, bids defiance to the Kings face, and made it good against the Assault, untill *Ammunition* and great *Guns* were sent for to the *English* Warden, who forthwith committed them to a Guard of Souldiers, and at the Approach and some Shot, they yielded to parly with Sir *William Stuart*, for the *King*, and to render the Castle upon quarter of Life; but the *Captain* refusing the Kings Summons, was hanged, the rest had pardon.

The *King* stays not, but pursues *Maxwell* to *Dunfres*, and sends Sir *William Stuart* to follow the chace, and forced him to fly to Sea in a small Bark, whom he follows in a Ship of the Town of *Ayr*, overtakes him a fews Leagues off, and forces him to yield, who is brought to land, and presented a Prisoner to the *King*; this was held timely good service, which so pufft up the young *Knight* with pride, that some weeks after, contesting with insolent words to the Earl *Bothwell*, at *Edenburgh*, he kill'd him outright.

The noise of the *Spanish* Navy gave fears of their setting forth in *August*, and in prudence for the *Scots* also to arm, not know-

Anno

1588.

Maxwell in
Kebellion is
pursued by
the King.

Maxwell flies.

Castles ren-
dered.

Taken Pri-
soner.

Rumour of
the Spanish
Navy.

Anno
1588.

The Kings
Speech.

knowing whom to trust, the King convenes his Nobles at *Edenburgh* for their advice.

For howbeit (said he) *I have no occasion to distrust the Friendships and League with all Christian Princes and Estates, yet the Case of England lodges so near upon us, as in time may turn to be our own, and we forced to share in their Troubles; the Spanish intention is for England, and seeing my Right in Succession to that Crown, it were no wisdom for me, to suffer another to possess it before; and the Spaniard hath not usually been so kinde or consciencious to depart with any thing he lays hand upon, though anothers Right; they take Religion for a Pretext of their Invasion, but it is the Kingdom they seek; and we professing the same Faith with England, are sure to fare accordingly, as in their Success; and the Prosecution of their Holy League will fall upon us also.*

But I have ever thought, mine own and the safety of Religion, so conjoynd, as they cannot separate; nor do I desire to live and reign longer, than I shall maintain the same. I suspect what many may counsel, that this occasion fits Revenge for my Mothers Death; but, however, I am not over credulous, as to be confident of Queen Elizabeths excuses, concerning here ignorance therein: nor will I be so unwise as to accept the assistance of one mightier than my self, to fight my cause, lest he become Master of us all. Thus you see my minde, and my Reasons; give me your advice and assistance, what we shall do.

The Chancellors
opinion.

The *Chancellour* seconded the *Kings* opinion, by many historical *Examples*, and discreet politick *Arguments*; yet since the *Queen* had not desired any aid from your *Majesty*, it would not be amiss to secure your own *Territories*, by not suffering the *Spaniard* to land in your *Dominions*: that a general Muster may be taken, and some *Noblemen* named, to whom the People might resort for Command; that *Watches* be set upon the *Sea-coasts*, and *Beacons* erected to allarm the *Countrie*, and that the *King* and *Council* would reside at *Edenburgh*, for Command and Authority over all.

Bothwell per-
swades to in-
vade Eng-
land.

Bothwell urged other *Arguments* of *Revenge*, and to invade *England*, from whom in this exigent (said he) we shall be sure to force good conditions; and as for himself, he had already raised Forces, at his own charge, for the publick service, as an Example for others to do the same; expecting that his opinion would prevail for *Invasion*. But the *King* commanded him to guard the Coast, according to his Office, (*Admiral of Scotland*) and so he seemed to be satisfied.

Col. Semples
false designs.

To instance the dangerous Treacheries amongst some of the *Scots*, against their own *Nation*, in reference to the *Spanish* pretensions, appears, first in the Design of *Colonel Semple*, who had about

Anno
1588.

about six years before, betrayed the Town of *Lire* to the *Spaniard*, and from that time remained in *Flanders* with the Prince of *Parma*, arrives now at *Lieth*, pretending a frivolous Commission from *Parma* to the King, which seemed of so small importance, as that it was apprehended rather a false colour of practice with some evil disposed persons; Sir *J. Carmichel* Capt. of the K. Guard is therefore commanded to have an eye upon his Actions, till the King returned, being now journeying to *Falkland*; *Carmichel* does so, and having intelligence of a *Pinnace* newly arrived in the *Frith*, and a Passenger already landed, went hastily, and surprizes *Semple*, reading of the Dispatch, seizes him and them; the *Colonel* offers of himself to attend the Council, but by the way was rescued by the Earl *Huntley*, who undertakes himself to compeer with him. The *Chancellour* hears of this, being then at Church, (the general time of *Humiliation*) and with a throng of people following him made after *Huntley*, but the King happily returning met them before, and brought them all to *Edenburgh*.

is rescued by
Huntley.

The *Chanc.* informs the K. whom *Huntley* opposes with a weak Defence for himself, whilst the *Colonel* escapes away, and never more seen. The King had a gracious inclination to *Huntley*, having very lately married him to a gallant Lady, of kin to the King, but dismissed him the Court untill the *Spanish* Navy was dissipated, and the general joy of that Defeat made all Friends at home.

who is dis-
missed the
Court.

Queen *Elizabeth* much pleased with the Kings fore-sight, and with *Maxwell's* Commitment, and *Huntley's* Banishment, with other the like prudential Providences of the King, sends Sir *Robert Sidney* in *August* to congratulate his wisdom herein, and to conclude mutual assistance, in case the *Spaniard* should land on either Kingdoms: and discoursing of *Spain's* ambition to seize on *England*, *Sidney* said, Your Majesty may be assured of the like kindness at his hand, if he prevailed. The King merrily answered, That he expected the same which *Polyphemus* promised to *Ulysses*, to devour him after his fellows: and so with great curtesie dismissed him, upon whose return home, another Messenger was sent with News of the Navies overthrow.

Q. Elizabeths
message.

But not to sit down with the contrary of *Cesar's* Motto, who no sooner came but he overcame, this Fleet no sooner seen but was sunk in the Sea; the wonder of the worlds apprehension, so invincible an *Armado*, must needs demonstrate to these Nations Gods gracious and powerfull arm in the overthrow; and though the main intent was against *England*, whose Prayers and Pens have often given the glory to their Redeemer; yet because some spoils of that wreck were cast on the *Scots* coasts, we may not refer the Reader without the Book to others relation.

The narration
of the *Spanish*
Navy.

This

Anno
1588.

This Discourse I finde imprinted anno 1688. suddenly set out by the *Queen* to rejoyce her Subjects with each particular, and published after by other Nations, in *French, High Dutch, and Holland.*

The Introduction invites the Reader to a religious consideration of the promise and power of God to defend his Church and People, by Examples; *Lamech* (trusting to his sons inventions *Fubal* and *Tubal-Cain*) boasteth unto his Wives, that he would not take the least injury, but he would *slay a strong man in his wound, and a young man in his hurt.* *Nimrod* (in the second Age) hunting men like wilde beasts, erected a Tower to reach to Heaven, in pride and contempt of God. *Nabuchadnezzar, Nicanor,* and others the like.

It hath been frequent for the wicked to encourage themselves, and discourage the good, the one mighty in number, the last but few and weak; to that end tended the railing *Rabshake* the blasphemous Ambassadour, of the wicked *Sennacherib*; Make war (saith he to *Eliakim*) with my Master the King of *Assyria*, and I will deliver to thee two thousand Horse: Have any of the Gods of the Nations delivered their Land from the King of *Assyria*? Where are the gods of *Hamath* and *Arphad*? those of *Sepharvaim* and *Ivah*, that the Lord should deliver *Jerusalem* out of my hand?

Truly the *Italian Lamech*, and *Spanish Nimrod*, the *Pope* and *Spain*, the one by his Priestly practices, *Bulls, Excommunications, Interdictions*; the other by his several politick assaults heretofore not prevailing, now his *Babels Towers*, vast and high built *Bulks, Gallions, Galliasses*, appear, to amaze the World, and frighten Heaven it self: so that it may be urged in opposition to all, as by the sequel was said of *Jehosaphat*, *We had no strength to resist so great a multitude coming against us, neither knew we what to do, but our eyes were fixed on thee our Lord.*

The first Squadron was of Gallions of *Portugal*, wherein were ten Gallions and *Zabres*, amounting unto 7737 Tuns.
3330 Souldiers.
1230 Mariners.
350 Guns.

The Army of *Biscay* ten great Ships and four Pinnaces.
6567 Tuns.
2037 Souldiers.
868 Mariners.
260 Cannon.

The

The number
of particu-
lars.

This

The Army of *Castile* fourteen Gallions and two Pinnaces.

8714 Tuns.
2458 Souldiers.
1759 Mariners.
348 Guns.

The Army of *Andalusia* eleven Ships.

8762 Tuns.
2400 Souldiers.
800 Mariners.
260 Guns.

The Army of *Guipenzie* fourteen Ships.

6991 Tuns.
2092 Souldiers.
670 Mariners.
250 Guns.

The Army of the *East* ten Ships.

7705 Tuns.
2880 Souldiers.
807 Mariners.
310 Guns.

The Army of *Hulks*.

7450 Tuns.
2804 Souldiers.
640 Mariners.
315 Guns.

The *Pitaches* and *Zabres* of *Don Mendoza* three & twenty Hulks.

10271 Tuns.
3221 Souldiers.
788 Mariners.
410 Guns.

The Squadron of *Zaregoffe* two and twenty *Pataches*.

1131 Tuns.
479 Souldiers.
574 Mariners.
193 Guns.

The *Galliasses* of *Naples* four.

873 Souldiers.
468 Mariners.
1200 Slaves.
200 Guns.

The

Anno
1588.

The four Gallies.

400 Souldiers.
400 Slaves.
20 Guns.

Summa Totalis.

130 Ships.

20 Caravels.

10 Saluces with Oars.

57868 Tuns.

19295 Souldiers.

8450 Mariners.

2088 Slaves.

2630 Guns.

} for publick Service.

Officers.

The chief Officers were,

The Duke of *Medina Sidonia* Captain General.*Juan Martines de Ricalde* Admiral.*Diego Flores* General of the Army of the Gallions of *Castile*.*Don Piedro de Valdes* General of the Army of *Andalusia*.*Michael de Oquendo* General of the Army of *Givopesque*.*Martin Bretandona* General of the Ships of the *Levantines*.*Gomer de Mendoza* Commander of the Hulks.*Antonio Hurtado* Commander of the Pitaches and Zabres.*Diego de Medrano* Chief of the Gallies.

The numbers of thousands of Quintals of *Biscuit*, *Pipes of Wine*, *Flesh and Fish*, *Rice*, *Beans*, and *Pease*, *Oyl*, *Vineger*, the Carriages of War, and all manner of Provisions for Land-service, would amaze the Reader, and weary the Accountant, which was truly summed up and imprinted at *Lisbone* before the Fleet set out, being the 30th of *May*, 1588.

And afterwards there followed out of *Lisbon* towards the end of *June*, a supply of an Army of eighty Sail of Ships to joyn with the *Armada*.

Their Design
with Parma.

Their design was to join with the Prince of *Parma*, who was to meet them in the Narrow Seas, and so to invade *England* together, but whether he was kept in by the *Hollands* fleet, who assisted the *English*, or was not ready, or bribed, he came not forth at all.

The first approach.

The *English* had Pinnaces of intelligence, that of long time before expected the *Armado*, who were detained by cross winds. The *English* Fleet anchored at *Plymouth*, and having sight of the Enemy, waited on them a loof, playing upon such as scattered or lagged himmost; amongst whom was the Gallion of *Don Pedro de Valdes*, taken in fight, and sent to *Plymouth*. Another of

Don

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

145

Anno
1589.

Don Oquendo, which took fire, but he was saved and sent Prisoner. The *Gallias* of *Naples* sunck in the sands of *Callis*, In which Road the *Armado* anchored, attending for *Parma*, but by a Stratagem of eight old Ships, fitted with all manner of combustible matter, the Ordinance charged with Bullets, Stones, Iron, and Chains, and fired at a reasonable distance (the wind and tide serving) they were carried in a flame upon the midst of the Enemies Fleet, at which time, the trains taking fire, it falling out to be night, and so unexpected, that not able to weigh Anchors, they cut Cables, and in monstrous confusion sayled they knew not whether, without Order or Command, made to Sea, till the morning light ranged them in some Order, and sayled towards *Graveling*; but no *Parma* appearing, the *English* small Ships, swift and sure, chased divers of them and sunck the great *Gallions* of *Biscay*. Two others of *Portugall* torn and tottered, fell upon *Flanders*, and were taken by the *Dutch*, The *General* returned Southward with such of his Ships best provided and arrived safe at *Biscay* in *Spain*. The rest of the Fleet, taking the Sea Northwards (in distress for Water and hindered with wind, ignorant also of those Seas and shoulds) that above 40. sayl were cast away on the *Coasts* of *Scotland*, the *Isles Orkneys*, and so round again Southward, between *England* and *Ireland*. As the great Ship of *Florence*, fell upon the West of *Scotland*, fired by the *High-Landers*. And of all the Numbers of Ships afore said, onely fifty five came safe to *Spain*, there were lost thirteen thousand five hundred Men and Mariners, and as themselves say, not a family of repute in all *Spain*, but suffered the loss of some kinsman, and in this fray but one *English* Ship, and one hundred men in all missing. So that what the *Spaniard* provided in four years, was thus far ruined in four Weeks, to the glory of God, and everlasting comfort of *Great Brittain*.

The King on his part (first at Court, and afterwards through all his Kingdom) gave publique thanks to God for this good rid-dance of so formidable an *Enemy*.

Whether the *Astrologers* were in the right or wrong, that foretold of Wonders to happen this year; and ment the success glorious to *Spain*; or whether the wonder was that they should be sunck in the Sea, as they were, certainly they writ of this and the succeeding years, full of fatallity, as in *France* it fell out more fearful. But for the *Western Isles* we felt none at all; and yet the effects were threatned by them upon all of us.

The *Scots Catholiques* were much amazed at this event, who *Parma* comforted with Letters, Intimating the loss not great, which should been the next Summer, by a fresh Fleet prepared

Defeated by a
Stratagem of
fire ships.

Several Ship-
wracks,

Great Losses.

prophecies.

Scots Catho-
liques dismay-
ed.

Anno
1589.

before to succour these, which now joining, will soon make good all the defects of the former.

Robert Bruce brought this news to *Huntley*, to be communicated unto the rest of that faction, and some money was sent amongst them; but because *Huntley's* share was not parted proportionable to his desire, and desert, he grew cold in the cause, and in some discontent; the King took the advantage, and advised him to subscribe the *Confession of Faith*, and so was reconciled to the Church, and neglected by the other ever after.

Huntly writes
to Parma.

But he was put upon it, to satisfy the Prince of *Parma*, and professing by letter,

That after the escape of Semple, (as aforesaid) he was so beset by the Kings jealousies upon all his actions, that either he ought to yield, or to depart, or to have taken up forces to secure himself, which he was not then able to do, all hopes failing, with the evil hap of the Spaniards. But what had evil effect, he should endeavour to recover, by some good service for advance of the Catholique Cause. However, God had put him in such good credit with the King, as that he hath altered his Guards, and added of his own friends, by whom he hopes to be assured, and at convenient time to be Master of the King. And so when the promised support shall arrive, he should be able to spoyl the Heretiques, and make sure for the Catholiques. Besought him to be perswaded of his unchangeable affection, though in outward shew he was forced to accommodate himself with the present time.

January 1589. Edinburgh.

So doth Ar-
rol.

Another such like was sent over from the Earl of *Arrol* (whom *Hay* the Jesuit had seduced)

That since his Conversion, he was obliged to advance the Catholique faith, and that Religion, the greatest and most important cause in the world, being now joined to another civil consideration of great affinity to the affairs at Home; He was therefore the more intirely obliged to his Catholique Majesty; and that in Scotland, His Highness had not a more affectionate Servant than,

ARROL.

And so do
Huntley,
Crawford and
Maxwell,

And at the very same time, other letters were sent by Huntley, Crawford, and Morton, (so did Maxwell stile himself in prison) to the King of Spain, wherein after their great regret for the mischance of the Navy, they assure, that if it had visited them, it should not have

have found resistance in Scotland, and with their Support have assisted sufficient against England. The blame of all they lodged upon the English Catholiques refugers in Spain; who in enmity to others, did too much magnifie their own, as best able to do all. And therefore prayed his Majesty, not to over-countenance the one, to others neglect; but that the ends of all should aim at one. And then, remitting to the advise and Declaration of some of his own Subjects, lately returned from hence for several Commodious advantages, how and where to land an Army in Scotland, they proposed, that with six thousand Spanish, and money to levy as many more, they might within six hours arrival, be well advanced in England, to assist the forces that he should send thither. They advise him, not to make Armies by Sea, but to assign some of his forces to Scotland, others by the West of Ireland, towards England, and so the forces divided, part at Sea, others in Scotland, the enemy should be amused therewith; referring much more to the bearer Collonel Semples relation.

The Jesuits of Spain, tyred out of their plots and designs against England, resolved to work out their way by Sedition in Scotland, undermining the affections of any discontented parties, and so being put in muteny, they might easily restore their decaying Romistry. Industry and Secrecy would bring it about.

Catholique
Lords Rebell.

To that end were imployed Bruce (the old Lieger Jesuit) with Creighton and Hay, his former Comrades, to perswade Huntly (bastard son of John the Prior of Coldingham, son of James the fifth King of Scotland) with Arroll, Crawford, and Bothwell, to force the King from the Chancellor and Treasurers hands; and no difficulty to induce the people to resent their actions, supposing the King to be weary of such power about him, as reduced him to their dispose. The Faction of the English flesh with his Mothers death, in time would do so by him and his Friends; and no doubt these sufferings would soon justify their rising to rescue him and the Realm from ruin; and no mention being made of Religion, the Country would be more calm, to resist their enterprize.

The meeting must be between Lieth and Edinburgh, and so to Edinburgh, to settle themselves at Court about the King, kill the two Counsellors; Bothwel abode at Crichton, and kept about him some Souldiers, whom he had seduced. Crawford and Arrol, with their Friends, came to the Ferry. Montross stay'd six miles off; But Huntley came through, and the evening of the appointed time, assisted by Kinfawnes, brother to Crawford, and some of Arrolls servants, these filling the presence find the Chancellour with the King, with some of his Friends, Ormston,

Design how
to meet.

Anno
1589.

Carmichel, and others, who mistrusting, encompassed the Chancellor, and so he got forth.

The suspicion and danger of some design intimated to the King, *Huntley* is sent for, examined, and committed to the Castle; which occasioned the company with *Crawford* and *Arroll*, to dissolve, and their design discovered.

And for not appearing before the Council, *Arroll* and *Bothwell* are denounced Rebels. *Montross* and *Crawford* submit, and *Huntley* left alone, does so too, and is permitted to go to his North Government. By the way he meets with *Montross* and *Crawford*, belay the way to surprize the Treasurer, and gave him chase to *Brikel*, where he was received, and they fire the House, and so forced to yield himself Prisoner, for some Weeks.

But thus prepared for the cause, they take arms again, close and undiscovered, till several Messengers bring newes to the King a Hunting, That *Bothwell*, *Huntley*, and others were marching. The King gathers such Forces as he could for the present; *Bothwell* (ever inconstant) retires to places of strength, and is left of his Men. *Huntley* goes on, surprizes *Glams* his Enemy, and Captain of the Guard; But at the Kings neerer approach, quits all, and lurks at home amongst the Rocks at *Strathbolgie*; but not safe from himself, his rebellious heart suspects the issue, and so submits to mercy, which was no worse than a Prison for the present, and afterwards he and his pardoned upon Petition.

Whilst these disorders were at home, their former Letters sent to the King of *Spain*, and to *Parma*, and some others also from *Bruce*, were intercepted by *Q. Elizabeth*, which laid open all the practices of the Lords.

And therefore she writes to the King, *Complaining of his remissness in punishing these Treacheries, and of his kindness to such of the Spaniards, that fled into Scotland, after their wreck at Sea; she besought him, not to delay opportunity to punish the Offenders, and to rid the Realm of such Strangers.*

Hereupon they were shipped over towards *West Flanders*, and by the way, were met a league from that Coast, by some *Hollanders*, set out to intercept them, who boarded one ship, putting all the *Spaniards* to the sword, the rest ran their ships a ground, and most of the Men pittifully drowned.

A Proclamation issued out against all *Jesuits* remaining, and *Hay*, *Creighton*, *Bruce* and *Graham*, expressly commanded to depart, upon pain of death; but they inticing *Huntley*,

Queen Elizabeth writes to the King.

Proclamations against Jesuits who join with the Rebels.

Huntley, Crawford and Arroll, take arms together, came to Aberdeen in April, and declare,

That the King is kept Captive, requiring all good Subjects to join for relief and freedom of the people.

They depended on Bothwell, and his Forces in the South, whom the King proclaimed Rebels. And for the present marches against the Earls as far as Cowry, neer Aberdeen, where he was told, that the enemy was three thousand strong, and hastning to meet the King.

The King put to the straight, cheers up his Company, That they had the better cause, and himself in person to suffer with them, against such, whose conditions could never be wrought upon, by benefits or good deeds, to make them loyal; assist me therefore as you shall find me forward, rather for you, than for my self.

Thus resolved, Hamilton and Angus differ for the honour of the Vant-guard; Angus claiming the place by privilege, heretofore granted to his Predecessors; Hamilton argued his nearness to the Blood Royall; who carried it by the Kings favour.

But the next Morning discovers the Enemy dispersed, for fear or favor to the Kings person, to which respect Crawford descended; but Arroll earnest to fight, and they refusing, he parted from them at Dee Bridge, and the King returns to Edinburgh. And there in some assurance, he disposes his affairs for consummating his marriage with Denmark, and to bring his Bride into Scotland.

The Earl Marshall had the Commission, assisted in Company with the Lord Dingwell, Sir James Seringeour, Mr. John Sheen, Advocate, and Mr. Young, Arch-deacon of St. Andrews. And for the more honorable defraying the expence, a subsidy of a hundred thousand pounds (punds I conceive) was granted by the Council (by a former Warrant of Parliament 1587.) and sudden payment was made, by the well-willing Subjects, earnestly desiring a Mariage for the issue of Royal Succession in his Race.

Against this time of publique joy, the Rebels humbly submit to Justice, and were impannell'd before the Earls of Hamilton, Angus, Morton, Athol, Mar and Marshall, four Lords, and four Lairds.

1. They were charged for practising with Jesuits, and others, against the Religion; receiving money from Spain, and therewith raising forces.

2. That they had confederacy with Arroll, Montross, and others, and treasonably surprized Perth.

3. That they conspired to imprison the King, to murder Maitland and Thirlstan, Counsellors of State.

4. For

The King encourages his forces.

Commissioners sent to fetch the K. Bride from Denmark,

Rebells submit, and are committed.

Anno
1589.

4. For besieging the house of *Kirkhill*, firing that house, and imprisoning the Lord Treasurer *Glams*.

5. And convoked by Proclamation, the Kings liege people against his Majesty.

6. They opposed the Kings forces and his Person at *Dee*.

7. They seized the Kings Herauld, and rifled his Letters.

8. And the last concerned only *Bothwell*, for entertaining Strangers, and others, at *Dalkieth*, forcing the Town of *Lieth*.

They were adjudged guilty, but the sentence suspended; *Crawford* committed to *Blackness*, *Bothwell* to *Tantallon*, and *Huntley* to *Edinburgh Castle*.

We may wonder, why the Ministers are missing in all these broyls; and now the Assembly convened at *Edinburgh*, the King desired them to afford him *Patrick Galloway* to attend his Court. They (now) acknowledge his Majesties Power to command, and his grace and favour to acquaint them with his pleasure.

A good beginning of their duty and obedience, not long lasting: For the King having given his Kinswoman (The Duke of *Lennox* Sister) the last year in marriage to *Huntley*, and the Bishop of *Saint Andrews* celebrating the same, was then censured by the Acts of their Church; the Bishop not acknowledging their power against his Majesties command, they pronounce and deprive him of all function in the Church, and ratifie the judgement to be proclaimed in publick.

This troubles the King, and in fear of more disquiet was fain to suffer their Sentence, and to make peace with all and remits, the imprisoned Lords to liberty; for now he hears that the Mariage is accomplished by *Proxie*, and the Queen at Sea; when lo, an unlookt-for message, that the Navy of her Conduct was driven by Tempest into *Norway*, where she should stay till the Spring. But his affection over-mastering all difficulties, he resolves to hasten a *Scotish* fleet and fetch her home himself.

And to shadow his purpose from any home distempers, he pretends to send the Chancellour and *Justice Clark* in Commission to her. But the ships fitted, he in private sets sail in *October*, leaving a direction to the Council, for Government of his Kingdom, under his own hand-writing, thus.

To satisfy some, concerning himself, and to take off suspicion of blame upon others; he shews them the Causes, and the reason of the manner. It hath been conceived over-long (saith he) to defer my
Ma-

Ministers
make work.

The Kings de-
sign to meet
his Queen in
Norway.

The cause and
maner therof.

Mariage, being alone, without Father, Mother, Brother or Sister, and yet a King of this Realm, and heir to another, which nakedness made him weak, and his Enemies strong. For one is no number, and where no succession, contempt follows. And my delay thus long may beget a suspicion of impotency; nor am I over rash, or passionate, without reason to direct me, but the treaty made perfect, I resolved of a Bridegrooms honor, to make it possible on my part, which was not on hers to perform to me.

For the manner, I first intended the voyage to the Admiral Bothwell; which miscarried upon his Miscarriage. Then I commended it to the Chancellour, who in truth and prudence, made some difficulty for the State to furnish a Fleet, seeing the Queen was there provided; but zealous of my service offered his duty and obedience, which I made publick, reserving my resolution only to my self; not that I varied from his Counsel, as in my weightier affairs heretofore I valued; but to cleer him from advising me this way, with hazard of my person; and which indeed had not become any Counsellor to have done. And because his former wisdom enabled me in my youth, to what I did, it might still reflect also on my weakness, to be wanting to my self, and suffer him to act all, to the Malice and envy of others, and so in pitty to heap no more slanders on him, I made this work my own without injury to any.

Besides what I have said, the short passage, and safety from Seas and Sands, without Peril of Pyrates, (for other enemies I have none) conclude that it is my pleasure; that all conform to my directions in my absence (God willing) not twenty daies,

Farewel,

James Rex.

This Declaration was the next day after he was shipt, presented by Hay Clerk of Register to the Council, together with the directions hereafter.

Seeing it hath pleased God to bring Us to the age of Manhood, and that nothing hath been more earnestly desired, by our good subjects, than to have Us honourably matched, that the Crown might descend to our Succession after so many worthy Progenitours. And so setting down the course of his Treaties, with Frederick King of Denmark, lately deceased, and contracted by Proxie with his Daughter, who in her voyage to Scotland, was by storms driven to Norway, willing rather to winter there, than to return back. This hazard so far adventured, it becomes him in Kingly honour and affection to relieve so great a Princess from so long time of sadness; and to associate her

with further
directions.

Anno
1589.

What Lords
shall govern
and how.

her Consortship with his presence, and (God willing) to return back in twenty daies.

We hope no man will seem to regret upon our pleasure and purpose, seeing the Kingdom hath wanted a Governour longer than we now intend by our absence; from the Death of our Grand-mother the Queen Regent, unto the arrival of our Dearest Mother out of France, fourteen Moneths, and the State in that time more happy in Peace and Quietness, than before or since, and yet we have and do Ordain.

That our Council remain at Edinburgh, and the Duke of Lennox our Nephew, President thereof, assisted by our Cousin Francis Earl of Bothwell, together with our Treasurer, Controwler, Master of Requests, Privy Seal, the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, Advocate and Clark Register, or five at the least of them.

Then he ordains several Noblemen in their Courses to attend at Edinburgh for fifteen daies, Angus, Athol, Fleming and Innerness to begin; The next course to be by the Earl Mar and Morton, Seaton, and Yester, the Barons of Lothian, Fife, Shrivelingshire and Strathern.

The South to be commanded by the Lord Hamilton, Lieutenant General, to be assisted by the Lords Maxwell, Boyd, Herris, Hume, Cesford, and to reside at Dunfries or Jedbrough.

Finally he recommended the Church to peace and quietness, and to discharge all Conventions, and other Assemblies till his return, and not to fail to remember him in their daily prayers for his safety and happy return.

And thus, having settled affairs at home, he imbarks with Maitland, the Chancelour, Ballendine, Justice Clark, Dowglas, and the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber and household Servants, and Lindsey his Minister, and arrived neer Upsto in Norway within five daies after.

The Sunday following he did solemnize the Mariage, and the ceremony was performed by Lindsey in French, and because of the Winter season, he was invited by Ambassadors, to visit the Queen Mother, and her Son Christern King of Denmark, elect.

The King, Queen and Train set forward the two and twenty of December, from Upsto, and came to Bahouse, a Castle bordering Norway and Sweden the 1. of January, where he staid seven daies for a Convoy from that King then at Stockholm, and was met with a Troop of four hundred horse upon the Frozen River, and so to Denmark, the next day to Westbury five daies, thence to Falhenburgh, Holmstade, Cowhalm, Elsingburgh, and the 21. of January received by Queen Mother (at Crownenburgh) the young

He marries the
Queen.

And goes for-
ward to Den-
mark.

James the sixth King of Scotland.

153

young King, the Duke of *Holstat* his Brother, and the four Regents of the Realm, with all possible magnificence.

There he remained till the end of *February*, and being to give honour to the Nuptials of his *Queens* eldest Sister with Duke *Brunswick* to be in *April* next, he advertiseth his Council, the reason of his stay, and sends for shipping to return, which were six, arriving at *Elsenore* in the middle of *April*, and landed the King, Queen and Company at *Lieth*, the twentieth day of *May*.

Not without the general opinion that the Witches in the blind Light of the Gospel usually trading for Devilish Money, had his help, to hinder the meeting before; which now (notwithstanding) prospered well by the Kings presence (so it was ascribed.)

It being confirmed also afterwards, That *Bothwell* had inquired of them, the Kings fortune, which by Law was made Treason.

Queen *Elizabeth* congratulates the Nuptials by her Emissary *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Worcester*, with the honor of the *Garter*, as she had done to the *French* King.

In whose absence (a wonder to all) that no insurrection, or feud, had been in publique or private (unless two petty Riots by *Wachop* and *Clangregore*) nay, *Bothwell* so reclaimed, that in true sense of his former debaucheries, does voluntary penance, and confession in the publique Church. But this resolution lasted not long, for he returns to the vomit, to his utter undoing hereafter.

The Bishops absent, *Bruce* performs the Ceremony of the Queens Coronation, a *Jewish* rite sayes the Ministers, abolished at Christs comming, and introduced by the Pope, and not to be used.

Certainly that ceremony had not been used by the Jews only, and being mentioned in *Fudges* (by *Parable*) shews it was a custome in creating Kings; and frequent with other Nations. *Hasael* of *Aram*, was annointed by *Elias*; and *Esay* calls *Cyrus* of *Persia*, Gods annointed. Nor was every rite (if introduced by Papists) to be rejected. Seeing therefore all free Monarchs use the same, their annointing was as justifiable as their Crowning, with other ceremonies of Sword and Scepter. But rather than a *Bishop* should profane the office, and that one of themselves be the first Minister *Presbyter* that ever sanctified that ceremony, they were content that *Bruce* should do it, on *Sunday* following at *Edenburgh*, & 2 daies after she made her triumphant entry through the Town, with Feasts and Banquets, Masks and shews for two moneths together.

These popish proceedings in *Scotland*, makes Queen *Elizabeth*

Anno
1590.

And returns
to Scotland.

The Queens
Coronation
by a Minister.

Anno

1590.

E. of Arundel
arraigned in
England.

Popes Bull.

Condemned,

& pardoned.

English expe-
dition to Por-
tugal,land at the
Groyne.Columella, &
Plinie.

both more serious at home, both Kingdomes involved in the like danger; which to prevent, she falls upon such as gave most suspicion, and having restrained *Philip Howard* Earl of *Arundell*, for three years in the Tower, to keep him out of the way of doing mischief, she now conceives it more safe to take him quite away from further danger.

He is arraigned therefore at *Westminster*; The Earl of *Darby*, High Steward for the day. His accusations were such of which usually the greater Catholiques are guilty, and being confirmed by *Cardinal Allan* (before his banishment) *Parsons* and other Jesuits with whom he kept correspondence, viz. for reducing Papistry here, proved by his Letters, and the confessions of several Traytors lately executed, *Savage*, *Throgmorton*, *Babington*, *Gerard* and *Shelles*.

But the Bull of *Sixtus Quintus* deposing the Queen, and so the Legacy of these Realms bequeathed to the *Spaniard*, together with his devotions, prayers and Masses for successe of the *Armado* the last year 88. was the Choak-Pear, which could not be relished.

His tender years thirty three, not able to defend innocency, in opposition to those excellent Pleaders *Popham*, *Egerton*, *Scutleworth*, men of admiral abilities in the law, made him submit to their arguments, with some palliation and excuse, not sufficient to save him from sentence of guilt; which he received with submission, saying, *Fiat Voluntas Dei*. His request was easie, to see his Wife and young Son, born since his imprisonment, whom he left to the Queens favour, which was effected to the Father also, with pardon of his life, though she kept him up from doing harm.

The loss of the *Spanish Fleet* and credit last year, encourages two gallant Undertakers, Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Francis Drake*, with the convenient assistance of the Queens men of War, to an expedition into *Portugall*, with eleven thousand Souldiers, and fifteen hundred Mariners.

It was not amiss to take up the Claim, and to take, in the person of *Don Antonio* (base born) Prior of *Craio*, to the Kingdom of *Portugall*, upon his vain expectation of that nations revolt from *Spanish* thraldom, and assistance of the King of *Morocco*, all which failed.

They land at the *Groyne*, take and drown it, burn the villages thereabout, with slaughter of the *Spanish forces* three miles chace, and imbarque again for *Portugal*, where they land and march sixty miles to *Lisbone*, over against the sacred Promontory *St. Vincent*, where they feign there are certain Mares at a set time conceive by the Wind, and bring forth Foals, who live but three years; several Authors say so.

The

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

155

Anno
1590.

The Suburbs of this City abandoned, they enter and intrench, whilst *Drake* undertakes to pass up the River to the City; but he failing upon the shallowness of the Water, and danger of the Castles, no *Natives* comming in to their design, and the *Calanture*, infecting their Fleet, they return with honour upon the enemy, but loss of six thousand men by sickness, to which the Northern people are subject, and by contraries the Southern are rather confirmed in the North. Inward heat being remitted or intended by outward air, as by sad experience of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster* in R. 2. and the *Marquess Dorset* 1512. and this now.

We call it the *Earl of Essex Expedition*, who indeed, ambitious of common Fame, put himself to sea, and got aboard the Fleet, conceiting that their respect to his birth and quality, would receive him their chief, but was mistaken in that honour, though he carried all the commendations with the comman man, as titles get advantage from the merit of others, more deserving, though I know this comment upon that Lord, gains little credit in these our daies.

With this honour of assisting the distressed *Portugall*, the Q. assumed an interest in others her Allies, to ballance her common Enemy the *Spaniard*, and his Catholique cause, as it fell out forthwith in *France* and *Navar*.

For the *French* King *Henry* the third, not likely of issue, that Kingdom was to descend to the King of *Navar*, and afterwards to the *Prince of Conde*, both Protestants; whereupon the Catholique Peers of *France* combine a *Holy League*, Not to permit a *Reformed Professour* to reign, no though he renounce it, lest he rechange his Religion with his State. This design was to exclude *Navar* and *Conde*.

The fortunate Successes of the Duke of *Guise*, the chief of this Villany, magnifies him above the King, who in jealousy of surprize by the multitude, retires from *Paris* to *Blois*, where his necessity forces him to consent to the *Holy League*, and ruine of the Religion, and *Guise* to be *Generallissimo*, and all this under Seal, and receipt of the Sacrament. But repenting of what he had done, caused *Guise* in the Presence Chamber to be run thorow, his Brother *Cardinal* to be strangled, and his Son *Cardinal Bourbon*, and others of the League, to be committed.

Hence followed a various *Rebellion*, the people at liberty to do what they list; and several Cities affecting several Governments, *Democracy*, *Aristocracy*, *Oligarchy*, few or none *Monarchy*.

The *Leaguers* get possession of the *Crown* Revenues, a new Seal, share the strong Holds, are joyn'd with some Parliaments, and

Navars title to
France;

Holy Leaguers

Guises mur-
thred.

Henry 3. mur-
thered.

Anno

1590.

Justified by
the pope.

and all the *Cleagie*, who cause one of their Monks, *Faques Clement*, to murder the King.

The first Murther, and first occasion of that damnable Doctrine of the *Jesuits* to murder Kings, which the Pope *Pius Quintus* stiles, *Rarum, insigne, & memorabile, non sine Dei particulari providentiâ & Spiritus Sancti suggestione designatum, & longè majus esse, quam illud sanctæ Judith, quæ Holofernam è medio sustulit.* The *Jesuit Francis Verona Constantinus* in his *Apologie* for *Fohn Casteelin*, &c. *Cum eo tempore, &c.* that King being become intolerable, it was not lawfull *de jure* or *de facto*, to condemn this Act of *Clement*, by reason of King *Henries* tyranny in Church and State, for his horrid Murders at *Blois*, oppression of *Catholicks*, and favour to *Hereticks*, and so became a private man subject to the *Civil* and *Canon* Law. Besides, (says he) this act was lawfull, being committed upon him, from whom all obedience and alleageance of his Subjects were taken away by the Pope.

Platina, another *Historian*, makes it the common opinion, *Eum (Clement) à nemine ad hoc factum subordinatum, sed à seipso postquam duabus aut tribus mensibus in hoc animi conceptu perseveraverat ad hoc arduum opus permotum esse & instigatum; post jejunia longa, post orationes ad Deum continuas sese certissimum hoc periculum adiisse, in vitâ Quinti, pag. 180.*

But *Marian* a Spanish *Jesuit* says, *Clement* had often premeditated with himself, and imparted it to some Divines, who concluded it lawfull for any man to kill a King that is a Tyrant. *Mar. Lib. de rege et Regis Institutione cap. 6. pag. 53.* though the Council of *Constance* positively forbids it.

The Leaguers banish *Navar* from the Crown and Kingdom, and differ about election of a King, for though divers were in dispute, they (with some Justice in Rebellion) elect *Cardinal Bourbon*, (a degree neerer to the Crown, than *Navar*) and released him out of Prison to the Throne. And the Duke de *Maine* a pretender, is pleased to be Lieutenant General of *France*, who instantly intends to surprize *Navar* (proclaimed likewise King of *France*) at *Diep*, or drive him out of all.

Navar implores *Q. Elizabeth*, profers league with her offensive and defensive; she, in reverence to *Religion*, and pittie of his distress, sends him twenty thousand pounds in Gold, by which he kept his Stipendiaries, *Germans* and *Swisse* from revolt; some ammunition, and four thousand men, conducted by the Lord *Willoughby*, with four Collonels, *Wilford*, *Burroughs*, *Drury*, and *Baskerville*. The fame of the Queen interested, and these mens valour, discomfited the Enemy, the day before their landing, who fled with bag and baggage to *Paris*, and are pursued by the *English* and *French*, who take divers pieces in *Normandy*, and return home.

The

Q. Elizabeth
aids Navar.

The King of *Spain* this while, lay gaping after these distempers, fomented by *Mendoza* his Ambassadour, and *Cardinall Cajetan* the *Popes Nuncio*, not without their insolent proposition to nominate *Spain* Protector of the *French Catholiques*, with such Prerogatives to boot, as he enjoyes over *Naples* and *Sicily*, of bestowing all Offices Ecclesiastical and Civil; By which the *French* themselves foresaw his ambition, to promote their Religion, with loss of their Reason.

Thus stood the State of *France*, distracted, *Navar* unsettled, war increasing, which hindred the *Queens* design to promote a Match between the King of *Scotland*, and *Katherine Navars* Sister, as defensive interests in Religion to counter with the *Catholiques*, and therefore she had advised the King to marry himself to his liking (for *Katherines* years was with the most, and her means with the least) which she understood was settled a year since on *Ann* the Daughter of *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark*.

But *Navar* she protects with great sums of money, she had lent him not three years since, a hundred and one thousand five hundred and sixty *French Crowns*, wherewith he levied his *German Souldiers*.

And the last year, seventy and one thousand one hundred sixty five more.

It cost her twenty thousand *Willoughbys* expedition.

And now this year she lends him thirty three thousand three hundred thirty three more, to muster an Army in *Germany*, and as much more she spent for sudden service. Thus much for *France*.

Every two moneths she paid to the Garrisons of *Flushing* and *Brill* one hundred and five and twenty thousand florins. And two hundred and threescore thousand more, to 3000 horse and foot in service with the *Low Countreys*.

Besides other Sums of mass expence, at home, and her own expeditions by Sea, and in *Ireland* by Land.

Whether these moneys are mistaken by *Historians figures*, the addition of a Cipher multiplying the same, otherwise they are incredible; but indeed this was the way to dy poor, for she was much in debt.

But she was not nice in Husbanding her expence to good purpose, or in providing for the main, by extraordinary waies; for she was sometime put to shifts then, as well as her Successor since; and by the Customer *Carmardines* intimation of the value of Commodities, she raised her Farmer, Sir *Thomas Smith*, from the rent of her Customs of fourteen thousand pounds sterling annually, to two and forty thousand, and after to fifty thousand. This gain was not put up to his own purse no doubt, for

Anno

1590.

Spain interested.

Assists France with more money.

101560.

071165.

020000.

033333.

226058.

Crowns.

And the Dutch.

125000.

260000.

385000.

Florins.

See after,

She raises her Custom-Farm.

Anno
1590.

She ballan-
ceth her
neighbour
interests.

The Assem-
bly petition
the King.

His Answer
and advice to
suppress feuds

for the Lord *Treasurer*, and *Leicester*, and *Walsingham* opposed *Carmardine*; whether of intercepting their Bribes therein, or disparagement of their judgment and care, not to finde it out themselves.

By her bounty to *France*, she kept off the *Spaniard* from hence; her own judgment, that the end of *France* its ruine would be the Evening to *England*, contrary to others opinion, that now the cantoning of *France* by the *Spaniard*, *Leaguers*, and particular *Pretenders*, she might put in for her share, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, or *Brittain*; but she kept them off from others.

For the Duke of *Parma* for his *Catholick* Majesty had run through *Picardy*, called in by the *Leaguers*, to relief of the Rebellion at *Paris*, and *Fo: de Aquila* of *Spain* invited into *Brittain*, to settle the pretension of the Duke *Mercoeur* to that *Dutchy*.

Queen *Elizabeth* looks upon this dangerous Neighbourhood, and speedily she resolves of three thousand men into *Picardy* and *Brittain*; and it was time to prevent the growing power of *Spain* admitted now into *Paris*, who vouchsafed their lawfull Sovereign no other Title but King of *Bern*, but the *Spaniard* as their Lord and King; the *Pope* also lent some *Switz* to the aid of the *Leaguers*, against whom the Queen proclames it Treason, to assist them by any Traffick.

This Assembly of the Church now in *June*, petitioned the King.

1. For establishing the Churches Jurisdiction, and abolishing all Acts to the contrary.
2. For purging the Realm of *Jesuits* and *Papistry*.
3. For providing Maintenance of Ministers out of the Tyths, and the Remain to the Support of Schools, and the Poor, and Repair of Churches.

For the first, the entrance into the Acts of Parliament, always provide for the Church.

For the second, he had already done it in part, and would willingly perfect that Work.

And the last, was committed to Commissioners of their own and others.

But to conclude, the King advised them their duty, as Peacemakers on earth, by Preaching and Practice, to remove the barbarous differences which the feuds of the Nation dayly foment, and which by their former encouragements, for private ends, had been taken up so customarily, as became national; that their godly care, for reconciling such variances, might amend that Crime, grown to that height as was abominable to all strangers. I shall do my part, (said he) and if you apply your pains, my work will be the more easie, and the success effectual.

And

And truly thence-forward such a course was taken, that in future all those damnable feuds were quite abolished by this King.

Though for the present it prevailed not between the Earls *Huntley* and *Murray* in the North; *John Gordon* married to *Widow Grant*, one of his Servants, in private quarrel was killed by another of hers, whom *Gordon* pursues, and for not appearing, is pronounced *Rebell*, and *Commission* to *Huntley*, to apprehend him, in a house of the *Grants*; he takes it by force, but findes not the Fellow.

This was ill taken by that Family, who fly to the protection of the Earl *Murray*, with whom adjoyn the *Clanchattons* and *Dunbars*. *Huntley* advertised that *Murray* and *Athol* were to confederate with those *Glamis* in *Forres*, intends to dissolve that knot, ere it were hard bound; but before he came, they sever themselves, and *Murray* returns to *Yarnwall*; *Huntley's* way lay by the House, and some of his men braving thereabout, they within discharge some Shot, which killed *Gordon*, and for which *Huntley* invades the other with Forces, and *Murray* assisted by *Arroll* his Cofin, prepare to defend. These tidings came to the King, whose command separates each one to his own home, which served the turn for a time, but brake out in disorder after.

Another of the same nature; an antient emulation of the *Kers*, the one of *Cesfords* Family, the other of *Farnherst*, for the Wardenry of the Middle *Marches* and the Provostry of *Fedbury*, which the Heir of *Farnherst*, *William Ker*, a young Spark, maintains to the death; and in a Trial of Theft before the Council for English Goods stollen, it was taken as done in spleen, and derogate to the honour of Sir *Robert Ker* of *Cesford*, the Fellow being his follower. The Lady *Cesford* (of an haughty heart) never ceased peuling, untill her Son had basely murdered the other. These were men of good repute, wise, and of great courage, and of much loss to the Borders, the one dead, the other undone, who fled for his life, until he made a large satisfaction for maintenance of the fatherless children, and by Marriage with the *Chancellours* Niece came again to his Family, and into favour.

We have hinted heretofore of the Northern Nations much inclining to Witchcraft, and in Scotland those of great Families: this Winter produced many *Examinations*, *Agnes Simson* (the wife of *Kieth*) a Matron of a grave and settled behaviour, she declared, that her *Familiar* appeared in a visible form, and resolved her doubts, concerning the *Life* or *Death* of any; she used to call him *Holla Master*, (*Ho la?* in Spanish, Who is there?) as he directed her; and confessed, that *Bothwell* bid her inquire of the Kings *Reign*, *Life* and *Death*, whom the *Devil* undertook to destroy, but failing, confessed to her, not to be in his power, speaking

Anno

1590.

Huntley and
Murray quar-
rel.Another of
the Kers.Witches ac-
cuse Both-
well.

Anno

1590.

who is com-
mitted to
Prison and
escapes.

Archbish. of
St. Andrews
dies,

and abused by
the Ministry.

Secretary
Walsingham
dies, his Cha-
racter.

speaking words in *French*, which she understood not, but could repeat them, *Il est homme de Dieu.*

Another, one *Richard Graham*, confessed the like against *Bothwell*, which was the cause of his *Commitment*; out of which he escapes by corrupting his *Keeper*, and so far guilty, hath his *Doom of Forfeiture*, and is denounced *Traitor*; the *Proclamation* speaks, *That he, being tender in blood to the King, and further advanced in Honors and Offices above his Birth; having heretofore in an unnatural humor committed Slaughters, raised Arms against his Majesty, and practised with strangers against the Religion, and whereof his Conviction in May, 1589. was superseded in hope of amendment, but since, heaping Treasons, he concluded with the consult of Witches, against the Kings Life, as by confession of sundry persons appears; and for all being committed, he hath broken Prison, and thereby taken these Crimes upon him, which concludes him a Traitor.* But he enters band with the Lord *Hume* and others, and being forsaken flies into *England*, his secret Harbours, till next year.

The Archbishop of *St. Andrews* lies Bed-ridden, and fallen into some wants by mis-government, the *Presbyters* (like *Crows* about *Carrion*, the common way of the *Romish Catholics* to procure *Profelytes*) labour him to leave some *Lines* under hand, his opinion of matters of *Discipline*; they form his words, *That he did not trouble himself then with thoughts of that nature, and had never allowed of any other Bishop of the Church but St. Paul's Bishop, to which he would sign.* And so *Articles* were drawn framed to their Design, which he subscribed; but whether in truth he did so, or some for him, or that their *charity* (seldom upon better terms) wrought upon his necessity, or weakness of his spirits, the *Recantation* came forth in publick, of which injury he complained, and committing his cause to Gods justice, died, the end of this year, and accounted a man of some scale in Learning, as they seldom want to account of themselves, one commending another, if he dies a *Profelyte* to them. But presently that Church falls into *Schism*: several *Assemblies* to compose *Dissentions* set up several *Superintendents* in one *Presbytery* (or *Popedom*) the Lay Parishioners siding with each Faction, and coming to the question, most *Voyces* pretended best interest; but the other had gotten a new Paradox, *Quod suffragia essent ponderanda non numeranda*: and yet to end strife, they part stakes, and divide the *Presbytery*; the one to sit at *Cowper*, the other at *St. Andrews*. I mention this for a Note, *That of all men none could worse endure parity, and loved more to command, than these which introduced it into the Church.*

We have had to do with Secretary *Walsingham* of *England*, and may not forget to take our leave of him also, that lived not out this year.

He was industrious, wise and religious, a searcher in the secrets and mysteries

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

161

Anno
1590.

mysteries of all States; he had an art in past imitation, to dive into mens dispositions, and something for polite service, srew simple Proselytes beyond common danger; his Preferment no higher than Secretary and Chancellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, and with Honour of the Garter; his profuse expence for Intelligence abroad and at home, kept him under compass during life, and dying so poor that they buried him by dark in St. Paul's Quier.

And so does
Randolph,

Another of the same, Sir Thomas Randolph so near in time, that Death might do it with one Dart, He was bred a Civilian, and taken from Pembroke College in Oxford to Court, from thence his Employments were forein Embassies, thrice to the Peers in Scotland, and thrice to the Queen, seven times to King James, and thrice to Basilides Emperour of Russia, once to Charls the Ninth of France, and again to Henry the Third, he was advanced to the Office of Chamberlain in the Exchequer, and to be Master of the Ports, the first formerly of great profit, the later not so, till these last times of ours, which we make of immense gain, but he was rich of children, and therefore (in my Lord Bacons opinion) poor in Purse, he had leave to retire some time before his Death, to which his advice to Wallingham, to leave the Tricks of a Secretary as himself would, the deceis of an Ambassadour.

18. times Em-
bassadour a-
broad.

Sir Henry Wootton afterwards observed as much, who could example with the most, *Hoc tandem didici* (says he) *animas sapientiores fieri quiescendo.*

To accompany these of the Gown, died that gallant man at Arms George Talbot created Earls by Henry the Sixth, and he the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who in Queen Maries Reign with three thousand Foot in the Scottish Wars, rescued the Earl of Northumberland at Lowick, he was of the appointed Guard of that Queen whilest here in Prison, and succeeded the Duke of Norfolk and Marshal of England, and in much honour for fifteen yeas together, to his Death; at Burdeaux his Predecessour in the time of Henry the Sixth hath on his Tomb this large Title.

And the E. of
Shrewsbury
dies.

John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Washford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrich and Orchinfeld, Lord Strange of Blackmore, Lord Verdon of Acton, Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Lovetoft of Warsop, Lord Farnisfall of Sheffield, Lord Falconbridg, Knight of the Noble Order of the St. George St. Michael, and the Golden Fleece, great Marshal to King Henry the Sixth of France, and died in the Battail of Burdeaux, 1453. These he had, and deserved more by the French Chronicle.

An Epitaph.

Orock Roe of noble birth in Ireland, and by the Sir-name Mack-Mahon (being purchased by might or right) seem'd to privilege him in any tyranny over the People, for which he was hanged; his next Neighbour Brian Orock in Brenny for fear of the like, turned Traitor, and being pursued by Bingham President of Con-

Irish Rebels.

Anno

1590.

Essex expedi-
tion into
France with
4000.

Hackets hor-
rible Tenents
and Treasons.

Mad-headed
Hypocrites.

naught, flies into *Scotland*, but was delivered to *Queen Elizabeths* command, and executed for the ease of the King, esteeming her Enemies his; and caused *Mack-Conel* to give caution, not to nourish Sedition by correspondence of the *Hebrides* and *Orca-des*.

The *Spaniard* nourished Rebellions in *Ireland*, the *Queen* protected the *French* against him, who by the *Duke of Parma* was got into *Picardy*, and his other Forces in *Brittany*; wherefore she sends over four thousand (covenanted at her cost, but for two moneths) under conduct of the *Earl of Essex*, and land at *Diepe*, expecting to joyn with the Kings Forces, who came not in any reasonable time, when they did, it was too late to do much service, yet they besiege *Roan*, to no effect: the *English* wasted, the *Queen* displeased, she sends for *Essex*, but leaves the remain of his men to the command of *Sir Roger Williams*.

The *Reformed Churches* of *Christendom* increased number and repute, by pious Doctrine and Discipline, much to the prejudice of the *Romish* Catholicks, that mightily opposed the publick peace of the *Church*, and certainly had Satans help to boot, to undermine the mindes of some more fiery zealous Professours, that took the poor peoples affections with their seeming devout carriage; and this way the Devil insinuates; to heighten their pride and self-conceited holiness with some pricks in the flesh, and buffetings of Satan, every day producing Examples of divers kindes in several places.

At this time more remarkable in the person of one *Hacket* in *London*, illiterate and insolent, (seldom separate) and poor, who becomes suddenly seemingly holy, and by degrees, into that cheating way, to be inspired with the evil spirit of *Revelations*.

He used (says an Author) a strange and monstrous form and manner of praying, falling upon his face sometimes, as if in an extasie, otherwhile expostulating with God himself; another kinde of prayer he used, ordinary and familiar; for as other mens devotions and ejaculations aim at the obtaining the sweet comfort of Gods heavenly presence, he would in his hottest zeal intreat, and as it were force upon God to depart from him, and not assist such sinfull creatures, which manner of prayer most of his own Disciples construed the effect of his rare and excessive humility; and so, as a rare Example, might finde charitable censure; yet it was to be adjudged in him, (as in truth it falls out frequent with some in these our last times) the voice not of man, but Satan dictated onely to him from that evil spirit that possesse him, for so his end discovered it in him.

He confederates, (the Devil goes by Legions) with *Wiginton* a *Genevan* Minister, *Copinger* a Gentleman, and *Arthington* (like the Fool in the Comedy, a Lay admirer) to be called by God to pro-

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

163

Anno
1591.

propheſie to the people, and alter the *English* to the *Genevan Discipline*, printing in Proſe and Dog-rythm what was fit to ſe-
duce others; and *Hacket*, as the moſt proper perſon, muſt be Arch
Prophet. But ſee how Satan brings it on, *Copinger* and *Ar-
thington* (Knave and Fool) tell *Wiginton* of *Chriſt's* appearing to
them, (ſpiritually) by *Dreams* and by *Viſions*, that *Hacket* was that
Angel, with his Fan and Hook to ſeparate Sheep from the
Goats, overcome Satan and *Antichriſt*, and then follows the Day
of *Judgment*.

Theſe proſtrate themſelves before *Hacket* in earneſt prayer,
and he ſkips out of his Bed, joyns his devotion with acknow-
ledgment of his own divine nature, and ſo ſeems in a Trance,
whileſt *Arthington* bids *Copinger* in the name of *Chriſt* to annoint
Hacket with the *Holy Ghost* and make him *King*, kiſſing the
Ground with bended knee, and other reverence; but he with care-
leſs geſture refuses, being (as he ſaid) already anointed by the
Holy Ghost; Go forth, (ſays he) preach of me, that *Jeſus Chriſt*
is come with his Fan to judg the World, if they believe not, let
them come and kill me.

At the inſtant, (the Devil driving) they all in fury fly abroad,
and cry out, *Chriſt is come, repent, repent*; that *Hacket* had a body
truly glorified, to conſtitute a new *Discipline* and *Common-wealth*,
that they were his *Prophets* of mercy, and others of judgment, for
perfecting his work. And this they declared by Vows, Proteſtati-
ons of ſalvation to be all true: that he was ſole Monarch of *Eu-
rope*, and all *Kings* his *Vaſſals*, and the *Queen* to be depoſed:
and ſo, with a preſs of people, they return home to *Hacket*, who
were apprehended, and are inſolent before the *Privy Council*.

Hackets Crimes were condemned as *Treſon*, for the Devil
prompt him to confeſs ſo much, with ſuch horrid Blaſphemies as
I tremble to relate. He ſeems not as diſtracted, but with ſettled
gravity and temper: and in the way to Execution he cries out
fearfully, *Fehova Meſſias, Fehova Meſſias*, behold, the Heavens
open, Thou *Son of God* come down and deliver me. And at the
Gallows he roars out, Thou God *Fehova, Fehova, Alpha* and *Ome-
ga, &c.* Thou knoweſt that I am the true, &c. whom thou haſt
ſent, &c. Shew ſome Miracle from the Clouds to deliver me
from theſe accuſed; if thou wilt not, then will I, &c. (horrid)
Fire the *Heavens*, and with theſe hands pull, &c. from thy
Throne: nay, worſe than can be imagined; then turns to the *Hang-
man*, who haſtned the Halter, Thou *Baſtard*, (ſays he) wilt thou
hang the *King of Kings*? and facing Heaven, cried out, *Is this
my reward for my Kingdom beſtowed? &c.* Behold I come and will
revenge, &c. the reſt. Throttled with the Rope, he was immedi-
ately cut down freſh alive and quartered. *Copinger* ſtervs himſelf
to death in *Prison*: the others repent and are pardoned.

His diſciples,

apprehended,

his blaſphemy,

and execution.

Anno

1591.

puny Jesuits.

Their Semi-
naries.Confirmed
by the Pope.

His disciples

The Jesuits

Bothwell said
Treason to
seize the
King and
Court.

The Jesuits

On the other side, the *Jesuits* were lurking in every corner, *Emissaries* from several *Seminaries*, *Rome*, *France*, and especially from *Spain*; against them therefore, Proclamations forbid any man to be entertained as a *Lodger*, unless his *Host* examine his condition, his *abode* before, and whether he will go to *Church*, and *Delegates* in every *Shire*, to receive the *Accounts* accordingly.

The *Spaniard* having very lately erected a *Seminary* at *Valladolid* in *Castile*, purposely for *English* and *Scotish* Fugitives, to draw their obedience from hence, to him; and being finished, *Pope Clement* the Eighth must needs by his *Bull* confirm it, which is dated the first year of his *Popeship*, *Quoniam, &c. multi Anglicani exules adolescentes fuerunt experti, qui ex miserabili Anglia Regno in Hispaniam transfugerunt.* And why? because, (*quod alias tantopere floruit, erga fidem Catholicam devotissimam fuit, nunc etiam Hereseos gravissimo infortunio affligitur atque opprimitur*) in *Hispaniam* transfugerunt, &c. But, not all *Exules* *adolescentes*; No, I warrant you, *It tantum* (says one) *qui ad finem illorum consequendum aptiores esse videntur*: and then swear to take *Orders*, and return home to *England*, to adventure for a *Halter*, that is, To convert as many of my *Country-men* and *Kinsfolk* as I can, whensoever I shall be called thereto by my *Superiors*, whose command I will be ready to execute, as believing, that not He so much, as *God himself* doth put me on that *Errand*. And thus prepared they come in *Disguises*, with *Equivocations*, that by their bare habit none can understand them, counterfeiting all shapes and professions, and are justified (they say) by example of *Eusebius*, who in the time of *Constantine* the *Arrian Emperour* did so, under covert to visit the *Assemblies* of the *Catholicks*, and to instruct them. *Rabadineira Append. Schismat. Angl. cap. 23.*

But we must bethink what becomes of *Bothwell*, who being fled from his friends and almost forsaken, he was invited by some at *Court*, *Instruments* to serve the time, and *Servants* to the *Duke of Lenox*, men of mean fortunes, but fit enough to add fuel to to any *Enterprise*, with their assistance; and therefore had trained into the *Conspiracy*, *Colonel William Stewart*, *Neswich* the *Kings Surgeon*, and *James Douglas* of *Spot*, who in truth came in by another occasion, thus; a few days before, *George Home* of *Spot* (his father in Law) was killed by some of the *Sirname* of *Home* and *Craw*; *Sir George Home* Nephew to *Spot* charged *James Douglas* as *Author* and *Accessary* to the *Murther*; (this jealousy arising from some interest of an *Estate* in difference between them) upon this (but suspicion) three of his men are imprisoned, and threatened with torture, to confess; the *King* (some say) had a strong conceit of their guilt, and commanded that course

Anno
1591.The manner
thereof.

course of Tryal; *Spot* laboring for their reprieve of this punishment, and not prevailing, he joined in the *Treason*, being told of it in the heat of revenge.

The manner of the Conspiracy was thus, *Bothwell* in disguise out of *England*, should lurk neer the Court, with his followers, dispersed, till the time should let them in by night through a back way, into the Palace, and surprize the King and Chancellor, and (with hope of Success) all the Court after. Each man had his quarter and particular charge, to take the sign given, and to fall on.

It took effect thus far, they were entered, and after mastered the Inner Court. *Dowglas* too forward for his Servants imprisoned, and to free them for assistance, the number and noise breaking open the doors where the Prisoners were, startled the King at Supper, and hearing the cry *Treason, Treason*, gat up to the Tower for his better safety.

Bothwell earnest to order all, commands some to beset the Chancellors Lodgings, whilst himself hastens to the Queens quarter, which he finds baricado'd, and therefore endeavours to fire it. In which time Sir *James Sandilands* of his Majesties Bed-chamber, with some Forces of the Town *Edenburgh*, entring by the Church of *Holy-rood-house*, beat him and his company from the fire, and the alarm happily hastened, the Conspirators fled and escaped in the dark, by such several waies as brought them in. But *Bothwell* must have blood, and encountering by chance with *John Shaw*, a Gentleman of note, who had the better at the Sword, till *Bothwell* snatcht a Pistol from his Page, and shot *Shaw* dead.

In the pursute nine of the Train were taken, and by Club-law were hastily hanged the next morning, before cold-blood could quiet the rage of the people.

Thus far this defeat had Success. But *Bothwell* got Northward, towards Earl *Murray* intending his Supply, which the King suspecting sends the Lord *Uchiltry* to decoy *Murray* into the South, as to work reconciliation with *Huntley*, but a false rumour being raised this while, that *Murray* was seen with *Bothwell* in the late Enterprize, *Huntley* hasty enough to malice and revenge, got Commission to bring him to a Tryal.

Murray not minding any mischief herein, was on his way at his Mothers House, the *La Downes* neer *Forth*, and being too secure from sudden attempt, *Huntley* gets aid of the County, and summons a surrender. *Murray* making much of a needy ease, returns bad words and Bullets too boot, which shot the Sheriff to the heart, and some others into a fear that altered; their fighting to firing the House, and forced them within, through smoke and flame, to come forth and yield.

Fire the Qs.
lodgings,

and flies.

Huntley and
Murray fall in-
to the mis-
chief.The Sheriff
killed.

The

Anno

1592.

Murray miserably slain.

The cause of Murrays death put upon others.

Murray lamented.

Huntley is at Liberty.

Uchiltry abused.

The Church interfeers the State Affairs.

The evening shadowed the enterprize from discovering their Prisoners for the present; but whilst they peeped for *Murray*, he not yet come out; And being put to the plunge, broke through them all with wondrous courage; escaping their seizure, yet weary and tired shrunk down within the cleft of the Rocks, and by his Head-piece discovered to be him, he was, without mercy of a common man, miserably slain. For *Huntley* (in this treacherous, if true) fearing he should be innocent of the Conspiracy, might in honour have afforded him quarter, which was desired, but to be sure of his death ran him often through, after he was a dead Corps, and having hastened the news to the King galloped away Northward, leaving his cosen, Captain *Gourdon*, wounded, who was brought to *Edinburgh*, and publicly executed to pacifie the people.

I have seen what some have said, who should be guilty of this good mans blood, but I dare not suspect, where I am not sure of authority to bear out the blame; nor can I find any cause in the King, the jealousy is raised by the sudden News that posted to Court, as of good service; but that was *Huntleys* villany, by the speed to lodge it on any from suspicion of his own private revenge. Yet it fell foul on the Chancellor, a fate or fashion of King and Favourite. *Princes have Pupils to bear their stripes, the Dog beaten for the Lion, and sometime Sovereign suffers for them. when Revenge grows high, they meddle with the Magistrate, but being gotten into power no Majesty escapes.*

Who ere were in fault, *Edinburgh* was to hot, for the Court to hold out, *Murray* bemoaned of all, the King removes, or rather ran away with the Council to *Glasgow*; not safe there neither, till *Huntley* was found out, to render his Person to Prison in *Blackness*, but was soon demitted upon caution to answer any summons.

His sudden discharge set mens tongues on work, and encouraged their faction to unbury the dead (saies one) and raise the confined corps of *Murray* and the Sheriff, against *Lieth* Church door, their friends refusing them other funeral, until revenge were taken of their slaughter; and who more earnest in this resentment than the Lord *Uchiltry*, who, ignorant of any ill meaning, was put upon the errand to perswade *Murray* to come to reconciliation, which by this means was turned to murther, and in regret of his Dishonour, the rather sought out *Bothwell*, to bare stakes, at all hazards with him.

And in earnest they are. But the Church interrupt the story, who when the State was mostly in mischief, then were they busiest for themselves the Ministry. Intermixing pious Articles in their petition to the Parliament, but evermore interfeering with Sovereignty.

The

James the sixth King of Scotland.

1671

Anno

1592.

And Articles,

agreed.

Bothwells other attempts at Faulkland,

is defeated,

and flies to England.

The first of their demands being willingly confirmed against Papists, Idolatry and crimes of blood, with which the Land indeed was then much-polluted.

But for abrogating the former acts of Anno 1584. against discipline of the Church, and their liberty, and in place thereof a Ratification now of the practice then.

The Kings wisdom foresaw the inconveniences which the Ministers assume from that term of liberty.

But Bothwells Business interrupting the Kings quiet (a time of advance to their demands) the Act was warily passed; and as for the Statute of Regal power, Supremacy in the King which they mostly aimed to abrogate. It was only declared,

It should be no waies derogatory to the spiritual Office-bearer in the Church, concerning heads of Religion, Heresie, Excommunication, Collation or deprivation of Ministers, or any such, having ground and warrant of Gods word.

The King removes to Faulkland, where Bothwell attempts a fresh Conspiracy, being assisted by the Earls of Angus and Arroll, the Master of Gray, Collonel Stuart, and the Lairds of Johnston and Balmory, they had their several Postures; the latter met him with four hundred horse; Angus kept watch without, and Arrol was alwaies with the King; Stuart must be the Porter to let the others in: Somewhat they attempted, which gave suspicion sufficient, so that Arrol was committed to Edinburgh Castle, and the Collonel to Blackness.

But why these at Court were so hasty, without the power of Bothwell, fell out upon a false Spie, that gave warning ere the Forces were nigh? For Bothwell, with no more than six score, (the Rascallity pickt up upon the Borders, English and Scottish) marching two daies and nights, with slender diet, and faint watchings arrived at Faulkland at midnight, where he found the Court at their Sentries, by which he feared the discovery. But the day soon opened (the midst of June) and he encamped on the Hill side. His Followers fall upon any booty, break open the Queens stables, and take out the Horses, and what other baggage came to hand, more regarding present plunder, than the hazard of their Chief; who thus at loss, and the County coming in, He was forced to flie, but how or whether in martial Order he knew not, and therefore by the next Midnight he stole away.

The King with his company followed by the Ferry (mistaking the way) hastened his course by Sterlin-bridge, where Bothwells men in disorder separate to all parts, and were soon seized, some in the Moors of Calder and Carnwath; the Horses unman'd their Riders falling from their Saddles for want of sleep. Others taken napping, not able to stand, were committed to several Holds

Anno

1592.

Lindsey Lord
Spinie is sus-
pected,

and becomes a
companion of
Bothwells.

A love trick of
a Woman.

Faction a-
gainst the
Chancellour.

Clanbattons a-
gainst Huntly.

Holds, and some knockt on the heads, by poor Plow-boys, and all of them so weak, that a few women mastered the most of them; and *Bothwell* got into *England*. And the King by experience, and his own clemency found it the best way to proclaim pardon to all that would forsake the grand *Traytor* and come in, knowing that some others might be interessed in that plot, and too many of note, for him to meddle with.

For whether in affection to *Bothwell* or malice to the Master of *Glamis* (the Treasurer) his Enemy. *Alexander Lindsey* Lord of *Spinie* in great favour; works secret attempts to reconcile him to the King, *Collonel Stuart* still Prisoner in *Blackness* in hope of liberty discovers it to the King at *Dunfres* by *Sir James Sandilands* the keeper of that house, who justified before the Council, That *Spinie* had harboured *Bothwell* at *Aberdowrie*. The other denies all and claims the combate, which *Sandilands* not making good. *Spinie* recovers into favour, and yet infected with treasonable intents, the next year he openly takes part with *Bothwell*, and is denounced *Rebel*.

Others also, *Weymis* of *Logie*, of the Kings Bed-chamber, was more than suspected, and committed to Guard, until his Mistress (the Queens Dutch Maid) in the Kings name, after bed time, brought the Prisoner to be questioned by the King himself, the Keepers waiting without, he was let in to the Chamber, and out at a Window by a Rope, and this being a Love-trick for her to hazard the halter, the Ladies liking the conceipt, and upon marriage with her *Paramour*, procured the Queens favour, and pardon for them both. And with these aforesaid, and divers others, the faction of *Bothwell* increased with men of all rancks; Barons and Burgeses, intertaining him openly in several parts of the Country, and in *Tweeddale*, the most part of those people; whether the King was fain to take journey as far as *Fedbury* to pacifie them and settle their fidelity.

No sooner returned but new factions at home against the *Chancellor*, and by the greatest, *Lenox*, *Arguile*, *Morton*, *Glamis*, and *Lord Hume*, with whom *Angus*, *Arrol*, (and but lately released prison) adjoin; occasioned by the *Chancellours* refusing the Queens claim, to some Lands of his which set the wheel in going; and which forced him in wisdom, to withdraw from Court, into the Country for this year.

In the North also, the *Clanbattons*, conducted by *Angus Williamson*, in pretence of revenge of *Earl Murrays* death, make havock of all that belongs to *Huntley*; with fire and Sword, and fell foul upon an aged Man, *Gordon* of *Barckley*, for no crime, but his honesty and kindred to *Huntley*, who in revenge commits cruelties upon his Enemies, encountring a great party sixty of them were slain, and some of his own side. And not satisfied

Anno

1592.

fied with this he summons all the High-landers and with their help, devastates all that Country, and kills many, until a Commission to *Angus Lord Lieutenant*, with power of the Counties, forced a cessation on both sides, and returning in *Triumph*, was seized as a Traytor, and committed to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, upon some Letters intercepted and signed by him, *Huntley*, *Arrol*, and others, to the King of *Spain*, and sent by *George Ker*, whose confession was,

Angus committed.

That upon the receipt of Letters from *Creighton*, the *Jesuit* in *Spain*, unto *Gordon* and *Abercrombie*, for alteration of Religion; those return answer of the Scots concurrence; and for more secrecy, these three Earls undertake for all, and blanks signed by them to be filled in *Spain*, and intrusted to the Bearers, in October last.

Ker his Commission to *Spain*.

And he avowed also, That *Angus* and *Arroll* assured him, that the King of *Spain* would send thirty thousand men into *Scotland*; part of this Army to force Toleration of their Romistry here, and the other part to be conveyed by them into *England*, for the same design, and this Army to land in *Kirkud-bright* in *Galloway* or in the mouth of *Cluydo River*.

Plots of Papists.

These manifest plots of Papists, drew the consideration necessary for the whole Nation; and meetings of the Ministry, and all men, to propose their advice and aid, to pursue the Rebels already risen, and to raise a Guard of three hundred Horse, constant with the King, and the Conspirators to be called to Justice, and the first example fell upon *Graham* of *Fintre*, and executed in *February*. And in this hurry *Angus* escapes out of Prison, and flies to the North, unto *Huntley* and *Arroll*. But the King in great perplexity of Murthers, rapine and slaughters, publick and private, upon their submission are received to mercy, favour and preferment; all means used to bring peace to these miserable people.

The *French* King in great distress, and overwhelmed in his affairs, craves more aid out of *England*, and is assisted again with four thousand men more, and ordinance, But not to make peace with the Leaguers until the *Spanish* forces were driven out of *France*. So necessary it was for *England* by these means to stop their career, and to keep off revenge, from home. These Forces intrusted with *General Norris*, land in *Bretaign*, but find no *French*; and so being hurried up and down *Normandy*, *Lain* and elsewhere, the *Spaniard* increase number in *Bretaign*; *Norris* returns home, and the *French* King in distress, upon some fear of his fewds, and hopes of advantage, turns Papist.

The French King relieved by Q. Eliz.

Turns Papist.

Whilest the Duke of *Parma* also, prepared fresh forces to assault

Anno

1592.

Duke of Parma dies.

The Queens
message by L.
Burroughs.The Kings
Answer,the Ambassa-
dours reply.

assault *Picardy*, but being in readines, he fights a private combate with Death, and is overcome, after fourteen years Government in *Flanders*; a man of excellent honour and virtue, as Queen *Elizabeth* always acknowledged; who to amaze and busie the *Spaniard*, and to divert him from hence, sends several *Expeditions* by Sea into his Territories of *America* with singular succession.

And to prevent his practices in *Scotland* of as great concerns to both Nations, she keeps watchfull correspondence with King *James*, who indeed wary of the *Papists* encroachments at home, began to exercise his Regal power over his Nobility and other seditious Subjects, having scattered the last Rebels into their Holds, and *Bothwel* into *England*.

These Insurrections thus far happily suppressed, contrary to the imagination of the *English* policies; Queen *Elizabeth* to colour suspicion, sends the Lord *Burrough* to congratulate the discoveries and the success, offering her aid, to bring the *Malignants* to Trial; and wished him, if he could not apprehend their persons, to confiscate their *Estates*; and seeing his case concerned all *Princes* of the *Religion*, she desired his resolution therein, for her to satisfy all others her *Confederates* against *Spain*.

The King gives her thanks, and that he was assured, *Bowes* her *Ambassadour* had certified her of all proceedings in particular, (as aforesaid) wherein he had begun, and was fully resolved to prosecute the *guilty*; but advised with her, how dangerous it might be for him, to have such potent *Rebells*, without her help, to hunt such fugitives; their Design being more dangerous to assist the *Spaniards* attempts upon *England*, than either upon *France* or *Holland*, to whom she had liberally already afforded supply, with men and moneys; and therefore, what he desired on his particular his own *Ambassadour* should declare.

The next Audience furnished the *Ambassadour* with Arguments from his *Mistris*, to advise the *King* to wise and well-affected *Counsellours*, help to disarm and suppress such *Rebells*, and withall, intimating the *Queens* punishment upon those that harboured *Bothwel* in *England*; and so by circumstances to draw out of the *King* what resolution he intended towards him, in so troublesom time, and if it were for his *Majesties* quiet to receive him upon submission.

The *King* seeming not to countenance *Bothwel*, nor believing the *Queens* resentment of his Receivers, said, That if his *Mistris* meant honourably to her self or him, she would rather deliver him to justice, according to their *League*, than to support him in her *Dominion*, whose Crimes were unpardonable; and her further favours to him would induce a necessity for the *King* to joyn with

with her *Enemies*, for his own safety. And so *Burroughs* returned, and *Bowes* remained.

In an Assembly of the Church in *April*, the King resolving to give them *Items*, sends them *Articles*.

That he would not suffer diminution of the Privileges of his *Crown*, nor *Assemblies* without his order.

That an *Act* pass to inhidit Ministers to declame in the *Pulpit* against the *King* and his *Council*.

That some of every *Presbytery* should inform his Majesty of the *Papists* practices and *Bothwels* receivers.

That some of theirs should cause the Magistrates of *Burghs*, at Sea-ports, to examine Passengers and Plotters against the *Religion*.

To the first, they would follow former *Acts*.

The scond, they prohibit without just and necessary causes, which the King esteeming no restraint, was as causless to answer theirs against *Papists*, his necessities enforcing civilities to the *Papists*, to ballance with the rigid *Reformers*.

But the *Mundays Market* stuck in their stomacks, against which their *Act* passed to alter for *Tuesday*, their Reason was *religious*, to prevent the *Trades-men* violating the *Sabbaths* Evening with too much care and travail, against the next Morning.

The *Shoomakers* whom it most concern'd, gathering tumult, menaced the *Ministers*, if they urged their consents, to drive them out of *Edenburgh*, which begat that saying, *Rascals and Sowters obtain from the Ministers, what the King could not do in matters more reasonable*.

The King sends *Melvil* to satisfie *Queen Elizabeth* of the affairs of *Scotland*, and to desire aid of money, for levying six hundred Souldiers for some *Moneths*, and to renew the former complaint against *Bothwels* entertainment in *England*, whilest he steals into *Scotland* and surprizes the King.

The *Chancellour*, as you have heard (retired from *Court*, upon displeasure of *Queen Ann*) requests the King by Letter, that seeing his service was useless, and his solitary life irksom, he craves leave to depart out of the Kingdom, untill his Majesties pleasure command his return.

The King being earnest with the *Queen* upon his resign of *Muskeburgh*, which she clamed, and his coming to *Court* resolved; *Lenox*, *Athol* and *Ochiltry*, plot to prevent him, and bring in *Bothwel* under disguise of attending the the Lady *Athol*, by the *Postern-gate*, with another, his Companion, armed into the very *Bed-chamber*.

Anno

1593.

Church Assembly.

And enforces Articles.

The King complains of Bothwels insolencies.

Munday Market to be altered.

Bothwel seises the King at Holy rood-house.

Anno

1593.

And enforces
Articles.The King
complains of
Bothwells in-
solencies.The Lords re-
sent it, and
send to him.

The King at sight of them cried out, *Treason, Treason, Strike Traitor, strike*, (said he) *make an end of thy Villany, I desire to die.* He answered with Oaths, that he came for mercy.

And the King replied, *that Mercy extorted was Insolency, and not the form of Suppliants*: and suddenly rushed in the Earl Mar with numbers of that Faction, having possession of the Court, and outward Gates, enforced the King to shew himself to the People (who were come to his rescue) as in freedom, and to command them to depart. And Bothwel thus emboldened, got Bowes the Ambassadour to side with them, and to urge these Articles from the King, *Pardon of all former Attempts and Treason, by him or his Associates, with restoration of all, which they heretofore possessed, and to abandon the Chancellour, the Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis, and others.*

To all the King signed with witnesses of all manner of men, Lords and Ministers thereunto.

The next Day August 20. the King removes to Falkland, Lennox, Ochiltry and Crichton of Clany, waited on him with directions from Bothwel, to see that the King kept to his late Articles; in which time Bothwel attained an Assise to purge him of his practicing with Witches, the original of his mischief: but the King in disdain to be thus misused, goes to Sterling, and under colour of conforming the Highlanders, procures a Convention of other Lords, necessarily frequent and effectual, Hamilton, Mar, Morton, Glencarn, Montross, Lindsey, and Levingston, two Bishops and two Priors, and some Burgeses. The King enters them with some business of the Borders; but in earnest relates to them the Indignities he had endured by Bothwel, which they knew, and puts it upon their Honours, whether he were bound to the late Conditions so extorted from him in terrour and fear of his life; lets them see their own insecurity, when himself is over-powred and forced by Villanies as a captive King to submit unto Subjects unjust demands, in destruction of his loyal Councillours and eminent Officers.

They concluded Bothwells Fact treasonable, and those Articles void, freedom in the King to call his Servants and Councillours about him; and resolved to publish by Act his Majesties power, as a free Prince, to chuse his Councillours and Servants about his Person, and that the Conditions signed to Bothwel in August last, to be null.

And being now set upon it, two Commissions were sent to him, to signifie thus much, and of the Kings favour for him to supplicate for pardon, before November next, and then to depart the Realm, till the Kings pleasure.

Bothwel seemed humble, but meets with Arhol, Montross, and a number of men, at Sterling, to whom the King sends to dissolve his

his *Train* and retire home, for the *King* was coming thither, with the *Lord Home*, and some Forces were sent before, to scour the way, who encountering *Montross*, takes him Prisoner; and the Court coming to *Edenburgh*, *Bothwell* is cited and denounced *Rebell* again.

These Troubles were raised by the Lords of *Religion*, but see what the *Papists* do.

The *Catholick* Lords had been cited to the last *Parliament* in *July*, but failed by some defect in the *Libell*, and so were remitted to the *King* and *Council*, which was suspected in favour; the *Synode* of *Fife* therefore excommunicate *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Arrol*, *Home* and *Chisholm*, and writ to *Edenburgh* for them to do so there.

The *King* displeased with such Proceedings, requires *M. Bruce* there great *Pastor*, to stay *Sentence*, the Persons neither cited nor subject to *Fife Synode*, and if this be your Order (says he) for one to excommunicate, with their direction for others to do so too, who can be sure to eschew trouble?

But *Bruce* boldly told the *King*, that the *Ministers* had their own Reasons, and were answerable onely to the *General Assembly*.

Well, (says the *King*) your *Discipline* hath distasted all men, and seeing your practices are without good *President*, I will bethink me of some *Remedy*.

The *Popish* Lords complain to the *King* at *Falaw*, and humbly crave a legal *Trial*, but were commanded to enter their persons at *Perth*, and abide there till the *Trial*; and lest any jealousy should censure the *King*, as conniving, the *Abbot* of *Lunders* was sent to the *English* *Ambassadour*, and to *Edenburgh* *Ministry*, to tell them the truth; and it was time so to do.

For now such News got wings, and *Commissioners* of all the several Churches from all parts convene, and finding the Church of *God*, *King* and *Kingdom* in eminent peril, they prepare Articles of advice.

That the *Trial* of the excommunicate Lords be not prevented, but their Day prorogued onely for the conveniency of the Professors of the *Religion* to be their Accusers, for their Treasons committed; in the mean time to stand committed; their *Fury* to be nominated by their Accusers, the whole Professors of the *Gospel*; that they being excommunicate and so cut off from the Body of the Church of *God*, have no benefit of the *Law*, till they be reconciled to the Church: and that such onely as profess the *Religion* may be a Guard to the *King*, against the Enemies of *God*, the Countrey not brooking them and us together.

The *King* startled at their Inscription, not owning (he said) such *Convention*, nor them *Commissioners* assembling without his consent; but

Anno
1593.

but vouchsafed to receive them as humble Subjects, but not otherwise commissioned. And of his own gracious intention told them, That the said Lords met him at Falaw, and humbly craved a legal Trial, to which the Ministers had often solicited, and which in honor and justice he with his Council had granted, and considering the time and place, Perth not so proper, he had resolved it at Linlithgow, at the meeting of the Estates, and with their advice; and that neither Judges nor Juries should be other than men indifferent; and for his own Guard, those whom he called thither should be welcom, others should not be so.

They accused the Lord Home of residing at Court.

The King told them, His Day assigned to satisfy the Ministers was not as yet; and if you can accuse him in particular for the present, let him answer for himself. And so sent them away.

Their farther
proceedings in
Tumult.

The Assembly unsatisfied, advertise all parts to be in Arms at the Day of Trial (which the King timely prohibits) without his Warrant.

They answer, that in the cause of God, their Defence must not be deficient.

Which the King inhibits by Proclamation, Declaring his course taken for their Trial in July last, but hindered by Bothwells Rebellions, he now convenes the Estates at Linlithgow, for that and other necessities of the Kingdom; the Lords themselves earnest Smitors to abide the Law, and satisfy the Church; and therefore commands the Subjects not to make Convocations; but if any meeting were already of that nature, then to dissolve and return home, under pain of punishment.

Commissioners
to try the
Popish Lords,

But meet they would, with such numbers as shortened the Proceedings; and in summe, Commissioners were chosen by the Estates to consider of the Popish Lords their Offers and Petitions, to try their Accusations and Purgations; and what they determine should be valid and effectual, as in Parliament or Convention. The Commissioners were, the Chancellour, Mar, Montross and Rother, sundry Lords and Lairds, and divers of the Ministry named to be admitted to the Conference.

and conclude
these Articles.

The 12th of November they meet and conclude, That the true Religion established the first of his Majesties Reign should be onely professed in all time to come, within the Realm; and that none should abet, or receive Jesuits, Priests, or other Adversaries of Religion, upon the pain in former Acts of Parliament.

That all should conform hereto before February next, or depart the Realm, whither his Majesty shall appoint, and not return, till they turn Professors; they and their Heirs, always enjoying their Lands and Estates, by Procurators in their behalfs.

The Earls of Angus, Huntley, and Arrol, and the Lairds Achin-
down

down and Chisholm, to be unaccusable of the Crimes contained in the Summons, occasioned by their Letters and Blanks intercepted, (as before remembred) concerning their trafficking with forein Princes against Religion, &c. discharging all Proceedings against them: Provided, if they offend hereafter, the former Crimes to be added to their Charge.

That such of them as shall profess Religion are to be assigned their places of abode: not to dispute publick or private in favour of Popery. Huntly and Arrol to remove out of their company James Gordon and Oglevy Jesuits, to finde Sureties in fourty thousand pounds to abide Subscriptions; and Achindown and Chisholm in ten thousand pounds.

Such as leave the Realm, to give caution not to practice with Jesuits abroad, against this State; and to declare their submission to their choice of conditions before January next, or be liable to Trial by Law.

These were in effect concluded and signed unto by them; which the King and Council confirmed, and the three Earls subscribed, but to small effect.

For the end of this Year, begins fresh feuds, the Johnstons in the West-Marches made Incurfions upon the Sanhares, and killed eighteen persons; and though great friendships had been contracted with Maxwel, yet having in Commission as Warden to pursue the Offenders, the Sanhares offered their assistance therein, to bring all Niddesdale to depend upon him, and Bonds signed unto for performance: a Servant of Maxwels betrays this Bond into the hands of Johnston, who sends a Gentleman to discourse the truth out of Maxwel, who first denied it, but afterward said, He must obey the Kings directions.

Johnston to cope with such Combination, associates with those of Tevedale, the Eliots and Grahams; and so meeting Maxwels Forces with the Commander Olephant, kil'd him & divers others.

Maxwells and
Johnstons
feuds.

Maxwel to repair his dishonour, levies one thousand men, and like a Kings Lieutenant, with displayed Banner, enters Annandale. Johnston not so many, deals by policy, sends out his Prikers, (the Boders cunning) to provoke; whom Maxwel encounters, but by Ambuscade, Johnston comes in with power, and puts them all to flight.

Maxwel was taken, desiring Quarter, (as he had often given Johnston's father) and reaching out his hand for to confirm it, had it basely cut off, and afterwards butchered to death; he was a man much lamented, of great spirit, humane, and more learned than Lords are, yet like most of them, ambitious.

And this to be done to the Kings Lieutenant, might amaze some men, to consider the Distempers of the Nation, and the wisdom of a young Sovereign, how to ballance these frequent Feuds,

The Kinds
sad condition.

Anno
1593.

Popish Lords
come not in.

Pr. Henry born
in Feb.

Lord Zouch
Ambassadour
from England

and Ministers
assist Bothwells
attempt.

and so do Ar-
guile and Ar-
rol.

Feuds, and to bandy against *Bothwells Treasons*, *Popish conspiracies*, *tumults*, and *insurrections*, the Gangrene Evil of *insolent Assemblies*, evermore eating into the Bowels of *Government*, to devour and devastate all; for this present he assigns the Lord *Herris*, *Drumlanrig*, *Lagg*, and other Barons, to abide at *Dunfres*, to quiet and repress Disorders.

The time limited to the *Popish Lords*, *January 18.* is past, and they omitting the benefit of *Abolition*, are charged to enter their persons into Ward, *Angus* into *Blackness*, *Huntley* in *Dunbritton*, and *Arrol* to *Edinburgh Castle*, and *Achindon* in *Tantallon*; but neither of them obeyed.

The *King* removes to *Sterling*, where *Queen Ann* was delivered of her first-born the 19th of *February*, 1593. To which place arrives the Lord *Zouch* from *Queen Elizabeth*, to congratulate her Delivery, and to complain to the *King*, his remissness against the *Popish Lords*, for she was informed of the *Articles* of *November*; and being told besides, by some busie *Presbyters* at home, the *Kings* favour to his *Popish Lords*, (her age made her often apt to entertain such Tales, and her Jealousie summ'd up *Reasons* to her self, soon to believe them.) But, her *Ambassadour* taking time, to understand what had passed, could not be at leisure to suspend his judgment or confidence in the *Kings* prosecution to effectual punishment.

And therefore to hasten homewards, he tampers for *Bothwel*, (the immediate end of his Errand) deals with the *Ministers*, the most especial amongst them, to countenance his fresh *Insurrection* with numbers of loose persons; and (which troubled the *Ring*, they commend *Andrew Hunter*, one of their own, to be *Bothwells* Chaplain in Ordinary. And being thus emboldened, they go on to raise *Moneys* themselves, levy *Souldiers*, to assist his *Treasons*; Nay more, (see their piety to Rebellion, their sacrilegious assistance) even with those very *Moneys*, benevolent Contributions collected by their *Pulpit Oratory*, out of the poor peoples purses for supply of *Geneva Brethren* then in much misery; and in a mad fury distributed unto *Robert Melvil* and *George Strang*, two *Rebell Captains*, for the well-affected Cause of the Traitor *Bothwell*. His Design taking up a new motive and pretext, Justice against the *Popish Lords*; but in truth his Malice and Revenge, pretended also, for the slaughter of *Murray*. And with him joyned *Argile* and *Arrol*, to meet at *Lieth*; not without hourly intelligence with the *English Ambassadour Zouch*, who fearing that the *Kings* foresight had espied his juggling, stole away home, without bidding *Bothwel* Farewell.

Whose Cause was cried up, advancing from the Borders with four hundred Horse coming to *Lieth*, very early the first of *April*, and this he durst do, the *King* being so near at *Edinburgh*, but meanly

The King
pleads to the
people after
Sermon for as-
sistance.

meanly guarded, and put to it to speak for himself after *Sunday Sermon*, for the *Pulpit* would not.

He passionately tels the People all the stories of *Bothwels* Attempts, and his *Treason* now, reasoning with the Multitude, some suspicion of his siding with *Papists* in favour of the Lords; puts them in minde (almost forgotten) that he was their *anointed King* and *Sovereign*, and brought it home to their self-consideration, if *Bothwel* should prevail against him, what they must expect of the Borderers upon them.

Much ado they are moved to arm, and to accompany their Commander the Lord *Hume*, who lead the *Horse*, and the bold trained Bands march after the *Cannon*, taken out of the *Castle*, to besiege *Lieth*.

But *Bothwel* was removed towards *Dalkieth*, dividing into three *Troops*, *Humes* Horse followed to observe what course he held, whilest the *King* made a *Halt* at *Borrow-moor*.

Bothwels Scouts finding them seperate, encourage him to turn upon *Hume*, which he did with some advantage, being above the others number, gave him chace, in his retire, which moved some to advise the *King* to secure himself in the Town *Restalrig*. No, says the *King*, *Ile never quit the Field to a Traitor*. And though in eminent danger, stood it still, whilest *Bothwels* eager pursuit, stumbled his Horse, and in the fall, bruises him into some peril, that he took the readiest way to *Dalkieth* for that night, and the next morrow dissolves his *Troops*. *Arrol* has tidings, and does so too; the *Captains* at *Fife* take ship and sail away.

Bothwel dissi-
pated.

And this gave end to his three *Squadrons*, and leasure to the *King* by his Ambassadour Lord *Colvil* to complain to *Queen Elizabeth* of her Ambassadour *Zouch*, and her harbouring of *Bothwel*.

Colvil Am-
bassadour to
England com-
plains of
Zowch.

He writes plainly, *Though she had recommended his Person, wise, religious and honest, yet his carriage was more like an Herauld, than to be a Messenger in Commission of Peace, between two neighbour Princes, and therefore meeting with his pride and wilfulness, he chose his own Emiffary to carry this Errand, whom he prays the Queen to credit. He marvelled the more, having received her many Princely promises and Letters not to countenance Bothwel, nor his Receivers, whilest some of her own Palaces had given him harbour, being assisted with English Moneys to levy Scots and English in this his another very late treacherous Attempt. To challenge her Princely Honour, he did not, nor could be confident of her privity therein, yet considering her prudence and policies, he was troubled to finde the insolvency of her Subjects, to hazard a breach with her nearest Kinsman; and therefore leaving it to her self to resolve those doubts, he put her in mind of his delivery of Orok the Irish Rebell to her, and prays her not to*

Anno
1594.

The Queens
answer.

Papists bani-
shed.

Remonstrance
of the Assem-
bly against
Papists.

put him in ballance with such a trayterous counterpoise, least he be constrained to speak like the Poet, *Flectere si nequeo superos, &c.*

Thus much the letter said, the Ambassadour in private assured her Majesty the particular prosecution against the Popish Lords, to proscribe their persons and confiscate their Lands. And to go through with the work against them, and other *Romists*, he craved a supply of monies.

The Queen had no excuse but to ballance her favour to Bothwell, by the slow pursuit the King made against those Papists. Henceforth she would cease, and for effecting his purpose against them. He should not want what was in her power to afford.

The first she really performed and speedily proclaimed against Bothwell, and no assistance to him through her Borders, which the King hartily resented.

And by his Ambassadors invites the Queen to the Baptism of the Prince his Son, and others were sent of the same errand, To the King of Denmark, the Dukes of Brunswick and Megleburgh, and to the general Estates. (Men enough to one Woman.

The King so far affected with the Queens Publication against Bothwell, that the next Parliament the Scottish Papists are banished by plurality of voices, Clergy and Commons (whom the Nobles would have spared) And Arguile is sent with forces against such as would not submit.

The Assembly of the Church convene at Edenburgh, and direct Commissioners of their own to represent to his Majesty at Sterlin, the dangers of the State, and to propound the remedies in eleven Articles.

They lay the ground from the late design of the Spaniard in eighty eight against the whole Island, and his correspondence since with the Popish Lords, argues his intention, the same still, and their continuance in Treasonable attempts ever since, doth evidence their obstinacy to prosecute the Conspiracy.

Then the Church layes open, how their counsel from time to time was neglected, and the enemy encouraged, and none greater favourites in Court than Papists; naming principal families infected therewith.

And reckons up the Popish Lords neglect, and scorn of the Act of Oblivion, their disobedience, not entring their persons to Ward. The arriving of the late Spanish Bark at Montross, shews that their Practises continue, and their open Conventions assure themselves safety; besides their preparations of Arms in the North parts. And conclude, that the cause not being removed, the dangerous effects are like to follow.

The Remedies they propound in eight conclusions.

That

That the Popish Lords be forfeited the next Sessions of Parliament.

And no Papists elected shall sit.

That they shall be pursued, their rents and lands annexed to the Crown without favour.

That seizure be made of several notorious persons named.

That none shall relieve them with any Supply or Intelligence.

That the people should put themselves into arms, as a posture of Defence.

Somewhat was said against the Lord *Hume*, but he appearing, was absolved.

These remedies were well accepted of the King, only misliking *Subjects to arm without his Warrant*. And well he might reminding the last years insurrections at the peoples pleasure.

The King granting theirs, offers some conditions for himself, by his Messenger *Melvil*.

That the Assembly should inhibit their Ministers irreverent speeches in Pulpit, against his Majesty and Council under pain of deprivation.

And to censure *John Ross* for his insolency therein.

The like against *Hunter* another of theirs) for his open consortship with the late Traytors, he being a Minister of Religion, against his King of the same faith, to the great scandal of the Church.

The third was to admonish their Congregations against *Bothwell*, his treasonable attempts, or any other such insurrections against his *Majesties* person.

This last was enacted, but *Ross* was only admonished to do so no more; and *Hunter* was pretended to be deposed from his function but they juggled him in again.

The Parliament adjudged the three Earls and *Achindown* guilty of the Crimes of Treason, their estates forfeited, their Escocheons torn by the *Herauld* (as their manner of degrading) and excellent Statutes passed for the good of Country and Commons.

And now begins the Solemnity of Baptism for the *Prince* in *August*, from *England* the Earl of *Suffex*, the King of *Denmark*, and Duke of *Brunswick* and *Megleburgh*, with the free Estates of the Provinces, had their *Ambassadors* there present, from the *French* King came none. The manner of Ceremony was thus, handsom. The Infant was brought into the Queens chamber of Prefence, laid in a Bed of State. The *Ambassadors* came in, and were presented with the Prince; first from the Arms of the Countess of *Mar*, to the Duke of *Lennox*, who delivered him to the Earl of *Suffex*; having the principal place of Dignity, who bore him to the Chappel, being followed with

Anno

1594.

And the Remedies.

The Solemnities of the Princes Baptism named Henry Frederick.

Anno
1594.

And the Re-
sidence

At the Cha-
ple,

The King
sends to Eng-
land for mo-
ney.

The
Bothwell and
the Popish
Lords join in
Rebellion.

a Noble Train of Lords and Ladies. Before them all, the Lord *Hume* carried the *Ducall Coronet*, the Lord *Levingston* bore the *Towell*; the Lord *Seaton* the *Fontall Bason*, and the Lord *Simple* the *Laver*. Over the *English* Ambassadour a Rich *Majesterial Canopie*, supported by four *Lairds*. The *Childs Train* bore up by the Lords *Sinclare* and *Urquart*, and a Guard or Lane on each side of the young *Noblemen* and *Gentry* of the Nation.

Being entred the Chappel; the King already set, and arising from his Throne, receives and salutes the Ambassadors; and then the *Infant* was delivered again to *Lenox*, who reached him to the Nurse, and the *Estates* take their Seats. Upon the Kings Right hand a *Chair* was placed for the *French* Ambassadour who was not come. The next to him the Ambassador of *Denmark*; on the left Hand the *English* Extraordinary and *Lieger* sat together; and then the Ambassadors of *Brunswick*, *Megleburgh*, and the *States*, before each Seat, a small *Table* covered with *Velvet*, and officers only about the *English* to wait his pleasure.

The Service ending *Suffex* presented the Prince to *David Cunningham* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, the action of *Baptism* administred by *David Lindsey* Minister of *Lieth*, and in *French*, because of Strangers, and naming him *Henry Frederick*. And so returning in former Order. And the Prince being laid upon a Bed of Honour, *Lion Herald* proclaims his Titles, *Henry Frederick Knight, and Baron of Kenfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Karrick, Duke of Rothsay, Prince and Steward of Scotland*. Meddals of *Gold* and *Silver* cast to the people, sundry Knights made, with feastings and comedies, for a whole moneth.

The King amidst these Ceremonies of joy, minds his serious affairs.

For the Popish Lords in Rebellion, an Ambassadour is sent to *Queen Elizabeth* to remember her promise, to support his levies; after many shifts and delayes some small sums were advanced as a loan, (which in truth were due otherwise upon account) and that very unwillingly too. for one *Lock* was now resident at Court, the only agent for *Bothwells* business, and *Mr. Calvil* the Minister, his *Copes-mate*, there also.

And again *Bothwell* is got up, and keeping intelligence with the *Popish Lords* in the North, against whom the King intends an *Expedition*, resolves so to incumber his affairs in the South, as to prevent his journey, and having received some Gold from his Foreign friends, corrupts the Keeper of the *Castle Blackness*, to seize the King into hold, till the Conspirators should come and force conditions. To this they all are obliged by bond, assigned by *Huntley*, *Arroll*, *Angus*, *Bothwell*, and *Achindown*, and in custody of *Sir James Scot*. By which and others papers, discovered from *Allan Orm*, *Bothwells* Man, the whole plot came

to

to light, and was published to undeceive the Comminalty, upon what score of Religion *Bothwells* Treasons were confirmed. And the Jayler and *Orm*, were both executed, to assure the visible truth to the people.

And without more circumstance Commission was given to *Arguile*, *Athol* and others, who besiege the Castle of *Ruthen*, but was beaten back and meets with a Supply of more strength now advanced to a thousand horse and foot, *Huntley* hastens to fight ere *Arguile* get more men. And being less in number, but made desperate by necessity, *Arroll* leads the Van, with three hundred, and *Huntley* hath the Battel.

No sooner in fight, but *Arguile* (in some misdoubt) yet commands *Macklan*, who led his Van, to advance. Himself lodges in the fast grounds full of *Moss* and *boggs*, with the main of his men. *Huntley* had some Field pieces which plaid upon *Macklans* *Highlanders*; and they, as their manner was then (though since they have appeared stout fellows and to stand to it) fell down on their bellies not willing to look up so long as the Guns did thunder, which encouraged *Arroll* to give the charge, but being forced to wheel aside, the Fellowes got up on their feet, and by that time they incounter, showing such a storm of arrows upon *Arroll*, that the first flight (a quarter of an hower) darkned the day into night, and at the fall of their Arrows, came in with their darts, that killed *Achindown*, and dangerously wounded *Arroll*, many hurt, and the most fled.

Huntley sees this, and hastily spurs his Horse into the succour, and now encountring for the day, continued a cruel fight for two hours, which routed *Arguile*, not able to rally them again; yet *Macklan* stood it out, with courage and skil, till he retired in order and honour, with loss of many men of note, besides seven hundred Soldiers, and but a dozen on *Huntleys* part, though divers desperately wounded. And its called the Battell of *Clenlivet* a mile off. And so the Lords for the Kings side separate, and go home.

But ere the Conquerors, could relish their wellfare, the King was got into the North, and demolishes *Strathbolgy*, *Slains* and *Newton*, principal holds of *Huntleys*, and though themselves withdrew to his Aunt the Countess of *Sutherland*, they were so beset by the Duke of *Lenox*, Lieutenant of the North, that they capitulate with Sureties to depart the Realm, without prejudice abroad, to the State at Home, nor to return till the Kings pleasure. *Huntley* into France, and the rest into several Soyls.

This condiscention to such notorious Rebels, lodged sometime upon the Kings account, as in favour to the *Romists*, but if we examine the charge of the War, uncertainty of his Nobles,

Arguile and
Athol,

Bothwell flies
into France,

against Hunt-
ley and Arrol,

Arguile dis-
comfited.

Arguile dis-
comfited.

The K. comes
to the Good-
speed, & they
are banished.

The K. comes
to the Good-
speed, & they
are banished.

The K. comes
to the Good-
speed, & they
are banished.

Anno

1594.

Bothwel flies
into France,and dies at
Naples some
years after.Assemblee of
the Church
in Scotland.Answer the
K. Articles.

bles, faction of other fewds; and a ticklish jealousie in the Ministry, not to suffer *Bothwell* to sinck, whose pretences till now, they alwaies encouraged, these exigents may excuse the King.

Indeed in this publick Rebellion, with Papists, *Colwell* his Chaplain, refused his devotion, forsook his company, and came home again; yet to make himself welcome, betrayed *Bothwells* Brother, *Hercules Stewart*, to publick execution at *Edenburgh*.

This frightened the grand Traytor into fears; and forsaken of all but his guilty self, flies into *France*, and lands at *New-haven*, where in disguise he lodges; but tidings of him came to the King, who sends a *Gentleman* to *France*, to demand so reprobate a *Rebell*. The *French King* professed not to afford him countenance, but being come for refuge, he could not, in honour, debar him the free air of *France*.

And so wearied with the insupportable weigh of his sinful soul, and quarrelling with any man to kill him, against the Edict of *France*. He was thereupon banished from thence, wanders into *Spain*, and so to *Naples* in *Italy*, where he lived, and died wondrous poor, and unpittied of all men, about the year 1624.

And thus the *Hydra's* Heads of this Conspiracy removed out of the way, the Members came in, discovering one another to procure pardon, and the very Bond was brought in, which did asfotiate these Confederates, by which the Ministers eyes were opened, and by this new light they could see *Bothwells* guilt, which heretofore they could hardly believe. And so ended this Rebellion with the last of the year.

The next Assembly of the Church occasioneth the King then at *Montross*, to send Commissioners to them to urge these Articles.

That any subject found guilty of Treason, should also be excommunicate; that so the Swords of Justice, Spiritual and Temporal, should make inseparable Union one with another.

That no Excommunication should be valid by private men, without major votes in publick Assemblies of the Members of other Churches.

That no Excommunication should fall upon any, for slight causes, and suspected crimes in Civil cases, lest the censure should come into contempt, like the Popes Cursings, and when they do, to give lawful citation.

A man would judge of these Articles without difficult Answer.

Yet they shake their heads at all.

At the first with this clause, *Legitima cognitione Ecclesiastica praeunte.*

To

To the third and fourth they demur.

And discharging any summary Excommnication. with this Exception, *Nisi salus Ecclesie periclitetur.*

Thus evermore they bare a starting hole, which the K. might easily see, would serve turn for their turbulent intention to colour their proceedings hereafter.

What the conceipt should be, that possessed Queen Ann she had an earnest design (envy to the Earl of Mar, his Guardian, her only Warrant) to get the Prince out of his care, into her custody, and delt so with some Counsellors in the Kings absence, that had not the King timely prevented, and suddenly surprized the Queen, by posting to her from *Faulkland* to *Edenburgh*) it had been too late to recall the danger, and carries her in his company away to *Sterlin*, leaving her alone to ponder out the plot; such a design, as for her honorable memory I dare not mention, having no ground, but a Jesuits conceipt, but boldly put in print, an authority enough, for impudence only.

The King pondering with her the wily design, writes in secret to the Earl.

My Lord of Mar,

Because in the security of my Son, mine is conserved, and my concredit of his charge to you, upon trust of your honour and honesty. This I command (as singly and solely of my self, being in company with those I like not) that upon any charge or necessity that possibly can come from me, you shall not deliver him; And in case that God call me at any time; see you that neither for the Queen, nor for the Estates pleasure. you deliver him out of your hands, till he be eighteen years of age, and that then he command you himself.

Sterlin July 24. 1595.

James Rex.

In this case that the King was cooped, appears his great trust to the fidelity of this Lord.

Some fire carries smoak, which even choaked the good old Chancellour, whether regret of the wrong, jealousy of the King, or guilt of the Counsellour: he contracts the meiancholy into a sickness: and being withdrawn to his Country-house *Lawder*, sends his Cosin the Secretary to the King then at *Hamilton*.

Excuses any evil design in him by his former continual fidelity to the Kings affairs. Commends his wife and children, and some friends to the Kings favour. Takes leave, like a man, not long of this Life.

The

Anno

1595.

Q. Anns Design to seize the Prince.

The Kings letter to Mar.

The Chancellor sick, and why.

Anno

1595.

The Kings
letter to him,
full of grace.

The King ever compassionate, took it for no time, to dispute with discontent.

It was enough, his good services had been eminent and frequent; this last accompt he commits to God, and like a Prince, wise and charitable, instead of correction, sends him comfort, under his own hand and Seal.

Chancellour,

How sorry I am (saies he) for this ill News, be your self my judge, I could never dissemble my affection. God may spare you, for my sake, if you love me so well, as to resist the assaults of your sickness, that his goodness may reserve you (yet a little) to me, as Hezekiah was to his people (for the necessity between Prince and people, is recipraque) Nor can any sickness (of it self) seize the vital, if God cut not the thread of life. As to your suits; when God calls you, I shall need no Remembrancer, for since I made you a mark of my constant favour (as your self hath oft times said.) I am much more bound in Princely care to conserve it to your Wife and children, that bear your Image, a lively representation for me of my thankful memory of you, examples are begun in others, what have I not done for the Duke of Lenox, and Lady Huntley, for their Fathers sake? Suffer your thoughts in this assurance of the like to yours; The Secretary is mine already. And if the distance of place, could dispence with my time, I should desire to see you, and to have said thus much my self. God keep you to me, and to your native Country,

James Rex.

Chancellour
dies, his cha-
racter.

He languished two Moneths, and died in October 1595. He was a man of rare parts, a deep wit, and learned also, of good courage against mighty Assailants. Mar was the man he most hated, the other the like to him. Both good men (accounting them Courtiers) private emulation I fear, more of Policy than virtue; yet with great reservation of his Majesties affection to either, and in general to the publique service, till, I know not how he failed, in this last act.

The King in some passion for his death, having little more to do it seems then, bestowed his Poetry, into an Epitaph for him of a dozen verses, which because I find them much bettered, in comparison of his Majesties after-versifying, his holy Meditations, in turning Davids Psalms into excellent Meeter, I shall silence these, and refer you to the other hereafter.

This year was held ominously evil in Scotland, dearth and scarcity of all victual, abundance of winds in harvest, the natural cause; blood-shed and slaughters in all parts, accounted un-
natural

natural, the curse of God haunting that Nation, where such Wars (we call them civil) cry down vengeance on the Inhabitants. *Johnstons* and *Maxwells* had another bout in the South Parts. Those from the Western, the *Maxwells*, had much the worse.

With the Isles and High-landers likewise, great dissensions. The In-countrie no less behind, Murthers, slaughters. The killing of one, though a private man as to himself, engages his Kinsman, Master, or Chief, to procure the revenge.

David Forester (but a Citizen of *Sterlin*) murdered in his journey to *Edenburgh* (so I censure them that lay in wait by the way) we know not by whom; but see, the Lairds of *Arth*, and *Dun-nypearce*, in malice to the man (because to his Master the Earl of *Mar*) endeavour to shadow the inquiry of the Inquest. The Earl, in this affront for his beloved Servant, conveys the corps with a Train of Mourners from *Linlithgow*, to *Sterlin*, carrying therewith the body bare-faced, and the sheet gory in blood with the dead wounds, and all to move compassion for revenge.

The body buried, *Mar* prosecutes some suspected; the Lords *Levingston* and *Elphinston* bolster out the men; No Law, nor Justice to be suffered for quiet and civil Tryal. No! these feuds will fight it out, and did, to future example of Gods Justice in the fall of these two families, much addicted to murthers and quarrels of blood.

This one, and some few such like, I mention for Presidents and Examples, not glutting the Reader with too many, which in every place fill up the *Scots* Chronicles, and which sundry of them boast of, for magnimity of Spirit, and honour to their Gentry.

We lately observed, the small effects the King found from the promises of *England* to aid him, which brought him to take care how to advance his own, other helps he had not. He commissioneth eight persons to govern his Exchequer, all of them Senators of the College of Justice, only *Peter Young* his honest Almoner. The Commission was ample in words and power, to them, or any five, To call to accompt all manner of Officers Accomptants; To Order and Rate the Rents. To alter and change any of the Officers. To do and act such and so many particulars, in terms and words, with such exact particular powers over the rent Gatherers; profits and duties of Caves, Customs, Fishings (take them as they are in this order) Cole-houses, Parks, Steadings (Fole Coultis) Orchards of Apples; other Fruits, Conies, Capons, Geese. Good God, what not? Then to entrelace these, you have the other particulars, Money, Plate, Jewels, Mines of Gold, Silver, Lead, Tin. Certainly the West-Indie Fleets comes short of such wealth. But so the *Scots* use to accompt of their own.

D d

ac-

The King
assigns Com-
missioners of
his Treasury

Anno
1595.

And to countenance their pains and care. He promiseth *verbo Principis*, not to adjoyn any more, and if any did, the survivors to give their consent, for admition. They had authority to revoke, disclaim, to direct letters of Horning. (or Outlary) Pounding or Caption (suertyes) and many such like, &c.

These Lords make faith, &c. to respect his Majesties weal and advance of Revenew without affection or fraud. Provided not to be liable to Action, for the King. seeing they did all without fee. And proclaimed at the Market Crosse at *Edenburgh*, January 1595.

The Courtiers were blanke for such, must be their reward. But they complain as an injury to the Kings honour, having little to himself, and lesse for the meritt of any Man.

And to give them more Cause of Complaint. They begin to dispose of Places ere they fall to the ground. *David Magill* Advocate, he is too old and dotes; and must admit of one of them till of grief he dies. The Master of *Glamis* somewhat in Arears of his accompts, and his deputy *Sir Robert Melvil*, the same, must resign their Treasury to the Prior of *Blantiere* ere they obtain their *quieti sunt*. *Richard Cockhorn* secretary, exchanges it to *Lindsey* for Privy Seal. The collectary *Linchclowden* given to *Elphinston*. And their *President* they would Create Chancelor. Soft Sirs. The King would not. These and many more made them Clamored by the Countrey. Somewhat they deserved amisse; But, the fate of favomites, and men of Trust, they bore the blame of all.

Papists private plots.

The King
assigns
Com-
missioners
of
his Treasury

The Jesuite, much troubled to see the State, likely to settle into security, by the severe proceedings against *Papists*. Whole families *Grahams*, *Fentres*, and others; the Lords banished; the fewds dissipated; and the Ministry, in some measure of mildnesse: They counsell how to involve both *Nations*, into some design together. And to set up A strang medley of *Pretenders*, by protext of several Claims (besides the Kings right) to the *Crown* of *England*. For they found by the sad affects to them, the birth of the *Prince* and likely hood of a numerous issue, if *Queen Elizabeth* failed and the King also, it were the same to their successors.

Devising sundry other Titles to both Crowns.

of E. of Essex

They devised double wayes, Title, and Poyson the first was by Title (forsooth) of the Earl of *Essex* in *England*. Though no Catholick, yet his Ambitious and vain popularity (they conceived,) might quallifie his temper towards *Religion*, being of himself doubtfull in opinion, and so, his Clemencie would incline to *Tolleration*, if not profession of *Catholick*.

They drew his descent, from *Thomas* of *Woodstock* sonne to *Edwarw* the 3, And so to be promoted to the people, they dedicate a Book to him, stiled *Dolmans* (a preist) some say, written by

James the sixth King of Scotland.

189

Anno

1595.

Of Spains.

by the Jesuite *Persons* *Cardinall Allan* and *Fuglesfield*; discourse of legallity and pollicie, inchanging hereditary succession in *England*, by a new devised way of Election (only) of a *Roman Catholick*; Ravelling into the History of most *English* Kings, to be either not *Legitimate* or *rightly incapable*.

The other *Title*, was of the infant of *Spain*; And therein they use their catholick doctrine, to make up with monstrous Lies and many;

1. From *Constance*, daughter to the Conquerour, married to *Fergat* Earl of *Britagne* (though all our Chronicles agree that she died without issue.

2. From *Elinor* daughter to *Henry* the 2 married to *Alphonso* of *Castile*.

3. And descends from *Blanch* his daughter.

4. From *Beatrice*, daughter of *Henry* 3 of *England*.

5. From the *Portugall* family of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*.

Thus much *Persons* did then. And after the Queens death, he excuseth it to the King, as taking no effect. These were devised in case the King should have no issue then in being. Whilst the Jesuite *Spaniard*, practiseth by poyson to hasten the Queens death, and no lesse than three in the plot.

Roderick Lopez of the Jewish sectary; Phyfition to her household and of honest repute, till infected by *Andrada* a *Portugall* and *don de Moro* a Counceler of *Spain*; with a rich Jewell, in hand, and fifty thousand Crowns more to impoyson her, and this was certified unto *Fuentes*, and *Ibarra* secretaries to that King in *Flanders* by *Stephen Ferreira* who writ *Lopez* his letters to them; & they returned *Emanuel Lowise* unto *Lopez*, to hasten the plot. These circumstances they confessed and were hanged.

The reason so many *Portugalls* in a knot, shews the time of freedome here, for them, under some pretence of *don Antonio* their pretended Prince, banisht thence and protected here.

There followed them to the Gallows, *Cullen* an *Irish* fencer, and *York* and *Williams* hired also by *Ibarra* to kill the Queen.

Of which she complains to *Earnest Arch Duke* of *Austria* Governour in *Flanders* under the *Spaniard*, that *Ibarra* his servant hatcht these treacheries, to the Kings dishonour, if not by him punished; and to have the *English* and chief complotters, *Owen*, *Throgmorton*, *Holcot*, a *Jesuite*, *Gefford*, and *Worthington* divines; delivered up to her.

We had of his here in *England* a fugitive, his late secretary *Don Antonio perez* for some mischief he set on foot in *Aragon*, got away to save his head; And to the *French* King first, he revealed all his Masters secrets, who finding him of a pregnant witt, and malicious, sends him to his *Lieger* in *England* to work,

D d 2

into

practice to impoyson Q. Eliz. by Lopez

Cullen, York, and Williams, and other fugitive traytors.

Ant. Perez infected Essex.

Anno

1595.

Of 29

Spanish de-
signes invasi-
on of Scot-
land or Eng-
land.

Spaniards
poor success
upon Eng-
land.

Sr. W. Ra-
leghs Guiana
voyage and o-
ther attempts
in the west
Indies.

into some faction or design, against *Spain*. And here he was, without pention or protection of the Queen; for she, nor *Burgh* the *Treasurer* would not vouchsafe to see him; nor did any other, give him countenance; unlesse the Earl of *Essex*; he did, to his cost, and used him as an Oracle of *Spanish* politie; fildome from his sight, but when it was supplied with interchange of letters in latine, which *Essex* understood, and delighted in his phraze, and yet was not glutted, with threescore of them, whilst he resided here; They are extant, eztituled. *Antonii Perezii Epistola ad Com. Essexiam Magnatem Angliae*. They discipher him a buyfie intermedler: fit fuell for the Earls spirit,

The *French* King turned papist (as we said) thereby winning the affections of his people, weakned the faction of the *Leagues* who also came in to the King, and so never left, till the *Spaniard* had took leave of them all. Onely those in *Bretaign* called thither by the Duke of *Mercoeur*, strenghten the Sea Coasts and resolve to stay, till by the valour of *Norris* by land, and *Martin Forbisher* by Sea, who though wounded with a shot there, returned victor and died at *Plimouth*. And *Norris* called home, to look after *Rebellion* in *Ireland*.

There was publick Reports of the *Spaniards* mighty preparations by sea more then in 88 pretended against *Britaign* in *France*, which the King of *Scotland* feared might fall upon him, or *England*, or both; And therefore musters all his people, and secures the *Borders*, from pryvate quarrells of each other, or to infringe the peace and Covenant of both Nations, so firmly united, by *Alliance* and *Religion*. Language, and manners, that of late they seemed One.

But to divert *Spains* purposes, Queen *Elizabeth* joyns with *France*, who denounces warr against him, and is hotly pursued, in *Luxemburgh* and *Picardy*. Where he hath the better, *Castelet*, *Dorleans*, and *Cambray* taken; and the *French* crave more ayd from *England*, or to be forst, to make peace with *Spain*, which indeed she suspected; He being already received (conditionally) into the blessing of the *Pope* and conclave.

These successes hightned the *Spaniards*, to adventure over into *England* from *Bretaign* in four *Gallyes*; under Command of *Dudrack Brocher*, and landed betimes in the morning, burnt 3 poor fisher Towns in *Cornwall*; and without losse of any one *Englishman*, stole home again. These, being the first and last *Spaniards* that ever in Enmity durst set foot on *English* ground.

And this their poor attempt, incensed the *English* to seek him at home, that they might feel the different effects of *English* designs.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Captain of the Queens Guard, made an Expedition upon his Territories in *America* commonly called, the

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

191

the *Guiana* voyage, within 8 degrees south of the *Equater*. He burns some *Towns* and *Cottages*, and so returns.

Sir *Amias Preston*, and Sir *Georg Summers*, also sack and burn the *Towns* of the *Isle* of *Puerto Santo* neer *Madera* and *Coche* neer *Margereta*; *Coro*, and the City *Fago de Lion*, but took money to spare *Cumena*.

Hawkins, *Drake*, *Baskerville*, with 6 of the *Queens* ships, and 20 other Men of warr, fire some *Towns* in the *Isle Dominica* in the *West Indies* and others upon the continent. But the event of that voyage, *Hawkins* and *Drake* died of sicknesse, and home came the Company poor enough for any Pillage; so we return to our Scots story.

This new year some time sets variance between both *Realms*. The Lord *Scroop* for the *West Marches* of *England*, and the Laird of *Backlugh* for the charge of *Liddesdale*, design a Day of *Truce* to treat of disorders; and the meeting even at the Brook that divides both nations. Mr. *Salcalk* was Deputy for *Scroop*, and *Robert Scot* for *Backlugh*, and having met friendly, and composed some differences, they parted.

At their meeting was *Armstrong* (nick-named *Will of Kimmouth*) a notorious Thief for the *Scots*; he, returning home, was set upon by some *English*, and after four miles chase, brought him Prisoner to *Salcalk*, and so to the Castle of *Carlisle*.

The *Truce* was broken (being accounted evermore from the hour of Treaty till next day Sun-rise) and the Prisoner is demanded. But *Scroop* refused, unless by order from the *Queen* and *Council*; The man being a notorious Malefactor, and *Backlugh* was modest, not to make many words, ere he procured *Bowes* the *English* Resident to write to *Scroop* for his inlargement, which not taking effect; the King writes to the *Queen*, nor that neither. *Backlugh* engaged in honour to the King, and his own right of Trust, Plots the Prisoners Release, this Way.

The Castle of *Carlisle* was surprizable, and in particular at the Postern-Gate, the measure of the height he had; and there he meant to scale, or break through the weakness of the Wall, by Engines, and so to force the Gates.

Thus resolved, he drew up two hundred horse to *Mortons* Tower, ten miles from *Carlisle*; neer Sun-set he forded the River *Esk*, and two hours before day he passed *Eden*, beneath *Carlisle*-bridge, and so came to *Sarcery*, a plain under the Castle. And making halt under *Cadage Bourn*, he dismounted fourscore of his company, but his Ladders too short his men fell to mining, and himself retiring to the rest, to secure those which might enter against any eruption from the Town.

Armstrong taken prisoner in a treaty of the Borderers.

Backlugh complains to the Lo. Scroop.

Backlugh designs to take the Castle of Carlisle.

In

Anno
1596.

And frees Arm
strong.

In fine the Breach opened entrance to single men, who brake through the Postern-Gate for the rest; The watch awaked, and made some resistance, but were soon seized into Guard, and afterwards the Prisoner freed. The sign being forthwith given by sound of a Trumpet, a signal to the Souldiers without that the enterprize was effected within.

My Lord *Scroop* and *Salcalk*, were in the *Castle*, to whom the *Scots* gave the good night, and so parted. This Surprise was handsomely mannaged, having order from *Backlugh* to break open no door but the Prisoners Ward; nor did they do any more prejudice, though the Governour and *Castle* became under their power. Being got out, their Prisoners were returned; The Town took the allarm, and all in posture of war, but *Backlugh*; came back as he went to his own quarters two hours before Sun-set; the thirteenth of *April* 1596. a quick and resolute design, performed with civillity and honour, which troubled the *English*, to be out-done nobly in any Attempts.

For a Prisoner to be forced out of a strong *Castle* of Defence, so far within *England*, and so handsomely, troubled the whole State of *England*.

And *Bowes* the Ambassadour, had post order to aggravate the fact, as a breach of peace, unless *Backlugh* were delivered to the *Queens* pleasure. *Backlugh* having done this gallant work, maintained his defence as discretly. That he marched not with design against any the *Queens* holds, or in wrong to any of her Subjects, but to relieve a Prisoner, unlawfully surprized, and illegally detained, being seized in the day of Truce; nor did he attempt his Relief until redress was refused. And the sober and civil prosecution, he was confident would be justified according, to the antient Treaties of both *Realms*, when mutual injuries were referred to *Commissioners*, as both their Majesties should appoint; to whom most humbly he doth submit.

This not satisfactory, the *Queens* displeasure took some time to consider, until a moneth after, it was remitted to *Commissioners*. The King stood upon Justice, and the rather against the Lord *Scroop*, for the injury committed by his Deputy.

And in truth and reason, it was less courtesie to take a Prisoner, than to relieve him, unlawfully taken. Yet all would not serve, the Borderers make inroades upon each other; the *English* worsted in all; till King *James*, out of complement to his Kinswoman, grown old and peevish, was content to moderate her passion, by yielding unto the imprisonment of *Backlugh* to Saint *Andrews*, and then conveyed to *England*, more for form than guilt of punishment, and so sent home again.

The Isles were up, a petty Rebellion, naked, cold and hunger soon suppressed themselves, yet in fear of *Spanish* Invasion, or

Bows the Am-
bassador com-
plains hereof.

the Queen of-
fended.

Backlugh
committed.

Rebellion in
the Orcaides.

a Receptacle for Revolters, a thousand men were levied under *Col. Stuart*, for forty daies (the custome to assist the King) upon which the chiefs submit and give caution, to compeer before the King.

And as there was too frequent cause by these insurrections for this hurried nation, often to assemble, so in truth, little effects followed, as at this time, for the Ministers, to colour their intentions, would seem to enact against Self-Interest, and begin with themselves, and fast, pray and preach; daies of Humiliation, that was all that they would do, as to their reforming. But then there was sure to follow complaint of the corruption of *Courtiers*, in the Kings Palace, and justice Seats, and fear of the banished Lords, and left not till the faults were found, such as are common, even to the best *Estates*.

Then would they ravel into Counsel of the *Remedies*; to which the King usually would afford consent; but by experience finding out their aim, and danger of them to be too severe and earnest (which they called zeal) the King wisely chekt the bit.

Telling them, That unless there were any evident proofs, that the Popish Lords, since their departure beyond Seas, had conspired with Strangers, to the prejudice of the Realm, in Religion or State, their cautions cannot in honor or justice, be convicted, nor would he change the course of charity, and conditions to their wives and children.

And indeed in prudence, the King held himself unsafe, whilst such potent Lords were abroad; for much mischief they might do underhand, unheard, and unseen. And reasoning one day with Mr. *Robert Bruce* (a leading Minister) How much it concerned him to have them recalled. That Queen *Elizabeth* grown old, if death should seize her, he might need assistance of his own, Interest of State and honour would ballance these Lords, even against Catholique or *Spanish* Titles, or other Designs, and by such interest may be sooner drawn to the reformed Religion, than by compulsory extremity.

Mr. *Bruce* yielded to the Reasons, to call home *Angus* and *Arroll*, but not *Huntley*, being so much hated.

The Kings opinion seemed further to oversway. Because *Huntley*, saies he, hath married my Cofin, one that I esteem; a man of Power to do good or evil, and so to be made accordingly.

In the end, *Bruce* was so bold, as to tell the King in plain terms,

I see Sir, (said he) your affection to *Huntley*, whom I must oppose and you, either loose, him or me, for both you cannot keep.

This

Assemblies
make things
worse.

Policie to call
home the Po-
pish Lords.

Mr. Bruce an
enemy to
Huntley.

Anno
1596.

The Popish
Lords return
home,

upon Condi-
tions.

Princess Eli-
zabeth born
August 16.
1596.

Ministers
make work

This insolency lost him the King. This for one example of many, which their own Historians record of their Ministers good behaviours, and certainly this mans ambition and popularity, out-vied the Kings, who espying his Trayn; that conducted him by the Court into *Edenburgh*, *By my Sal*, said the King, *Bruce puts me down in his Attendants*.

The exiled Lords of themselves resolved to return, but with all possible submission, and to avoid the least suspition of jealousy; they separate; *Arroll* through *Holland*, *Huntley* came before, and out of the North sends Supplication to the King, and Convention at *Faulkland*, in *August*, to reside where his Majesty would appoint upon caution of good behaviour.

The King concluded aright. Either to ruin them and their race, or to receive them all into favour, and hope of reforming into Religion. The first course, saith he, hath its own difficulties and trouble for me, if I could effect it.

The other is more consonant to my humour and mine honor, I desire not destruction; errors of conscience are not of matters of the mind. I like not to receive conditions from *Huntley*, rather to advise of commands to them all, with clemency and favour; which was submitted unto. And the publick joy of the Queens second Birth of a *Daughter*, made up the common reception of these Lords, to community and fellowship with the *Congregations*.

She was born in *August* the 16. day 1596. and to be baptized in *November*.

But now the Ministry make work, their Commissioners assembling at *Edenburgh*, send Post to all their Presbyteries, the State of affairs (for so is the Commission) That the forfeited Earls were come home without Warrant, are like to be received to mercy without submission for their offences of Treason, or reconciliation to the Church, and conditions confirmed unto them.

The Preachers Pulpit these tidings to their flocks, publick and private to provoke into Tumult, and to be in readines to resist the dangers of Church and State. The first *Sunday* of *December* held forth for Humiliation, and then the power in the Minister to tell all to the people, and to enlarge as the zeal of the Spirit shall prompt them. They assume power to call to account all manner of men; Entertainers, Receivers, or communicate with them to be canvased with the censures of the Church, *Unacitatione quia periclitatur Salus Ecclesiae, & Reipublicae*. And with such busteling with several Commissioners from all parts of the Nation to make Residence at *Edenburgh*, and daily to convene, to receive intelligence from all parts, and return Edicts and Ordinances to prevent (if possible) the eminent ruin to Gods People.

And

And this daily Convention being a *New Modell*, so must it be stiled, *The Council of the Church*. And instantly they find or make work; the Lord *Seaton*, President of the *Session*, was called to account by the Synod of *Lothian*; Not that he was guilty, but that their power and pride, might strike terror in the people, for as they had no proof at all, and so (as by President of the Popes inquisition) his Oath purges himself; assures him to their Conclave, and so gets home again.

This monstrous manner of muteny, makes the Men of State to foresee mischief, and not being powerful to remedie, nor was it politick to publish their errors to the people, or scorn upon the face of the *Church*. The *President*, *Secretary*, *Advocate* and *Laird of Colluthrie* were commanded by the King to confer with as many of theirs. To whom they move the question, whether if these Lords satisfy the Church (otherwise his Majesty desires not) that then they might be pardoned and restored to their Estates. But receive a Court Answer, *They came only to hear Propositions, and to remit them to their Brethren*. And so they did, with Apostolick Conclusion. *Their acceptance of the Kings behaviour and respect to the Church*, not to resolve of any favour to them Rebels, till the Church were satisfied. But their censure, by Gods Law condemned them to death, and being also sentenced to loose their estates, they cannot be legally pardoned, nor restored, or if the King or his Council, should take upon them to do otherwise, they were to answer it to God and the Country, themselves make protestation to be free, before God and man.

I shall not comment upon this Text. The Popish *Sanadrin* does so. An *Historian* of theirs calls it *Passionate zeal*, under which all impudence may be maintained, should they be ignorant of the tender bosome of the *Mother Church*, parent to *Babes*, and to repentant sinners? Mark their distinction, *The Church hath power to do as she pleaseth*; but the King must not, he must do justice.

The King is wroath against them all, common resentment, private and publick. And wise men advise the Ministers in prudence, to make address to his Majesty, and to understand his displeasure, and also to offer on their parts terms of satisfaction, and so modestly and mannerly to lay open the *Grievances*, and to offer means of redress.

Somewhat they did, not as they were advised, or ought to have done.

The King tells them. There could be no agreement, till bounds of *Marches* are designed, nor reconciliation, till *Jurisdications* are distinguished. Their preachings, censured Councils of State, They convocate General Assemblies without him or his Warrant, and conclude as they please without his consent. They meddle with all mat-

Anno
1596.
The Council
of the Church

and the Kings
Council confer.

The King is
offended with
them.

Anno
1596.

Their com-
plaints.

Which the K.
answers.

The Minister
Blake his mu-
teny and sto-
ry.

ters in their Synods, Presbyteries and Sessions, and under colour of scandals, usurp that Notion to offend in all. Besides he could sum up several sorts of their disorders, which would take up time, their own guilt should study means to amend, otherwise things may become remediless, neither to agree, nor to last long without.

But to come to their points, what could it be to kindle such fires and fears?

The Kings favour to the Popish Lords at Falkland, and confirmed at Dunferlin.

His countenance to the Countess of Huntley, whats that? She is invited to the Princess baptism.

The Education of the Princess to the Lady Levingston, a Papist.

And to smoothe all they condescended to say, *They were sorry for his Majesties displeasure.*

The last he took up first, *That their abusive Sermons had given him in particular just cause.*

To the Popish Lords, what he granted was by General Convention and consent of Estates, as needful for peace to the Realm.

The Lady Huntley was discreet, and deserved more, and that she is a Papist, they are too blame that never taught her the Truth.

The Princess is intrusted to the Wisdome and Government of the Lord Levingston, not to his Lady, he to command, she to conform.

Good God! their History of the Kirk, stories many, and many such Medlings, which I forbear to mention. By these and the like may be measured out their malice, pride, vanity, and their cunning, to colour all with conscience, and zeal of Truth.

But it becomes dangerous, Mr. David Blake, Minister of St. Andrews, rails in his Sermon against the King & Council, and Session of Estates, and called the Queen of England by name an Atheist, of no Religion. Bowes the Ambassadors complains, and Blake is cited before the Council. Melvil meets him, and makes it the common cause, as a preparative against all, to bring down the doctrine of Christ, under the censure of the King and Council. And so far was it plotted with the Council of the Church, that they desert the day of his Diet (or appearing.) That it would be ill taken to question Ministers upon trifling delations. When, as the Enemies of Jesus Christ, were spared and protected.

Telling the King (who was descended, to shew them Huntleys condition,) That both he, and the rest should either satisfy the Church in every point, or be pursued with Extremity, and so no cause to complain of their oversight of Papists.

And

And though the Articles were framed, and Printed satisfactory to all. Yet they Publish, That Papists were favoured, the Ministers rebuked for siding against sin; And that the Scepter of Christ was sought to be overthrown. And if Master Blake should submit his doctrine to the triall of the Council, the liberties of Church and spirituall Government of Gods House would be quite subverted.

And by all means. a Declinator is designed, to protest against such proceedings.

And in this fire of zeal in opposition to better Councell, They answered, that the cause of God concern'd them to withstand all future hazards.

It was trusted to Blake himself, to present (in presence of the King.) I know not, whether prudentiall in me to suppress it, for fear of evill President. But that it is a record. Take it in the Breef.

That howbeit his innocent conscience, maintained him sufficient, against the Calumnies of whomsoever, and that he was able and ready to defend his doctrine uttered, in opening the words or application in matter. Yet seeing he was convened before the King and his Council, to be judged for his doctrine, and that his answering might be suspected a submission; and so imputed a prejudice to the Churches liberties; and to be taken as an acknowledgment of the Kings jurisdiction in matters spirituall; He was constrained to decline that judicature.

Blakes remon-
strance.

The Minis-
ters facious
counsell

The King by
proclamation
dissolves their
Assembly.

The Minis-
ters Counsell
oppose the
King.

Blake brought
to his An-
swer.

First, because the Lord Jesus Christ of whom we had the grace of his calling, had given him his word, for a rule to his Preaching. And that he could not fall in reference of any Civill Law, but so far as he should be tryed to pass his instructions. Which tryal belonged only to the Prophets and Pastors, the spirits of the Prophets being subject to them alone, &c.

Secondly, in regard the liberties of the Church and discipline were confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliament and the Preachers. (office bearers thereof) peaceably possessed therein, particularly in the Judicature of the word, He ought to be remitted to the Ecclesiastick Senate, as the only competent Judges.

For which, and other weighty considerations, inconveniences to Religion, the State and Nation, and to the King himself, by the appearance of distraction and Alienation of his mind, from the Ministry, and the cause of God in their hands. He for himself and in Name of the Commissioners of the generall Assembly, who had subscribed this Declinator, Besought, that the Church of God, might receive no diminution, but rather manifest their care to maintain the same.

The diet came, and he required to make answer. Said, That albeit he might object against the Citation, it being directed Super Inquiritis, contrary to form, yet he would take himself to the remedy of

Anno
1594.

And the King
was

At the Chappell,

The King
sends to England for money.

The
Bothwell and
the Popish
Lords join in
Rebellion.

a Noble Train of Lords and Ladies. Before them all, the Lord *Hume* carried the *Ducall Coronet*, the Lord *Levingston* bore the *Towell*; the Lord *Seaton* the *Fontall Bason*, and the Lord *Simple* the *Laver*. Over the *English* Ambassadour a Rich *Majesterial Canopie*, supported by four *Lairds*. The *Childs Train* bore up by the Lords *Sinclare* and *Urquart*, and a Guard or Lane on each side of the young *Noblemen* and *Gentry* of the Nation.

Being entred the Chappel; the King already set, and arising from his Throne, receives and salutes the Ambassadors; and then the *Infant* was delivered again to *Lenox*, who reached him to the Nurse, and the *Estates* take their Seats. Upon the Kings Right hand a *Chair* was placed for the *French* Ambassadour who was not come. The next to him the Ambassador of *Denmark*; on the left Hand the *English* Extraordinary and *Lieger* sat together; and then the Ambassadors of *Brunswick*, *Megleburgh*, and the *States*, before each Seat, a small *Table* covered with *Velvet*, and officers only about the *English* to wait his pleasure.

The Service ending *Suffex* presented the Prince to *David Cunningham* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, the action of *Baptism* administred by *David Lindsey* Minister of *Lieth*, and in *French*, because of Strangers, and naming him *Henry Frederick*. And so returning in former Order. And the Prince being laid upon a Bed of Honour, *Lion Herald* proclaims his Titles, *Henry Frederick Knight, and Baron of Kenfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Karrick, Duke of Rothsay, Prince and Steward of Scotland*. Meddals of *Gold* and *Silver* cast to the people, sundry Knights made, with feasting and comedies, for a whole moneth.

The King amidst these Ceremonies of joy, minds his serious affairs.

For the Popish Lords in Rebellion, an Ambassadour is sent to *Queen Elizabeth* to remember her promise, to support his levies; after many shifts and delayes some small sums were advanced as a loan, (which in truth were due otherwise upon account) and that very unwillingly too. for one *Lock* was now resident at Court, the only agent for *Bothwells* business, and Mr. *Calvil* the Minister, his *Copes-mate*, there also.

And again *Bothwell* is got up, and keeping intelligence with the *Popish Lords* in the North, against whom the King intends an *Expedition*, resolves so to incumber his affairs in the South, as to prevent his journey, and having received some Gold from his Foreign friends, corrupts the Keeper of the *Castle Blackness*, to seize the King into hold, till the Conspirators should come and force conditions. To this they all are obliged by bond, assigned by *Huntley*, *Arroll*, *Angus*, *Bothwell*, and *Achindown*, and in custody of *Sir James Scot*. By which and others papers, discovered from *Allan Orm*, *Bothwells* Man, the whole plot came

to

to light, and was published to undeceive the Comminalty, upon what score of Religion *Bothwells* Treasons were confirmed. And the Jayler and *Orm*, were both executed, to assure the visible truth to the people.

And without more circumstance Commission was given to *Arguile*, *Athol* and others, who besiege the Castle of *Ruthen*, but was beaten back and meets with a Supply of more strength now advanced to a thousand horse and foot, *Huntley* hastens to fight ere *Arguile* get more men. And being less in number, but made desperate by necessity, *Arroll* leads the Van, with three hundred, and *Huntley* hath the Battel.

No sooner in fight, but *Arguile* (in some misdoubt) yet commands *Macklan*, who led his Van, to advance. Himself lodges in the fast grounds full of *Moss* and *boggs*, with the main of his men. *Huntley* had some Field pieces which plaid upon *Macklans* *Highlanders*; and they, as their manner was then (though since they have appeared stout fellows and to stand to it) fell down on their bellies not willing to look up so long as the Guns did thunder, which encouraged *Arroll* to give the charge, but being forced to wheel aside, the Fellowes got up on their feet, and by that time they incounter, showing such a storm of arrows upon *Arroll*, that the first flight (a quarter of an hower) darkned the day into night, and at the fall of their Arrows, came in with their darts, that killed *Achindown*, and dangerously wounded *Arroll*, many hurt, and the most fled.

Huntley sees this, and hastily spurs his Horse into the succour, and now encountring for the day, continued a cruel fight for two hours, which routed *Arguile*, not able to rally them again; yet *Macklan* stood it out, with courage and skil, till he retired in order and honour, with loss of many men of note, besides seven hundred Soldiers, and but a dozen on *Huntleys* part, though divers desperately wounded. And its called the Battell of *Glenlivet* a mile off. And so the Lords for the Kings side separate, and go home.

But ere the Conquerors, could relish their wellfare, the King was got into the North, and demolishes *Strathbolgy*, *Slains* and *Newton*, principal holds of *Huntleys*, and though themselves withdrew to his Aunt the Countess of *Sutherland*, they were so beset by the Duke of *Lenox*, Lieutenant of the North, that they capitulate with Sureties to depart the Realm, without prejudice abroad, to the State at Home, nor to return till the Kings pleasure. *Huntley* into France, and the rest into several Soyls.

This condiscention to such notorious Rebels, lodged sometime upon the Kings account, as in favour to the *Romists*; but if we examine the charge of the War, uncertainty of his Nobles,

Arguile and
Athol,

Bothwell flies
into France,

against Hunt-
ley and Arrol,

Arguile dis-
comfited.

Arguile dis-
comfited.

The K. comes
to the Good-
speed, & they
are banished.

The K. comes
to the Good-
speed, & they
are banished.

The K. comes
to the Good-
speed, & they
are banished.

Anno
1594.

Bothwel flies
into France,

and dies at
Naples some
years after.

Assemblee of
the Church
in Scotland.

Answer the
K. Articles.

bles, faction of other fewds ; and a ticklish jealousie in the Ministry, not to suffer *Bothwell* to sinck, whose pretences till now, they alwaies encouraged, these exigents may excuse the King.

Indeed in this publick Rebellion, with Papists, *Colwell* his Chaplain, refused his devotion, forsook his company, and came home again; yet to make himself welcome, betrayed *Bothwells* Brother, *Hercules Stewart*, to publick execution at *Edenburgh*.

This frightened the grand Traytor into fears; and forsaken of all but his guilty self, flies into *France*, and lands at *New-haven*, where in disguise he lodges; but tidings of him came to the King, who sends a *Gentleman* to *France*, to demand so reprobate a Rebell. *The French King* professed not to afford him countenance, but being come for refuge, he could not, in honour, debar him the free air of *France*.

And so wearied with the insupportable weigh of his sinful soul, and quarrelling with any man to kill him, against the Edict of *France*. He was thereupon banished from thence, wanders into *Spain*, and so to *Naples* in *Italy*, where he lived, and died wondrous poor, and unpittied of all men, about the year 1624.

And thus the *Hydra's* Heads of this Conspiracy removed out of the way, the Members came in, discovering one another to procure pardon, and the very Bond was brought in, which did asfotiate these Confederates, by which the Ministers eyes were opened, and by this new light they could see *Bothwells* guilt, which heretofore they could hardly believe. And so ended this Rebellion with the last of the year.

The next Assembly of the Church occasioneth the King then at *Montross*, to send Commissioners to them to urge these Articles.

That any subject found guilty of Treason, should also be excommunicate; that so the Swords of Justice, Spiritual and Temporal, should make inseparable Union one with another.

That no Excommunication should be valid by private men, without major votes in publick Assemblies of the Members of other Churches.

That no Excommunication should fall upon any, for slight causes, and suspected crimes in Civil cases, lest the censure should come into contempt, like the Popes Cursings, and when they do, to give lawful citation.

A man would judge of these Articles without difficult Answer.

Yet they shake their heads at all.

At the first with this clause, *Legitima cognitione Ecclesiastica praeunte.*

To

To the third and fourth they demur.

And discharging any summary Excommunication. with this Exception, *Nisi salus Ecclesie periclitetur.*

Thus evermore they bare a starting hole, which the K. might easily see, would serve turn for their turbulent intention to colour their proceedings hereafter.

What the conceipt should be, that possessed Queen *Ann* she had an earnest design (envy to the Earl of *Mar*, his Guardian, her only Warrant) to get the Prince out of his care, into her custody, and delt so with some Counsellors in the Kings absence, that had not the King timely prevented, and suddenly surprized the Queen, by posting to her from *Faulkland* to *Edenburgh*) it had been too late to recall the danger, and carries her in his company away to *Sterlin*, leaving her alone to ponder out the plot; such a design, as for her honorable memory I dare not mention, having no ground, but a Jesuits conceipt, but boldly put in print, an authority enough, for impudence only.

The King pondering with her the wily design, writes in secret to the Earl.

My Lord of *Mar*,

Because in the security of my Son, mine is conserved, and my concredit of his charge to you, upon trust of your honour and honesty. This I command (as singly and solely of my self, being in company with those I like not) that upon any charge or necessity that possibly can come from me, you shall not deliver him; And in case that God call me at any time; see you that neither for the Queen, nor for the Estates pleasure. you deliver him out of your hands, till he be eighteen years of age, and that then he command you himself.

Sterlin July 24. 1595.

James Rex.

In this case that the King was cooped, appears his great trust to the fidelity of this Lord.

Some fire carries smoak, which even choaked the good old Chancellour, whether regret of the wrong, jealousy of the King, or guilt of the Counsellour: he contracts the meiancholy into a sickness: and being withdrawn to his Country-house *Lawder*, sends his Cosin the Secretary to the King then at *Hamilton*.

Excuses any evil design in him by his former continual fidelity to the Kings affairs. Commends his wife and children, and some friends to the Kings favour. Takes leave, like a man, not long of this Life.

The

Anno

1595.

Q. Anns Design to seize the Prince.

The Kings letter to *Mar*.

The Chancellor sick, and why.

Anno

1595.

The Kings
letter to him,
full of grace.

The King ever compassionate, took it for no time, to dispute with discontent.

It was enough, his good services had been eminent and frequent; this last accompt he commits to God, and like a Prince, wise and charitable, instead of correction, sends him comfort, under his own hand and Seal.

Chancellour,

How sorry I am (saies he) for this ill News, be your self my judge, I could never dissemble my affection. God may spare you, for my sake, if you love me so well, as to resist the assaults of your sickness, that his goodness may reserve you (yet a little) to me, as Hezekiah was to his people (for the necessity between Prince and people, is reciproque) Nor can any sickness (of it self) seize the vital, if God cut not the thread of life. As to your suits; when God calls you, I shall need no Remembrancer, for since I made you a mark of my constant favour (as your self hath oft times said.) I am much more bound in Princely care to conserve it to your Wife and children, that bear your Image, a lively representation for me of my thankful memory of you, examples are begun in others, what have I not done for the Duke of Lenox, and Lady Huntley, for their Fathers sake? Suffer your thoughts in this assurance of the like to yours; The Secretary is mine already. And if the distance of place, could dispence with my time, I should desire to see you, and to have said thus much my self. God keep you to me, and to your native Country,

James Rex.

Chancellour
dies, his cha-
racter.

He languished two Moneths, and died in October 1595. He was a man of rare parts, a deep wit, and learned also, of good courage against mighty Assailants. Mar was the man he most hated, the other the like to him. Both good men (accounting them Courtiers) private emulation I fear, more of Policy than virtue; yet with great reservation of his Majesties affection to either, and in general to the publique service, till, I know not how he failed, in this last act.

The King in some passion for his death, having little more to do it seems then, bestowed his Poetry, into an Epitaph for him of a dozen verses, which because I find them much bettered, in comparison of his Majesties after-versifying, his holy Meditations, in turning Davids Psalms into excellent Meeter, I shall silence these, and refer you to the other hereafter.

This year was held ominously evil in Scotland, dearth and scarcity of all victual, abundance of winds in harvest, the natural cause; blood-shed and slaughters in all parts, accounted un-
natural

natural, the curse of God haunting that Nation, where such Wars (we call them civil) cry down vengeance on the Inhabitants. *Johnstons* and *Maxwells* had another bout in the South Parts. Those from the Western, the *Maxwells*, had much the worse.

With the Isles and High-landers likewise, great dissensions. The In-countrey no less behind, Murthers, slaughters. The killing of one, though a private man as to himself, engages his Kinsman, Master, or Chief, to procure the revenge.

David Forester (but a Citizen of *Sterlin*) murdered in his journey to *Edenburgh* (so I censure them that lay in wait by the way) we know not by whom; but see, the Lairds of *Arth*, and *Dun-nypearce*, in malice to the man (because to his Master the Earl of *Mar*) endeavour to shadow the inquiry of the Inquest. The Earl, in this affront for his beloved Servant, conveys the corps with a Train of Mourners from *Linlithgow*, to *Sterlin*, carrying therewith the body bare-faced, and the sheet gory in blood with the dead wounds, and all to move compassion for revenge.

The body buried, *Mar* prosecutes some suspected; the Lords *Levingston* and *Elphinston* bolster out the men; No Law, nor Justice to be suffered for quiet and civil Tryal. No! these feuds will fight it out, and did, to future example of Gods Justice in the fall of these two families, much addicted to murthers and quarrels of blood.

This one, and some few such like, I mention for Presidents and Examples, not glutting the Reader with too many, which in every place fill up the *Scots* Chronicles, and which sundry of them boast of, for magnimity of Spirit, and honour to their Gentry.

We lately observed, the small effects the King found from the promises of *England* to aid him, which brought him to take care how to advance his own, other helps he had not. He commissioneth eight persons to govern his Exchequer, all of them Senators of the College of Justice, only *Peter Young* his honest *Almoner*. The Commission was ample in words and power, to them, or any five, To call to accompt all manner of Officers Accomptants; To Order and Rate the Rents. To alter and change any of the Officers. To do and act such and so many particulars, in terms and words, with such exact particular powers over the rent Gatherers; profits and duties of Caves, Customs, Fishings (take them as they are in this order) Cole-houses, Parks, Steadings (Fole Coultis) Orchards of Apples; other Fruits, Conies, Capons, Geese. Good God, what not? Then to enterlace these, you have the other particulars, Money, Plate, Jewels, Mines of Gold, Silver, Lead, Tin. Certainly the West-Indie Fleets comes short of such wealth. But so the *Scots* use to accompt of their own.

D d

ac-

The King
assigns Com-
missioners of
his Treasury

Anno

1595.

And to countenance their pains and care. He promiseth *verbo Principis*, not to adjoyn any more, and if any did, the survivors to give their consent, for admition. They had authority to revoke, disclaim, to direct letters of Horning. (or Outlary) Pounding or Caption (suertyes) and many such like, &c.

These Lords make faith, &c. to respect his Majesties weal and advance of Revenew without affection or fraud. Provided not to be liable to Action, for the King. seeing they did all without fee. And proclaimed at the Market Crosse at *Edenburgh*, January 1595.

The Courtiers were blanke for such, must be their reward. But they complain as an injury to the Kings honour, having little to himself, and lesse for the meritt of any Man.

And to give them more Cause of Complaint. They begin to dispose of Places ere they fall to the ground. *David Magill* Advocate, he is too old and dotes; and must admit of one of them till of grief he dies. The Master of *Glamis* somewhat in Arears of his accompts, and his deputy *Sir Robert Melvil*, the same, must resign their Treasury to the Prior of *Blantiere* ere they obtain their *quieti sunt*. *Richard Cockhorn* secretary, exchanges it to *Lindsey* for Privy Seal. The collectary *Linchclowden* given to *Elphinston*. And their *President* they would Create Chancellor. Soft Sirs. The King would not. These and many more made them Clamored by the Countrey. Somewhat they deserved amisse; But, the fate of favomites, and men of Trust, they bore the blame of all.

The Jesuite, much troubled to see the State, likely to settle into security, by the severe proceedings against *Papists*. Whole families *Grahams*, *Fentres*, and others; the Lords banished; the fewds dissipated; and the Ministry, in some measure of mildnesse: They counsell how to involve both *Nations*, into some design together. And to set up A strang medley of *Pretenders*, by protext of several Claims (besides the Kings right) to the *Crown* of *England*. For they found by the sad affects to them, the birth of the *Prince* and likely hood of a numerous issue, if *Queen Elizabeth* failed and the King also, it were the same to their successors.

They devised double wayes, Title, and Poyson the first was by Title (forsooth) of the Earl of *Essex* in *England*. Though no Catholick, yet his Ambitious and vain popularity (they conceived,) might quallifie his temper towards *Religion*, being of himself doubtfull in opinion, and so, his Clemencie would incline to *Tolleration*, if not profession of *Catholick*.

They drew his descent, from *Thomas* of *Woodstock* sonne to *Edward* the 3, And so to be promoted to the people, they dedicate a Book to him, stiled *Dolmans* (a preist) some say, written by

Papists private plots.

Devising sundry other Titles to both Crowns.

of E. of Essex

James the sixth King of Scotland.

189

Anno

1595.

Of Spains.

by the Jesuite Persons Cardinall Allan and Fuglefield; discourse of legallity and pollicie, inchanging hereditary succession in England, by a new devised way of Election (only) of a Roman Catholic; Ravelling into the History of most English Kings, to be either not Legitimate or rightly incapable.

The other Title, was of the infant of Spain; And therein they use their catholick doctrine, to make up with monstrous Lies and many;

1. From Constance, daughter to the Conquerour, married to Fergat Earl of Britagne (though all our Chronicles agree that she died without issue.

2. From Elinor daughter to Henry the 2 married to Alphonsus of Castile.

3. And descends from Blanch his daughter.

4. From Beatrice, daughter of Henry 3 of England.

5. From the Portugall family of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster.

Thus much Persons did then. And after the Queens death, he excuseth it to the King, as taking no effect. These were devised in case the King should have no issue then in being. Whilst the Jesuite Spaniard, practiseth by poyson to hasten the Queens death, and no lesse than three in the plot.

Roderick Lopez of the Jewish sectary; Physition to her household and of honest repute, till infected by Andrada a Portugall and don de Moro a Counceler of Spain; with a rich Jewell, in hand, and fifty thousand Crowns more to impoyson her, and this was certified unto Fuentes, and Ibarra secretaries to that King in Flanders by Stephen Ferreira who writ Lopez his letters to them; & they returned Emanuel Lowise unto Lopez, to hasten the plot. These circumstances they confessed and were hanged.

The reason so many Portugalls in a knot, shews the time of freedome here, for them, under some pretence of don Antonio their pretended Prince, banisht thence and protected here.

There followed them to the Gallies, Cullen an Irish fencer, and York and Williams hired also by Ibarra to kill the Queen.

Of which she complains to Earnest Arch Duke of Austria Governour in Flanders under the Spaniard, that Ibarra his servant hatcht these treacheries, to the Kings dishonour, if not by him punished; and to have the English and chief complotters, Owen, Throgmorton, Holcot, a Jesuite, Gefford, and Worthington divines; delivered up to her.

We had of his here in England a fugitive, his late secretary Don Antonio perez for some mischief he set on foot in Aragon, got away to save his head; And to the French King first, he revealed all his Masters secrets, who finding him of a pregnant witt, and malicious, sends him to his Lieger in England to work,

practice to impoyson Q. Eliz. by Lopez

Cullen, York, and Williams, and other fugitive traytors.

Ant. Perez infected Essex.

Anno
1595.

Of Spain

Spanish de-
signes invasi-
on of Scot-
land or Eng-
land.

Spaniards
poor success
upon Eng-
land.

Sr. W. Ra-
leighs Guiana
voyage and o-
ther attempts
in the west
Indies.

into some faction or design, against *Spain*. And here he was, without pention or protection of the Queen; for she, nor *Burghly* the *Treasurer* would not vouchsafe to see him; nor did any other, give him countenance; unlesse the Earl of *Essex*; he did, to his cost, and used him as an Oracle of *Spanish* politie; fildome from his sight, but when it was supplied with interchange of letters in latine, which *Essex* understood, and delighted in his phraze, and yet was not glutted, with threescore of them, whilst he resided here; They are extant, eztituled. *Antonii Perezii Epistola ad Com. Essexiam Magnatem Angliae*. They discipher him a buyfie intermedler: fit fuell for the Earls spirit, The *French* King turned papist (as we said) thereby winning the affections of his people, weakned the faction of the *Leagues* who also came in to the King, and so never left, till the *Spaniard* had took leave of them all. Onely those in *Bretaign* called thither by the Duke of *Mercoeur*, strenghten the Sea Coasts and resolve to stay, till by the valour of *Norris* by land, and *Martin Forbisher* by Sea, who though wounded with a shot there, returned victor and died at *Plimouth*. And *Norris* called home, to look after *Rebellion* in *Ireland*.

There was publick Reports of the *Spaniards* mighty preparations by sea more then in 88 pretended against *Britaign* in *France*, which the King of *Scotland* feared might fall upon him, or *England*, or both; And therefore musters all his people, and secures the *Borders*, from pryvate quarrells of each other, or to infringe the peace and Covenant of both Nations, so firmly united, by *Alliance* and *Religion*. Language, and manners, that of late they seemed One.

But to divert *Spains* purposes, Queen *Elizabeth* joyns with *France*, who denounces warr against him, and is hotly pursued, in *Luxemburgh* and *Picardy*. Where he hath the better, *Castelet*, *Dorleans*, and *Cambray* taken; and the *French* crave more ayd from *England*, or to be forst, to make peace with *Spain*, which indeed he suspected; He being already received (conditionally) into the blessing of the *Pope* and conclave.

These successes hightned the *Spaniards*, to adventure over into *England* from *Bretaign* in four *Gallyes*; under Command of *Dudrack Brocher*, and landed betimes in the morning, burnt 3 poor fisher Towns in *Cornwall*; and without losse of any one *Englishman*, stole home again. These, being the first and last *Spaniards* that ever in Enmity durst set foot on *English* ground.

And this their poor attempt, incensed the *English* to seek him at home, that they might feel the different effects of *English* designs.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Captain of the Queens Guard, made an Expedition upon his Territories in *America* commonly called, the

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

191

Anno
1596.

the *Guiana* voyage, within 8 degrees south of the *Æquater*. He burns some *Towns* and *Cottages*, and so returns.

Sir *Amias Preston*, and Sir *Georg Summers*, also sack and burn the *Towns* of the *Isle* of *Puerto Santo* neer *Madera* and *Coche* neer *Margereta*; *Coro*, and the *City* *Fago de Lion*, but took money to spare *Cumena*.

Hawkins, *Drake*, *Baskerville*, with 6 of the *Queens* ships, and 20 other *Men* of warr, fire some *Towns* in the *Isle* *Dominica* in the *West Indies* and others upon the continent. But the event of that voyage, *Hawkins* and *Drake* died of sicknesse, and home came the *Company* poor enough for any *Pillage*; so we return to our *Scots* story.

This new year some time sets variance between both *Realms*. The *Lord Scroop* for the *West Marches* of *England*, and the *Laird* of *Backlugh* for the charge of *Liddesdale*, design a *Day* of *Truce* to treat of disorders; and the meeting even at the *Brook* that divides both nations. Mr. *Salcallk* was *Deputy* for *Scroop*, and *Robert Scot* for *Backlugh*, and having met friendly, and composed some differences, they parted.

At their meeting was *Armstrong* (nick-named *Will* of *Kinmouth*) a notorious *Thief* for the *Scots*; he, returning home, was set upon by some *English*, and after four miles chase, brought him *Prisoner* to *Salcallk*, and so to the *Castle* of *Carlisle*.

The *Truce* was broken (being accounted evermore from the hour of *Treaty* till next day *Sun-rise*) and the *Prisoner* is demanded. But *Scroop* refused, unless by order from the *Queen* and *Council*; The man being a notorious *Malefactor*, and *Backlugh* was modest, not to make many words, ere he procured *Bowes* the *English* *Resident* to write to *Scroop* for his *inlargement*, which not taking effect; the *King* writes to the *Queen*, nor that neither. *Backlugh* engaged in honour to the *King*, and his own right of *Trust*, Plots the *Prisoners* *Release*, this *Way*.

The *Castle* of *Carlisle* was surprizable, and in particular at the *Postern-Gate*, the measure of the height he had; and there he meant to scale, or break through the weakness of the *Wall*, by *Engines*, and so to force the *Gates*.

Thus resolved, he drew up two hundred horse to *Mortons* *Tower*, ten miles from *Carlisle*; neer *Sun-set* he forded the *River* *Esk*, and two hours before day he passed *Eden*, beneath *Carlisle-bridge*, and so came to *Sarcery*, a plain under the *Castle*. And making halt under *Cadage Bourn*, he dismounted fourscore of his company, but his *Ladders* too short his men fell to *mi-*
ning, and himself retiring to the rest, to secure those which might enter against any eruption from the *Town*.

Armstrong taken prisoner
in a treaty of
the Borderers.

Backlugh complains to the
Lo. Scroop.

Backlugh designs to take
the Castle
of Carlisle.

In

Anno
1596.

And frees Arm
strong.

In fine the Breach opened entrance to single men, who brake through the Postern-Gate for the rest; The watch awaked, and made some resistance, but were soon seized into Guard, and afterwards the Prisoner freed. The sign being forthwith given by sound of a Trumpet, a signal to the Souldiers without that the enterprize was effected within.

My Lord *Scroop* and *Salcalk*, were in the *Castle*, to whom the *Scots* gave the good night, and so parted. This Surprise was handsomely mannaged, having order from *Backlugh* to break open no door but the Prisoners Ward; nor did they do any more prejudice, though the Governour and *Castle* became under their power. Being got out, their Prisoners were returned; The Town took the allarm, and all in posture of war, but *Backlugh*; came back as he went to his own quarters two hours before Sun-set; the thirteenth of *April 1596*. a quick and resolute design, performed with civillity and honour, which troubled the *English*, to be out-done nobly in any Attempts.

For a Prisoner to be forced out of a strong *Castle* of Defence, so far within *England*, and so handsomely, troubled the whole State of *England*.

And *Bowes* the Ambassadour, had post order to aggravate the fact, as a breach of peace, unless *Backlugh* were delivered to the *Queens* pleasure. *Backlugh* having done this gallant work, maintained his defence as discretly. That he marched not with design against any the *Queens* holds, or in wrong to any of her Subjects, but to relieve a Prisoner, unlawfully surprized, and illegally detained, being seized in the day of Truce; nor did he attempt his Relief until redress was refused. And the sober and civil prosecution, he was confident would be justified according, to the antient Treaties of both *Realms*, when mutual injuries were referred to *Commissioners*, as both their Majesties should appoint; to whom most humbly he doth submit.

This not satisfactory, the *Queens* displeasure took some time to consider, until a moneth after, it was remitted to *Commissioners*. The King stood upon Justice, and the rather against the Lord *Scroop*, for the injury committed by his Deputy.

And in truth and reason, it was less courtesie to take a Prisoner, than to relieve him, unlawfully taken. Yet all would not serve, the Borderers make inroades upon each other; the *English* worsted in all; till King *James*, out of complement to his Kinswoman, grown old and peevish, was content to moderate her passion, by yielding unto the imprisonment of *Backlugh* to Saint *Andrews*, and then conveyed to *England*, more for form than guilt of punishment, and so sent home again.

The Isles were up, a petty Rebellion, naked, cold and hunger soon suppressed themselves, yet in fear of *Spanish* Invasion, or

Bows the Am-
bassador com-
plains hereof.

the Queen of-
fended.

Backlugh
committed.

Rebellion in
the Orcaes.

James the sixth King of Scotland.

193

Anno

1596.

a Receptacle for Revolters, a thousand men were levied under *Col. Stuart*, for forty daies (the custome to assist the King) upon which the chiefs submit and give caution, to compeer before the King.

Assemblies
make things
worse.

And as there was too frequent cause by these insurrections for this hurried nation, often to assemble, so in truth, little effects followed, as at this time, for the Ministers, to colour their intentions, would seem to enact against Self-Interest, and begin with themselves, and fast, pray and preach; daies of Humiliation, that was all that they would do, as to their reforming. But then there was sure to follow complaint of the corruption of *Courtiers*, in the Kings Palace, and justice Seats, and fear of the banished Lords, and left not till the faults were found, such as are common, even to the best *Estates*.

Then would they ravel into Counsel of the *Remedies*; to which the King usually would afford consent; but by experience finding out their aim, and danger of them to be too severe and earnest (which they called zeal) the King wisely chekt the bit.

Telling them, That unless there were any evident proofs, that the Popish Lords, since their departure beyond Seas, had conspired with Strangers, to the prejudice of the Realm, in Religion or State, their cautions cannot in honor or justice, be convicted, nor would he change the course of charity, and conditions to their wives and children.

Policie to call
home the Po-
pish Lords.

And indeed in prudence, the King held himself unsafe, whilst such potent Lords were abroad; for much mischief they might do underhand, unheard, and unseen. And reasoning one day with Mr. *Robert Bruce* (a leading Minister) How much it concerned him to have them recalled. That Queen *Elizabeth* grown old, if death should seize her, he might need assistance of his own, Interest of State and honour would ballance these Lords, even against Catholique or *Spanish* Titles, or other Designs, and by such interest may be sooner drawn to the reformed Religion, than by compulsory extremity.

Mr. *Bruce* yielded to the Reasons, to call home *Angus* and *Arroll*, but not *Huntley*, being so much hated.

Mr. Bruce an
enemy to
Huntley.

The Kings opinion seemed further to oversway. Because *Huntley*, saies he, hath married my Cosin, one that I esteem; a man of Power to do good or evil, and so to be made accordingly.

In the end, *Bruce* was so bold, as to tell the King in plain terms,

I see Sir, (said he) your affection to *Huntley*, whom I must oppose and you, either loose him or me, for both you cannot keep.

This

Anno
1596.

The Popish
Lords return
home,

upon Condi-
tions.

Princess Eli-
zabeth born
August 16.
1596.

Ministers
make work

This insolency lost him the King. This for one example of many, which their own Historians record of their Ministers good behaviours, and certainly this mans ambition and popularity, out-vied the Kings, who espying his Trayn; that conducted him by the Court into *Edenburgh*, *By my Sal*, said the King, *Bruce puts me down in his Attendants*.

The exiled Lords of themselves resolved to return, but with all possible submission, and to avoid the least suspition of jealousy; they separate; *Arroll* through *Holland*, *Huntley* came before, and out of the North sends Supplication to the King, and Convention at *Faulkland*, in *August*, to reside where his Majesty would appoint upon caution of good behaviour.

The King concluded aright. Either to ruin them and their race, or to receive them all into favour, and hope of reforming into Religion. The first course, saith he, hath its own difficulties and trouble for me, if I could effect it.

The other is more consonant to my humour and mine honor, I desire not destruction; errors of conscience are not of matters of the mind. I like not to receive conditions from *Huntley*, rather to advise of commands to them all, with clemency and favour; which was submitted unto. And the publick joy of the Queens second Birth of a *Daughter*, made up the common reception of these Lords, to community and fellowship with the *Congregations*.

She was born in *August* the 16. day 1596. and to be baptized in *November*.

But now the Ministry make work, their Commissioners assembling at *Edenburgh*, send Post to all their Presbyteries, the State of affairs (for so is the Commission) That the forfeited Earls were come home without Warrant, are like to be received to mercy without submission for their offences of Treason, or reconciliation to the Church, and conditions confirmed unto them.

The Preachers Pulpit these tidings to their flocks, publick and private to provoke into Tumult, and to be in readines to resist the dangers of Church and State. The first *Sunday* of *December* held forth for Humiliation, and then the power in the Minister to tell all to the people, and to inlarge as the zeal of the Spirit shall prompt them. They assume power to call to account all manner of men; Entertainers, Receivers, or communicate with them to be canvased with the censures of the Church, *Unacitatione quia periclitatur salus Ecclesiae, & Reipublicae*. And with such busteling with several Commissioners from all parts of the Nation to make Residence at *Edenburgh*, and daily to convene, to receive intelligence from all parts, and return Edicts and Ordinances to prevent (if possible) the eminent ruin to Gods People.

And

And this daily Convention being a *New Modell*, so must it be stiled, *The Council of the Church*. And instantly they find or make work; the Lord *Seaton*, President of the *Session*, was called to account by the Synod of *Lothian*; Not that he was guilty, but that their power and pride, might strike terror in the people, for as they had no proof at all, and so (as by President of the Popes inquisition) his Oath purges himself; assures him to their Conclave, and so gets home again.

This monstrous manner of muteny, makes the Men of State to foresee mischief, and not being powerful to remedie, nor was it politick to publish their errors to the people, or scorn upon the face of the *Church*. The *President*, *Secretary*, *Advocate* and *Laird of Colluthrie* were commanded by the King to confer with as many of theirs. To whom they move the question, whether if these Lords satisfie the Church (otherwise his Majesty desires not) that then they might be pardoned and restored to their Estates. But receive a Court Answer, *They came only to hear Propositions, and to remit them to their Brethren*. And so they did, with Apostolick Conclusion. *Their acceptance of the Kings behaviour and respect to the Church*, not to resolve of any favour to them Rebels, till the Church were satisfied. But their censure, by Gods Law condemned them to death, and being also sentenced to loose their estates, they cannot be legally pardoned, nor restored, or if the King or his Council, should take upon them to do otherwise, they were to answer it to God and the Country, themselves make protestation to be free, before God and man.

I shall not comment upon this Text. The Popish *Sanadrin* does so. An *Historian* of theirs calls it *Passionate zeal*, under which all impudence may be maintained, should they be ignorant of the tender bosome of the *Mother Church*, parent to *Babes*, and to repentant sinners? Mark their distinction, *The Church hath power to do as she pleaseth*; but the King must not, he must do justice.

The King is wroath against them all, common resentment, private and publick. And wise men advise the Ministers in prudence, to make address to his Majesty, and to understand his displeasure, and also to offer on their parts terms of satisfaction, and so modestly and mannerly to lay open the *Grievances*, and to offer means of redress.

Somewhat they did, not as they were advised, or ought to have done.

The King tells them. There could be no agreement, till bounds of *Marches* are designed, nor reconciliation, till *Jurisdications* are distinguished. Their preachings, censured Councils of State, They convocate *General Assemblies* without him or his Warrant, and conclude as they please without his consent. They meddle with all mat-

Anno
1596.

The Council
of the Church

and the Kings
Council confer.

The King is
offended with
them.

Anno
1596.

Their com-
plaints.

Which the K.
answers.

The Minister
Blake his mu-
teny and sto-
ry.

ters in their Synods, Presbyteries and Sessions, and under colour of scandals, usurp that Notion to offend in all. Besides he could sum up several sorts of their disorders, which would take up time, their own guilt should study means to amend, otherwise things may become remediless, neither to agree, nor to last long without.

But to come to their points, what could it be to kindle such fires and fears?

The Kings favour to the Popish Lords at Falkland, and confirmed at Dunferlin.

His countenance to the Countess of Huntley, whats that? She is invited to the Princess baptism.

The Education of the Princess to the Lady Levingston, a Papist.

And to smoothe all they condescended to say, *They were sorry for his Majesties displeasure.*

The last he took up first, *That their abusive Sermons had given him in particular just cause.*

To the Popish Lords, what he granted was by General Convention and consent of Estates; as needful for peace to the Realm.

The Lady Huntley was discreet, and deserved more, and that she is a Papist, they are too blame that never taught her the Truth.

The Princess is intrusted to the Wisdome and Government of the Lord Levingston, not to his Lady, he to command, she to conform.

Good God! their History of the Kirk, stories many, and many such Medlings, which I forbear to mention. By these and the like may be measured out their malice, pride, vanity, and their cunning, to colour all with conscience, and zeal of Truth.

But it becomes dangerous, Mr. David Blake, Minister of St. Andrews, rails in his Sermon against the King & Council, and Session of Estates, and called the Queen of England by name an Atheist, of no Religion. Bowes the Ambassadour complains, and Blake is cited before the Council. Melvil meets him, and makes it the common cause, as a preparative against all, to bring down the doctrine of Christ, under the censure of the King and Council. And so far was it plotted with the Council of the Church, that they desert the day of his Diet (or appearing.) That it would be ill taken to question Ministers upon trifling delations. When, as the Enemies of Jesus Christ, were spared and protected.

Telling the King (who was descended, to shew them Huntleys condition,) That both he, and the rest should either satisfy the Church in every point, or be pursued with Extremity, and so no cause to complain of their oversight of Papists.

And

Anno

1596.

And though the Articles were framed, and Printed satisfactory to all. Yet they Publish, That Papists were favoured, the Ministers rebuked for siding against sin; And that the Scepter of Christ was sought to be overthrown. And if Master Blake should submit his doctrine to the triall of the Council, the liberties of Church and spirituell Government of Gods House would be quite subverted. And by all means. a Declinator is designed, to protest against such proceedings.

And in this fire of zeal in opposition to better Councell, They answered, that the cause of God concern'd them to withstand all future hazards.

It was trusted to Blake himself, to present (in presence of the King.) I know not, whether prudentiall in me to suppress it, for fear of evill President. But that it is a record. Take it in the Breef.

That howbeit his innocent conscience, maintained him sufficient, against the Calumnies of whomsoever, and that he was able and ready to defend his doctrine uttered, in opening the words or application in matter. Yet seeing he was convened before the King and his Council, to be judged for his doctrine, and that his answering might be suspected a submission; and so imputed a prejudice to the Churches liberties; and to be taken as an acknowledgment of the Kings jurisdiction in matters spirituell; He was constrained to decline that judicature.

First, because the Lord Jesus Christ of whom we had the grace of his calling, had given him his word, for a rule to his Preaching. And that he could not fall in reference of any Civill Law, but so far as he should be tryed to pass his instructions. Which tryal belonged only to the Prophets and Pastors, the spirits of the Prophets being subject to them alone, &c.

Secondly, in regard the liberties of the Church and discipline were confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliament and the Preachers. (office bearers thereof) peaceably possessed therein, particularly in the Judicature of the word, He ought to be remitted to the Ecclesiastick Senate, as the only competent Judges.

For which, and other weighty considerations, inconveniences to Religion, the State and Nation, and to the King himself, by the appearance of distraction and Alienation of his mind, from the Ministry, and the cause of God in their hands. He for himself and in Name of the Commissioners of the generall Assembly, who had subscribed this Declinator, Besought, that the Church of God, might receive no diminution, but rather manifest their care to maintain the same.

The diet came, and he required to make answer. Said, That albeit he might object against the Citation, it being directed Super Inquiritis, contrary to form, yet he would take himself to the remedy of

Blakes remon-
stance.The Ministr
their actions
counseThe King by
proclamation
dissolves their
Assembly.The Ministr
are Convent
apoke the
King.Blake brought
to his An-
swer.

Anno
1596.

Law, and to be remitted to his own Ordinary.

Being asked whom he meant.

He answered, *the Presbytery, where the doctrine was taught,*

The King told him, the matters charged were civill; and that the Summons had reference to the particular letter of the *English Ambassadour.*

Hereplied, that speeches in the *Pulpit must be judged by the Church, in prima instantia.*

Being asked, whether the King might not judg of facts of Treason, as well as the Church did matters of *Heresie?*

That whether speeches in the Pulpit, though but pretended Treasonable, could not be judged by the King till the Church had remitted thereof.

But he answered, *That he was not come thither to resolve questions, and so offered his Declinator.*

The King not able to amend what was amiss, meant to work it otherwise by remitting of further proceedings to Nov. 30.

Mean while, the *Commissioners* send copies of all transactions, to the severall *Presbyteries*; requiring them for Corroboration to confirm the same by their subscriptions; To commend their doing as the cause of God in publick fasts and Humiliation for the sins of the *Nation* by prayer and preaching. The meaning thereby was, to tell the stories to the people, for maintenance of this their ill manners; And which the King interpreted, a direction to dangerous Mutenie, and future Rebellion. And therefore,

Proclaims all their particular proceedings, with remonstancie of their Misdemeanors and to prevent disorder now, and confusion to follow, by advise of his Councill discharges the commissioners, and dissolves their convention, illegal in it self, and worse unlawfully executed by them; Whom he commands by Name to depart home in 24 hours to attend their flocks and duties in their Ministry. And no wayes to return to convene either within or without the Burroughs of Edinburgh, under the pain of Rebellion.

But we tire the reader and yet hereby, we may discover what they did in such like many more, for to the death they will proceed. Hereupon they consult, that seing they had been convened by the warrant of Christ, to take care of hazard to the Church, *Et ne quid ecclesia detrimenti caperet.* They should obey God rather than man. And notwithstanding any charge to the contrary, to continue together, and to send to the *Octavians* (those 8 *Councillors* of State formerly mentioned) that seing at the entrance to their places, the Church was in quiet and peace; and now to be imbroyled; the Enemies to truth overpowring, and all by their counsels and connivance; The event of evil, must fall upon them, the Contrivers or Connivers.

The President hastily made answer, As they began so let them

The Minist-
sters factious
courses

The King by
proclamation
dissolves their
Assembly.

The Minist-
ters Counter-
appose the
King.

them end; the Councils advice, neither was desired, nor given on either part, and therefore would not meddle between the King and them, but leave it to his Majesty and Nobles.

This answer taught them fresh advice; to remonstrate to the King himself by Messengers of their own; and fearing the effects (the Kings anger) humbly interceed, for surcease of Processe against *Master Blake*, Untill his Majesty should be pleased to convoke an Assembly for deciding all controversies to the Kings content.

To which he consented, *provided, they would passe by the Declinator, or at least to declare that it was not a Generall but a particular Declinator, used in Blakes case only, as being a cause of slander, and so, appertaining to the judgment of the Church.*

This by the wiler, was held fit to be received, as an end of contention; No! Rather to stand to their tacklings, *Gods cause, Against worldly powers.* Ravelling into former examples, of prevailing against Princes. Others argued to try Mastery with Majesty, may faile of effects; as yet the Court stand in some fear of the Church, and to keep up their concept, let us take the best conditions we can, least our weaknesse appear, if we have the worst, and so the terror of the Church despised, or neglected; Much will portends little wit; and as it is often seen, who gripes at all, grasp nought but wind: and to levy all their wills, is to lose all their wits; of which, God send them more plenty than appears by their proceedings.

But not prevailing, the King proceeds to proclaim their departure and *Blakes* appearance as afore ordered.

The next day, sunday, solemnized the christning of the Princessse. *Bows* Ambassadour gave Her name from his Queen, *Elizabeth.* and the Town of *Edenburgh,* by their Majestrates; assisted as other witnesses. Yet all that day in the Churches were bitter invectives.

The Commissioners of the Church presented a Petition to the King and Council.

That seing the decision of intricate questions could work no good, and was subtilly urged to ingender discention, between his Majesty and the Church, he would be pleased to remit the discision to a lawfull Assembly, and not to incroch upon the limitts of Christs Kingdom, upon any pretence, but to bend his actions against the common Enemy of the Church and state, the Papists.

Then they exhort the Noblemen to give his Majesty faithfull Counsel, and not to be subject to the guilt of sin, by the craft of such as seek the thraldom of the Gospel, who intend to exite their honours to be the Executors of their malicious devises.

With order to those that presented this Petition, that if the same

The Commissioners of the Church petition the K.

Anno

1596.

Is rejected.

Articles a-
gainst Blake.

same was refused, to enjoyn them to protest against the proceeding of the Council.

The King rejects it, as not worthy of Answer, commanding to call Blake to his summons.

First, That he affirmed in Pulpit that the Popish Lords were returned with his Majesties knowledg and further assurance, wherein he had detected the treachery of his heart.

Secondly, that he called all Kings the Divells barns, and that the Divel was in the court and in the Guiders thereof.

Thirdly, That in his prayers for Queen Ann, he had used these words, we must pray for her, in fashion, but we have no cause, she will never do us good.

That he called the Queen of England an Atheist.

That he had discussed a suspension granted by the Lords of Session in Pulpit, and called them Miscreants and Bribers.

That the Nobility were degenerate, godlesse, dissemblers, and enemies to the Church.

That the Council were Holliglasses, Cormorants and men of no Religion.

And that he had convoked divers Noblemen and others within Saint Andrews in June 1594. caused them to take arms in troops of Horse and Foot and thereby usurped the power of King and Council.

After reading of the summons, Robert Pont their Minister protested, that the processe in hand should not prejudice the Church.

To which the King answered that he meant not to meddle with matters of doctrine, but to censure, the treasonable speeches of a Minister, which he and his Council would judge, except, that by scripture it could be held forth that Ministers were not subject in these cases to judicatures.

His answer.

Blake makes answer; that the accusations were false, calumnies, producing testimonies of two, which he alleged should be preferred to any report whatsoever.

Next he said, That to the first six points the Council were not lawfull Judges of speeches in Pulpit, but the Presbytery, where the sermon was uttered.

And so presents a second Declinator.

But being put to voyces it was sentenced, That the crimes and accusations mentioned in the summons, were seditious and treasonable, and that the King and Council were competent Judges in all matters, criminall, or civill, as well to Ministers as other subjects.

The Council dissolved, the King willing to conserve peace and amity, to the Ministers offered terms of reconciliation and

to

Anno
1596.

to return *Blake* to his charge and Pastorage.

Bruce answered, That if it concern'd only Master *Blake*, the offer might be accepted, but the liberty of Christs Kingdom, being wounded by the Proclamation, and by usurping spiritual Jurisdiction, of greater consequence then Master *Blakes* life and twenty more; and that if those things were not retreated they would oppose, during the last aspiration of breath.

The King
treats with
them.

The King the next morning treated with some of theirs. Shewing how far he was from impairing spiritual Jurisdiction, that he would amplify and enlarge the same; but (said he) to discourse of State in Pulpits is intollerable, I clame to judg in matters of sedition and civil and criminal causes; and of speeches that may import such crimes; and if the Pulpit should be a place of privilege, under colour of doctrine to stir up sedition, no good man will grant. If Treason and sedition be crimes punishable, much more comitted in the Pulpit, where the word of truth only should be taught. I am not ignorant what *France* of late and *England* formerly, have suffered by the violence of such spirits. And I may not indure it.

Hereupon, the Church finding the King resolved, desire some Declaration to be made to the people in favour of Church Assemblies, which they feared was hereby, of late somewhat weakned; which the King assented unto, and it was accordingly published, to give finall conclusion to these differences.

Blake was required only to acknowledg his offence to *Queen Ann*. And to be pardoned of all.

This he would not do, and was therefore sentenced. To have falsely slandered and treasonably calumniated the Kings Majesty, his consort the Queen, his Neighbour *Princesse* the Queen of *England*, the Lords of the Council and Session, and that, till his Majesties further pleasure, he should be confined beyond the *North* water, enter ward within six dayes. and

Ten daies more were taken up, to decide these differences; and the King condescends to lesser submissions than before. But the Commissioners refuse to agree to any censure of Master *Blake*, as not done by the proper Judg. And so they ordain a fast, and pray, and preach complaints, of wrong done to the Kingdom of *Christ*.

Both parties
bandie.

The King on his part, made the grounds of his displeasure known to his people, by Declaration; setting forth particulars of the last Transactions. Ordaining all Ministers to subscribe their obedience to his Majesty; and to set their hands to the bonds presented to them to that effect, under pain of sequestering their rents and stipends till they submitted. *Blake* to go to ward, and the Commissioners to remove out of Town.

They increase Aspersions upon the King who willingly would have

Anno

1596.

have recalled these sentences and Publications, and some Ministers were treated therein, till a scandalous letter was devised and sent by under hand advise, that *Huntley* had private reception by the King over night and caused the charge against the Ministers. *Balcunquhal* takes his text out of the *Canticles*, and so to present the troubles of the Church, relates the late proceedings which he calls *treacherous forms of the Council*, naming particular officers,

The President, Controuler, and Advocate, with reproachfull raylings; and concludes to advise the Barons and Nobles to meet in the little Church for assisting the ministry. From them came a petition to the King in behalf of his Ministers and presented to him in the uper house of session, with complaints, uttered by *Bruce* of all which had passed. The King declining the petition, and remonstrance, asked *who they were that durst convene against his proclomation*. The Lord *Lindsey* passionately replied, *That they durst do more than so, and would not indure destruction of Religion*.

Numbers of people thronging into the Room, the King removed the people seduced by *Lindsey* and others, some said arm; others called out, *to bring forth Haman*, others cry'd out, *the sword of the Lord and Gideon*. And with much adoe, to appresse the peoples rage, at they knew not what.

The Lords and Ministers meet, propose Articles to the King, and whilst they designe who shall present them, each one refusing. The King and Council remove out of *Edenburgh* into *Linlithgow*.

Ordering a Proclamation to signifie the reasons of this departure, the Town being unsafe for his person and Council, and unfit for the administration of justice by the late insufferable Tumults, commanding all Lords of session, Commissioners, &c. and their Deputies to remove out of the Town of *Edenburgh* and be in redinesse to that place they should be after assigned. And the Noblemen and Barons to withdraw to their own Houses and not to convene or Assemble, under pain of the Kings displeasure.

The City is amazed with these proceedings, not knowing what to do, or whom to trust unto. The Ministers night and day restlesse to get subscriptions, and to covenant, to call in certain Noblemen of note, *Hamelton*, *Backlugh* and others. Fast and pray, and preach what stufte, best befits their projects, one amongst many others, *John Welch*; takes his theam, the Epistle sent to the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, rayl'd against the King, who he said was possessed of a Divil, and one Divil (the King) put out, seven worse are entred in. That the subject might lawfully rise and take sword out of his hand, by example saies he. Of a father fallen into frenzie, might be bound hand

Dangerous
tumult.

The King and
Council retire
from danger.

Proclaim.

Mad preaching

Anno
1596.

hand and foot by his family from doing mischief.

Yet this execrable doctrine, was received by some; nay they preach, that the Earl *Arrol* had come to the Ferry with four hundred horse the day of Tumult, but the rising of the people, (as a providence of God for good) scattered his forces, in fear of the Town so prepared. And being Masters of all, they undertake to send Messengers to the Earl *Hamelton*, with letters, *that the people animated by motion of Gods spirit, had taken Arms, with the patronage of such Godly well affected Noblemen, and Brethren then at Edinburgh for the cause of God. Only they wanted a Head, an especial Nobleman to countenance their cause. And having made chioce of him, they invite him to Edinburgh, with all convenient speed, and thereby to signifie his affection, and to accept the honor which the Church of God had offered unto him.*

Their letter to
Lord Hamel-
ton to be their
head.

It was writ and subscribed by *Bruce*, and *Balcagnall* and sent to *Hamelton*, who receives the Messenger with all shew of kindness, and seems to prepare his journey for *Edinburgh*; but, by the way, better advised, he turns to *Linlithgow* and presents the King with the letter, who wondered at the modesty of the man, accounted more ambitious, than to neglect such a rise to tempt his humour, by whom had the letter taken effect, it might have caused strang Rebellions; when the Church had begun to act their part with so much power, a bloody issue alwaies following the pretended zeal for Religion, as the most part of *Christendom* have felt the miserable effects, and great *Britain* most of all.

Hamelton
comes to the
King.

The insurrection, and letter made work for speedy Counsel to act for the King, and the *Provost* had order for imprisoning the Ministers, who got loose, and fled to *New Castle* in *England*.

proceedings a-
gainst thole
disorders.

The Town send Commissioners to purge themselves, protesting their Innocencie, and offer their obedience, for repairing the indignity and dishonor done to the King, but served not for their purgation; for the next day, the Tumult was by the Counsel declared Treason, and the devisers, Actors, and Partakers to be Traytors.

Citizens
brought to
submit.

Edinburgh smarted for all, the inhabitants in fear of desolation; the law-Courts removed to *Lith*; the Session to *Perth*; the Ministers fled; the Magistrates dispised; and all men without the walls, their enemies. And again most humbly supplicate the King with the best excuse for themselves. The King told them that he would proceed with them contrary to what they did to him, by form of law, not by violence: and that the estates should meet in the same place, where the dishonor was done to him, for their tryal and punishment.

Queen Elizabeth
sent her letter to
the King.

The day before the convention. The keys of the Town sub-
mitted

Anno

1596.

Is rejected.

And humbly
propose.

mitted to the Kings officer; a guard of the Kings forces ranged the streets; and the Citizens disarmed, are commanded to keep within doors: the charge of the Town given to the Earl *Marre*, Lord *Seaton*, and *Uchiltry*. Thus prepared, the King enters with a train of Nobles, alights at the *Talbooth*, where the Estates did meet. The *Provost* Sir *Alexander Hume*, with the *Baliffs* and numbers of the City, fall down on their knees; and to pacifie the King, most humbly propose;

To purge themselves of the Tumult by oath before the Council, having made diligent search for the Authors; and would proceed to inquire, or to assist any other officers therein. They promise never to admit of those Ministers pronounced Rebels, without his Majesties command; nor ever to receive any hereafter but at the Kings pleasure; and not to elect annual Magistrates without the Kings approbation, and to accept others whom the King would present. And in all, or any other manner, to submit, as his Majesty shall ordain; under protest that they take not upon them the crime of the Tumult.

See the effects of Rebellion, in general, if they succeed not, advance the Sovereign; so did this. The insurrection proceeding from the Ministers their Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction, submits alwaies after to the Kings authority. In these stories of *Brace* before, and *Blake* now, the grand Incendiaries of their Riot, it appears how patiently the King proceeded, if possibly to have confirmed them, and to have secured his Prerogative with their priviledges, which he could never procure from them, without this oversight of their own.

Besides; how submits are the Lay subjects now; and how high grows the King, and his Counsellors! Advice is offered, to raze the Town and erect a Pillar of repentance; a Monument of their misery; caused by their insolencie; and this their punishment. Others were lesse mild, but all for condign marks of revenge, to teach others their duties, for the time to come.

Nay *Bowes*, the *English* Ambassadour was out, and in, and in, and out, with his policies; he liked well to imbroile the State, but not to allow advantage to the King, for by the faction of the Brethren, all the designs of *England* were managed; and reciprocal assistance from them, to ballance their quarrels at home; and therefore *Queen Elizabeth* writes to the King her advice; fearing belike, too much pressing upon the Ministry according to their merit.

My Dear Brother,

If a rare accident, and ill welcomed News, had not broken my long silence, I had not used Pen-speech, as being carefull of your quiet, and mindfull of your safety. To omit the expressing of both, by letting

you

Queen Elizabeths letter to
the King.

James the sixth King of Scotland.

205

Anno
1596.

you know how untimely I take this new begun phrenzie, that may urge you to take such a course, as may bring into opinion, the veryfying of such a scandal as you avowed to me to be farr from your thoughts. In this sort I mean it, some members of the Church with their Companies, have over-audationly imboldened themselves, to redress some injurious acts, that they feared might overthrow their profession; which I grant no King for the manner ought to bear with, yet at the instant when the new banisht Lords returned, and they seem to be wincked at without restraint, and the spring time going on, when promised succor is neer hand, together with many letters from Rome & elsewhere, which tel the names of men, authorised by you (they say though I hope falsely) to assure your conformity, as time may serve you, to establish the dangerous party and fail your own.

I wail in unfeigned sort, that any just cause should be given you to call in doubt so disguised acts, and hope that you will so try this cause, as that it harm you not, though it ruine them.

Of this you may be sure, that if you make your strength of so sandy a foundation, as to call to your aid such as be not of your flock, when as the one side be foolish, rash, head-strong; and brain-sick, yet such as may defend you, having no sure anchorage for themselves, if you fail them; and the others, who have other props to sustain them, though they lack you, yea such as though your private love to their persons may invegle your eyes, not to pierce the depth of their treason; yet it is well known that their many petitions for foraign aid, might have tended to your perril, and Countries wrack; for seldome comes a stranger to a weaker soil; that thralleth not the possessor, or indangereth him at least; I trust you think no less; or else they must justifie themselves to condemn you; for without your displeasure not feared for such a fact, no answer can shield them from blame.

Now to aver my folly, in seeming buysie in anothers affairs, I suppose you will not mislike, since the source of all is the care of your good, to desire that nought be done, that may imbolden the Enemy, decrease your love, and indanger your security: This is in summe the line whereto I tend; and, God I beseech to direct your heart, in such sort as you please not your worst Subjects, but make all know in a measure what is fit for them, and make difference between error, and malice. So God bless you with a true thought of her that means you best.

Your most affectionate

SISTER.

Elizabeth Reg.

The Queen suspected, that the King would have given ex-
Ff 2 tream

The Kings
mercy.

Anno

1596.

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And humbly
propose.Queen Eliza-
beths letter to
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Your most affectionate

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Elizabeth Reg.

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Ff 2 tream

The Kings
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Anno

1596.

Is rejected.

And humbly
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To purge themselves of the Tumult by oath before the Council, having made diligent search for the Authors, and would proceed to inquire, or to assist any other officers therein. They promise never to admit of those Ministers pronounced Rebels, without his Majesties command; nor ever to receive any hereafter but at the Kings pleasure; and not to elect annual Magistrates without the Kings approbation, and to accept others whom the King would present. And in all, or any other manner, to submit, as his Majesty shall ordain; under protest that they take not upon them the crime of the Tumult.

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Queen Elizabeths letter to
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Anno
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The Octavi-
ans yield up
their office.

treme punishment according to the fact, and so highten their adverse enemy the *Papists*; whose cause she urgeth as more guilty, to ballance them both, with mercy, not malice. This moderate Council it appears by the Kings former proceedings, he intended rather a mind to paliate than to urge the occasion of greater differences. And accordingly no farther prosecution was made, only to pursue the Town criminally, and to appear at *Perth*, February next.

And the *Octavians* not agreeing amongst themselves, gave over their Commission of Exchequer into his Majesties hand, fearing belike in this time of examination, and purging defecti- on, they might come to a troublesome accompt; though generally, they gained repute of faithfull Stewards of the Kings treasure.

The King finding the Church affairs fall into his own hands, rectifies the abuses (*crep in saies one*) amongst their articles of discipline, I cannot say so; they were so framed and formed from the first; every day proceeding absurdities, not disputed how reasonable, or religious, but as they made for their advantage so were they ordained, and obeyed.

And therefore a National Assembly is appointed at *Perth*, must regulate all; to treat and determine the bounds and exercise of the spiritual Jurisdiction. Articles being drawn up and printed for to enter upon consideration, with this Preface of the King.

He takes God the searcher of all hearts to record: That his intentions are not to trouble the Church with thorny questions, nor yet to claim to himself any tyranny over the same, Only, to have these doubts, solved, to prevent debate to him, or his Successors, and to settle the policie of the Church, that so the corruption being removed, a pure Harmony might be fixed between him and the Ministers, to Gods glory, &c.

The Articles were at first drawn up to fifty five, and to be supposed that those questions were never decided, but effectually they were in use, to the prejudice of the King, and people, which no man till now durst dispute, being left loose for the Ministers mental reservation.

Many of them were much troubled, to submit their discipline to dispute, which they had assured the people to be part of the Gospel, and therefore mightily endeavoured to prevent examining; but the business so far forward; the King had his party to press it on. A note of observation, what packing there was of voices for either advantage the policie of some; the late General Counsels of *Christendome* having taught the way; and these are apt Scholars to learn.

The Northern
Ministers are
Courtied.

And therefore the Northern Conscientious Ministers, not as yet tainted with the *Jesuitical* tenents, were delt with, by a Message

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

207

Anno
1596.

Message from the King to be distinguished from the Mutineers of *Edenburgh*; not esteeming them guilty of reproach, with such evil subjects. How well the King intended to them in particular, and so hopes, that their behaviour would evidence their resentment, of his Majesties favour and affection.

They are desired to subscribe to the bond in acknowledgment of the Kings royal power, and to accept the *E. Huntleys* offers, & to absolve him from excommunication; and reasons enow given for these. And lastly they receive the Copy of the fiftie five questions; and are desired to send Commissioners to the Assembly appointed at *Perth*.

They with reverence make answer, That as they were ignorant of the Tumult and the Ministers flight so they were silent in their judgment and censure. This though in the general. The Authors of that insurrection were Traytors; and if Ministers, to be double punished.

They had sworn to his Majesties power and regallity, when they were admitted Ministers, and would never decline it.

The bond mentioning Master Blakes speeches in Pulpit, concerning application of doctrine, which his Majesty had pronounced as a question to be decided in the next Assembly, they humbly reserved themselves, til that time.

And for the Earl Huntley, his repentance should be most acceptable, and they were content to conferr with him, and use all means for his resolution; fearing they should not find him earnest for absolution.

And least the Ministers should have cause to hank upon jealousies of the Kings favour and affection to the *Popish* Lords; especially to *Huntley*, for whom in truth he had earnestly endeavoured reconciliation. He therefore writes to him peremptorily, either to make faith, and satisfie the Church, or be banished for ever.

The day come; the Assembly meet. But not to trouble them with all those fifty five Queries formerly printed, the King remits them to the future; contenting himself for the present with a dozen Articles to be determined positive.

1. That it be lawfull to the Prince, or any pastor, to move doubts, and crave reformation of any points in external policie, and discipline of the Church, not concerning salvation, nor defined in scripture; and to be done, *decenter, animo aedificanti, non tentandi.*

2. That the civil and politick government of the Realm, belongs properly to the Kings office, and his Counsellors, and not pertinent to the spiritual Ministry of the word; nor to meddle in matters of state, nor his Majesties Laws, Statutes or Ordinances in the Pulpit.

3. That

Their answer

The King
writes to
Huntley

Twelve Arti-
cles from the
King to the
Assembly.

Anno

1596.

3. That Ministers shall not name particular men in Pulpit, except upon notorious crimes, as of fugitive, or excommunication.

4. That in application, the Minister have respect to his flock, without extravagant discourses impertinent.

5. That every *Presbytery*, take diligent accompt of the doctrine of their ministry.

6. That Summary excommunication be utterly discharged; and the sentence, to follow three Citations, at eight days distance.

7. That no sentence, or censure proceed from any Assembled, but of those within their bounds.

8. That all summons containe speciall cause and crime, and not *super inquirendis, quod est mere tiranicorum*.

9. That no meeting be without the Kings consent, except the ordinary session, *Presbyteries*, and *Synods*.

10. That in principal *Burghs*; no Minister be placed without the consent of the King and the flock.

11. That seven or eight discreet Ministers, be authorized to reason upon the rest of his Majesties Questions; till time serve.

12. That the *Northern* Ministers absolve the Earl *Huntley* from excommunication; if he satisfie the Church.

Their answers to each were not received satisfactory, and therefore they attend the King and Counsel; where his Majesty reasons with them the justness of his desires, and after serious consideration they conclude to the Kings liking. A commission was granted to some of them to reconcile the *Papish* Lords to the Church, And Articles ordained for *Huntley*, *Angus*, And *Arrol* to subscribe, which they did. The Ministers taken into protection and grace, and all *Papists* in general (except the Lords) to depart the Realm before *June*. And all the former offenders, and *Mutineers* remitted to pardon, which hapily concluded the end of this year.

And to shut up all with the time, let us take leave of *John Lesly*, Bishop of *Ross*, who took leave of this life at *Bruxells* in *Flanders*, his constant abode since the execution of his Excellent Princess, *Queen Mary of Scotland*; a man, memorable with reverence, for his faith and constant service, to his Sovereign; and his extraordinary care and trouble, travelling to most Princes in *Christendom*, to interpose their credit, with *Queen Elizabeth* for her relief, induring all hardships for her sake, examinations, disputes, imprisonings, and at last, banishment out of *England*, as you have heard, leaving his Mistriss without hope of redemption from her Captivity. And therefore administers his last and best service, spiritual consolations, which he purposely writ to her in a Treatise, printed and published, full of piety and learning.

Those

Submitted
unto in effectAnd all ends
in content.Bishop Rosse
death and cha-
racter.

those no doubt composed his own mind with patience and comfort, after her sad and miserable death, which he bore off for some time, till sorrow seized him into a languishing sickness. He composed the *Gests* of his Native Countrey into *Latine* from the beginning of that *Nation*, to his last time. He was fervent in his faith, zealous, and charitable, and died as he alwaies professed, a Judicious learned *Romish Catholick*. And so let us see the affairs in *England*.

Anno
1596.

The Queen, to divert the growing greatness of the *Spaniard*, had assisted the *Netherlands* ten years in their rebellion (as some stile it) against him; and now considered, that whilst she established their tottering territories, her self became poor, and they had plenty. And therefore by *Bodly* her Ambassadour, she demands to be eased of her charge in her *Auxillaries*, and to be paid some part of their debt, to her lendings.

The Netherlands called to account.

40000l per annum, in ten years, 400000l depr.

These promise to ease the Queen of her forty thousand pound per annum, that shortly they would pay her, twenty thousand pounds, part of their debt, and not enter into league with any, without her consent, and after a peace with *Spain*, they would pay her a hundred thousand pounds yearly, for four years, the full debt, humbly imploring four thousand men, and to be raced out of her accounts for all by past. To which she consented; least by her neglect, they should be inforced, to disjoynt their Confederacie with her, and rejoice their common Enemy. Against whom, she was rigging a Navy, and would have thirty of their ships to adjoyn, and so they pieced again.

Her Rebels in *Ireland* increased to 1000 horse, 6280 foot in *Ulster*, 2300 in *Connaugh*, all at *Tirones* beck; wherefore she sends over *Norris* to assist her Deputy in equal power. A marvel to many, a too headed Government, being monstrous in policie, as well as in Nature; so that crafty *Tyrone* treats with *Norris* and gets *Truce* for a time, who suttly took leasure to hatch and plot greater mischief.

Irish rebels increasing.

Norris goes over assistant

The spring time begets a Treaty, with the Queens Commissioners, sent over to *Ireland* to receive the Rebels complaints, They desire free use of their *romish Religion*, and enjoyment of their lands Ecclesiastical, and others, upon reasonable annual payments; all which the Commissioners counterpoize with conditions more strickt for them to submit, which they refuse; but between them both, they continue *Truce* till April after. Which time the Queen took to consider; and *Tyrone* secretly to deal with the *Spaniard*, for a compleat Army, to their succour.

The Duke of *Parma* dead, *Albert* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and Cardinal, succeeds him, Governour for the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, and to credit his new-come Authority, (usually with Commanders)

Callis taken by the Spaniard.

Anno
1596.

the English
Navy.

Publick form
of prayer for
succes of the
Navy.

Take Cadiz
Called Cales
voyage.

ders) he prepares fresh forces on the sudden, beseiges *Calis*, and takes it from the *French*. The *Queen* startled at the report of the *Cannon*, which she heard into the *Chappel* at *Green-wich*, ere she knew from whence.

But then, afraid to perriish in her Neighbours fires, raises an Army, and a Navy of 140 ships, 18 of her own, 22 of the *Dutch*, the rest for necessary service; and 6360 souldiers; Volunteers 1000; Mariners 6722. The Lord *Admiral Howard* Commander in cheif at Sea. The Earl of *Essex* by land, their design was against the Enemies ships, or provision of amunition, rumored to be sent against *England Scotland* and *Ireland*; of greater power then in 88, and to land upon some of the Coasts, and Towns, She thought it piety to pray for success, and that God might not be mocked with several bablings, as the fancie should affect (and now newly in fashion to form it, *ex tempore*) she prescribed them therefore, the manner, that the world also, should be witness of the true ground of her publick Actions.

Most omnipotent God, that searchest and fadomest, the secret conceits of the heart, and in them, the true Originalls, of our actions intended. Thou knowest, that no malice of revenge, nor quit-tance of injuries, no desire of blood, nor lucre of gain, hath bred in us a resolution now to set out our Armie, but a heedful care, and wary watch that no neglect of the Enemy, nor security of our selves, might breed danger in us, or glory to them; these being our grounds, we humbly beseech thee to prosper the work, and with the best fair winds, guide our Navy, and if it be thy will speed us with victory, and the end to thy glory, thou the same, and we, peace to the people and on all sides, spare the blood of thine, for they are pretious. To these petitions, grant thy blessings, for the merriits of Christ, Amen. In those daies they prayed so, and people understood it.

It was a wonder, whether they went, for themselves knew not, till at the hight of cape Saint Vincent they opened the Commission, which commanded them for *Cadiz*, the fowth of *Spain*, and mouth of the Straits. They take the City, burn and sack the Island, and ships.

The loss to the Enemy valued twenty millions of ducats of eight shillings sterlin money. And *Essex* having Knighted sixty Gallants, with honor, and every man enriched with spoile, they return, this success set up *Essex*, into a ranting vain, not to be moderated with any Counsel. His extravagant designs by the way homewards, not to return so soon till he had done somewhat more famous. An observation of pride and ambition then, set that mark on him, that lasted to his last breath.

To repair these losses, *Spain* riggs a great Navy at *Lisbone*, designed for the West of *England* and *Ireland*, which by storm were seperated and many shipwrackt, the rest return.

And

And now it was time for *England* and *France* to fortyfie their former *League*, and for *Queen Elizabeth* to send thither 2000 foot, into *Picardie*.

These were times of Action and Honor, and because no place circumscribes valour. An *English* Noble man *Thomas Arundel* of *Wardour*, for his service in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, is created by the *Emperour*, *Earl of the holy Empire*, and to his Successors, male or female, and have place and voice at the *Imperial Diets*, and free *Denizens*. From whence arises a question of their use, and precedence at home.

Digression
how farr fo-
reign titles
preceed at
home.

The defence may be from Presidents. *Henry the third* of *England* allowed it to *Mohume*, created *Earl of Somerset* by the *Pope*. *Henry the eight* did so by *Curson* whom the *Emperour* made *Earl of the holy Empire*.

In *England*.

In *Scotland* *Earl Dowglas* had the title of *Duke of Tours* from the *French King*, and so had *John Stuart* the *Earldom of D'Eve-*
rux.

The Popish
Lords submit
to the Church

The Exceptions are more ancient. No man being a *Citizen* of *Rome*, could accept freedom elsewhere, *Pompeyus Atticus* refused therefore to be of *Athens*.

At *Rome*.

In *Venice* and *Genoa*. No man may receive dignity either *Spi-*
ritual or *Temporal* from any forraign Prince, for which he is sus-
pected, and suspended all office at home.

Prophanity
Genoa.
Venice and

And indeed the *Earls of the Empire*, are too common to have
precedencie, or value abroad.

And for the *Scots*, their *Kings coat of Arms*, engralles them
with their flowr'd *Lis*, and so under tuition.

Scots.

Valerian the Emperour said, let that only be *Honor* which we cre-
ute. *Queen Elizabeths* censure was this. That, as a wife should de-
pend on the man; so a subject to receive no love tokens, but from
his *Sovereign*, she knowes not her own sheep, by anothers brand, nor
willing they should obey a strangers whistle.

Indeed, *Nobilitas* is derived of *Nosco* to know. *Vir Nobilis*
idem est quod natus, & per Omnia. But our Law doth prohibit
any Subject of this Nation to receive *Titles of Honor*, or dignity
of the gift or donation of a forraign Prince, it being belonging to
the State of this Nation, *est ius Majestatis & inter insignia summæ*
potestatis, vide Cook 7 part.

And if such a man bring an *Action* and the writ be so stiled; the
defendant may plead *Abatement* of his writ.

Nor shall any Nobleman of any other Nation, hold plea in *Eng-*
land by his name of dignity, but only by his name of baptisme and
Surname, *Cook 7. part.*

Nay, though he marry in *England*, and have issue here, the *Fa-*
ther dying, his Son shall not bear titles of his *Fathers Honour*, because
the title had original by a forein Prince, and not by *English Peerage*.

Nay

Anno
1596.

Nay, a more strange case. A Postnatus of Scotland or Ireland, (who is a natural Subject of this Land) be he the Heir of a Nobleman, yet he is none of the Nobility of England. But if the King summon him by writ to Parliament, and therein, stiled by that foreign Title, then from thenceforth, he is a Peer of England 39 Edw. 3 36.

But more, and worthy observance: A Knight of any foreign Nation, shall be so named in all our Courts of Pleas, (for the highest and lowest dignities are universal) 26 Edward 4 39 Edward 3.

And so shall any foreign King be sued here by his Title, otherwise the writ shall abate, for observe the person of a foreign King shall be here impleaded for debt, or trespass of life, so an Ambassadour. Pardon this digression and now we return to Scotland.

The King grants a Commission to certain persons, to see conditions performed by the Papish Lords in reference of their obedience to the Church, and for them also, to subscribe to conditions for peace, and quietness to the King and Country, under caution of 20000l. And in particular for Huntley to be advised by some Lords assigned, to counsel him especially concerning the Kings service.

But to prevent the Kings publick intentions, comes over from foreign parts, one James Gourdon, with designes of Treason, and to deter Huntley from subscribing, against him was published a Proclamation, and a thousand Crowns to apprehend him.

At which time, there was discovered a practize of surprizing the Isle of Elsay in the West Seas for receiving forces resolved upon by the Spaniard to be sent thither. The contriver of this design was Barklay the Laird of Ladyland who had escaped out of Glascow prison last year, and now returned from Spain, and was secretly gotten to this Isle, being a high rock four miles compass, and thereon an invincible Tower somewhat ruinate of, difficult access, which he meant to victual. But was sodainly surprized by one Knox, who landing on the shore, Barklay was walking down the Hill to take view of the Company; not mistrusting to be known. And finding that he was thus betrayed, ran into the sea and drowned himself. The news whereof comming to the Papish Lords, made them the sooner conform; which they did forthwith.

The King thus inabled to command, ordains several Commissioners to reduce such families in the North, that were in fewds, particularly these between Huntley and Murray as you have heard; Huntley and Forbes; Arrol and Ladywhern, Drum & Frendraught; men of considerable fortunes and fewds, so that the North was cleared and quiet.

And now the King reminds the late behaviour of the Mala-

part

The Popish
Lords submit
to the Church

Proclamation
against Gour-
don a Jesuite.

Barcklayes de-
sign discovered
he drownes
himself.

Anno
1597.

part Minister, *Blake* who was couvented before Commissioners at Saint *Andrews* his Church concerning his Treasonable speeches in his former Sermon, whereof he had been convicted before the Council, and was now further accused, as wondrous factious, and so condemned, and turn'd out of all.

Blake the Minister turned out of all.

And thus visitations being made through all Churches and Presbyteries a strange reformation followed, both there and in the Univerfity, and not only Inquisition of their Doctrines and behaviour therein, but also concerning the *Managment*, of *Lectures*, *Offices*, *Revenues*, *Rents*, all out of order, untill this blessed way of altering all, for good. But more especially, in the Colledges, in place of divinity Readings; Politick questions were raised; *whether the Election or succession of Kings, were the better Government. How farr the regall power extended? whether Kings may not be censured for abusing the same and deposed by the people.*

Excellent reformation in the Vniverfity

The King therefore prescribes the professors their Theam;
The first Master, to read *the common places* to the Students, with the *Law* and *History of the Bible*.

The second Master, to read the *New Testament*.

The third, the *Prophets*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles*.

The fourth, the *Hebrew Grammer*, with the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and the book of *Job*.

A Council appointed for the Univerfity, and that for their better improvement and studies; the Doctors, Professors, and Regents, not being pastors should be exempted from Church-meetings, Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies, these Orders and Articles, assented and sworn unto in presence of the King.

And being *Northward*, where pittifull ignorance possesses the common people. Amongst many, one *Margeret Atkin*, apprehended upon suspition of witchcraft, and threatned with Torture, confessed her trade, and discovering her associates, to purge the Country of all, if she might have but pardon, she gave her reason to be assured of their guilt, all of that sort having a secret mark in their eyes, by which she could certainly discover them, to be witches, and had by deceit (the Devil also assisting) gotten credit and belief, and so carried through the Country for discovery of others, and divers innocent women by her asseveration at *Glasgow* (through the ignorant simplicitie of Master *John Cooper* Minister,) were put to death. But some, wiser than the rest, altered the women, into other habits, whom she would then acquit, and so she was sent back to *Fife* her first abroad, and then hanged. But belying her self, in what she had confessed, she was by some supposed not guilty; and the King was moved to recall the Commission which authorized proceedings against such seducers.

Witches discovered,

Margaret Atkin hanged.

Anno

1597.

Digresses concerning
witches and witchcraft

Maintainers

And yet the fearfull abounding of these detestable flaves to the Divel, moved the King to dispatch hastily a Treatise to the press of *Demonologie* in form of a *Dialogue*, and devided into three books.

1. *The discription of Magi in special.*
2. *The discription of sorceries and witchcraft in special.*
3. *The discription of all these kind of spirits, that trouble men or women, and the conclusion.*

Against the damnable opinions of two, principally, in that age. One *Scot*, an *English* man, who denies in print, such a thing as witchcraft; and so maintains the old error of the *Saduces*, in denying of spirits.

The other, of *Wierus*, a *German* *Physitian* in his publick *Apolo- gie* for all witchcraft; discovering thereby, himself to have been one of them.

The Kings indeavour is to prove two things. *That there have been, and are such devilish Arts, and secondly what exact tryal and severe punishment they merit.* And reasoning upon *Genus*, he leaves *species & differentia* to be comprehended therein, for example; In the first book Chap. 6. (speaking of the power of *Magicians*.) He saies, that they can suddenly by their spirits, cause to be brought, all kinds of delicacies, since as a thief he delights to steal, and as a spirit subtilly transports them, under which *Genus*, all particulars may be comprehended; as bringing wine out of a wall, &c. proved by reasons of the general.

In the second book, Chap. 5 That witches can cure or cast on diseases; the same reason, that proves their power by the Divel of diseases in general, their power in special is also proved; as weakning the nature of some men towards women, In others, to abound above nature, and so of particular sicknesses. But in all, he observes the different ends of God, in the first cause, and the Divel as his instrument in the second cause, as Gods Hangman.

For where the divels intention, is to perish in the patient soul, or Body, or both; God, by the contrary, draws evermore out of that evil, glory to himself; either by destruction of the wicked, or tryal of the patient, and amendment of the faithfull, being awakened by that rod of correction.

But, who likes to be too curious, of all their *Practises*, read but *Bodinus Demonomancie*, collected with greater diligence than Judgment. And further, if you would be acquainted with the opinions of the *Ancients* concerning their power, It is well described by *Hyperius* and *Hemmingius*, two *German* Authors. Besides, many other *Neoterick Theologues*, largely setting down that subject.

And if, curious and inquisitive, of the rites of this unnecessary

Several Au-
thors in this
subject.

ry

Anno

1597.

ry *Perilous black-art*; the Diuel may too soon, direct any, unto *Cornelius Agrippa*, and *Wierus* afore mentioned.

I know, how it hath been of late urged, that King *James* was not of the same mind alwaies; and very tender of his Judges proceedings, ignorantly condemning some innocent *Melancholly* simple old women; whose miserable poverties, made them weary of life, and easily to confess themselves guilty, of they knew not what, though in sad condition, otherwise; liable to Satans suggestions and deceit.

And so busied himself with curious perspicuity, into tryal examination and discovery of sundry counterfeits, pretenders to be possessed by evill spirits. But yet, to my knowledg, he was ever constant to his former opinion, of witches and witchcraft, in particulars I can evidence.

The King thus busied to quiet the *North Countries*, some Incurfions were made on the Marches of each *Nation*, the outlodgers of *Tindale & Riddesdale* for the *English* made in rodes up on the *Scots* County of *Liddesdale*. The *Laird Backlugh* commander of those parts, does the like into *England*, and apprehending the chief mischief-makers 36, puts them all to the sword, and returns with great spoil. Against him is *Sir William Bowes* sent from the Queen to complain, and with much adoe reconciled. And for the future peace of the *Borders*, the time was assigned for Hostages to be delivered on each side to either.

But *Backlugh* fayling to perform his part, was feign to satisfy the Queens displeasure by entering himself into *England*, as Hostage, where he continued some *Moneths*.

Queen *Elizabeth* evermore upon actions of diversion (never upon conquest) to assist her neighbours, *French* and *Netherlands*, prepares another Navy against *Spain* of 120 sail under command of *Essex*, and Lord *Thomas Howard*, and *Sir Walter Raleigh* in three squadrons. they set out of *Plymouth*, but are weather beaten back, and put forth again; but become distressed, ere they get cleer of land; and so return. And after fresh supply of men and victual, they resolve for the *Islands of Azores*.

In the voyage by the way cross winds seperate *Raleigh*, who being missed when the others came there. *Essex* overhastily sent intelligence by a *Bark* into *England*; that *Raleigh* had on purpose, seperated himself from the fleet. But he, hastily coming in, unto them; that rash act of complaint, was excused by *Essex*, which *Raleigh* resented ever after. And he landing on the *Isle of Fiall* before *Essex* came thither, takes the Town, which being misunderstood, as in despite of Authority, they are peiced again.

They land upon *Gratiosa*, and *Flores*, take the spoil, and depart unto other *Ilands*, to seek the *Spanish India* fleet, which was then

Expedition of
Earl of Essex
to the Isles of
Azores.

Essex and Ra-
leigh differ.

to

Anno
1597.

Come home
and quarel at
Court.

to come home. And no sooner departed, but within two houres after the whole fleet of 40 sail, full of treasure artives there, and meets with some of the *English* ships. But ere *Essex* came in, they were shrowded under the safety and shot of their own Castles.

Yet *Essex* lands farther off and takes *Villa Franka*, burns a great Caroque ship. But not much done in answer to *Essex* his ranting intentions, they return, in some distres by the way, home.

And being come to Court, the Repetition of their several incounters moved contention between *Essex* and *Raleigh*, casting all misfortunes on each other. Besides *Essex* now blown up with ambition, was offended, that Sir *Robert Cecil* in his absence was made *Secretary of State*, and *Chancellor of the Dutchie of Lancaster*, emulous of his wisdom, and besides, he was then *Raleighs* great friend. But more malicious, That the Lord *Howard Admiral of England*, was created Earl of *Nottingham*; with some Testimonials mentioned in his Patent, That he had secured England from the Spanish invasion of 88, and that (joyntly with *Essex*) he had valiantly taken the Island and City of *Cadiz*, and that he had there wholly destroyed the Spanish fleet, designed for their assault of the Kingdom of England, but *Essex* would have it fancied, he did all himself.

For he that usually ascribed, all the glory to himself, could indure no Rivalls; especially, that *Nottingham*, now Earl took place of him, and all others of the same degree, as being *Admiral*, according to the Statute of Henry the 8.

That the high Chamberlain, high Constable, Marshal, Admiral; high Steward; and Chamberlain should have preheminence of all others of the same degree of Honor.

But to please *Essex*, He is therefore made Marshal of England, and so his pride took place of the Admiral. This I note in particular, to shew, by what steps and degrees of distast, He took occasion to turn Traytor not long after. See Anno 1600 and so we return to Scotland.

The winter quarter brought the Estates to *Edenburgh*, and the King timely holds a Parliament in some respects for restoring the *Popish Lords* (now called *Profelytes*) to their honors and lands. And the Commissioners for the Ministry are suiters for sundry Articles. Amongst them this was one. That the Ministers representing the Church and third estate of the Kingdom might be admitted voice in Parliament, according to several acts heretofore in favour of the Church, and the libertie, and freedom.

The King was earnest therein to please them, and had it past. But then obtained the manner as for himself; thus.

That such Pastors and Ministers as his Majesty should please to provide

A Parliament
at Edenburgh.

Ministers
voice in Par-
liament.

vide to the Place and Dignity of a Bishop, Abbot, or other Prelate at any time shall have voice in Parliament, as freely as any other Ecclesiastical Prelate had at any time by-past. And that all Bishopricks then in his Majesties hands and undisposed to any person, or which should happen to fall void hereafter, should be only disposed to actual Preachers and Ministers in the Church, or to such other persons as should be found apt and qualified to use and exercise the Office of a Preacher or Minister; and who in their provisions to the said Bishopricks should accept in, and upon them, to be actual Pastors and Ministers, and according thereto should practise and exercise the same.

But the Office of them in the spiritual Policy and Government of the Church was remitted to his Majesty and to the general Assembly; and so hereby occasion was soon taken to assemble at Dundee. And first advises them to consider, *Whether it was lawfull and expedient that the Ministers as representing the whole Church within the Realm should have Voice in Parliament or not?* It was concluded for them, *They might*; as also in other meetings of the Estate, and very expedient to have some of them always present to give Voice in the name of the Church.

The number of them was agreed upon to be one and fifty persons, (as of old in the Papistical Church. But then, who should elect those to have voice? They were pleased with much ado to grant. It did appertain, partly to his Majesty, and partly to the Church, and so it came to after consideration. *De modo eligendi*: whether *ad vitam*. What their Title? with caution to preserve them from corruption? What their Rents and Revenues? with a number more such circumstances are recommended to their Presbyteries to consider, and so to certifie his Majesty.

And because it was time for the Kings grace and favour to remit to mercy the *Edenburgh* Ministers, such as of late were silenced, to suffer them now to preach again, but with such articles and conditions as bound up their better manners to the Kings turn, not their own old tunes in the Pulpit. Nor were they safe as they thought they should be, till the King was pleased to declare, *That he did freely remit their former offences, in hope that they would hereafter deserve it.* And so were all persons concerned in the late Tumult and all others in honour to the King and charity to their brethren concluded and contented. But Mr. *John Davidson* a malicious man, he being behinde hand of preferment, protested against the Assembly, as not free, but over-awed by the King. And when he had put his Spoke into the Wheel slipt aside, but left it in motion with more ado than was meet to make such a stir.

Mr. *Robert Bruce* a Preacher there for ten years, yet never received Ordination to the Ministry, pretending the approbation of the general Assembly equivalent, if not more sufficient. He

Bruce refuseth
imposition of
hands.

was

Anno
1598.

was told, that the Approbation which he had, was only a Licence to preach, but now to receive the *Office*, it was necessary thereto, *Imposition of Hands*. No, though he was instructed, that the Ordination was not to question his former *Calling*, but to confirm it; nor would that serve, unless he had a Declaration to him thereof set down in writing.

A whole fourteenight was wasted to make the form, to please him, and others that sided for him, and his day of admission came. Mr. *Robert Pont* in the Pulpit signified their business, and being come down to assist the work. *Bruce* was got up in his place, railed against all the acts of the Commissioners, and with his Tongue raised such a Tumult of the Commons, that the poor Ministers appointed to administer Ordination were in fear to be stoned by the people, and so got away, and nothing done.

but at last is
so admitted.

Upon this the King commands the Commissioners to cite *Bruce*, and censure him. He did appear, but excused himself, and laid the fault on the peoples affection to him; and being afraid what would be the issue, pain of deprivation, gave obedience, and accepted his Admission, with Imposition of the Hands of two Ministers. Here was seen his perverse pride and wilfulness, which fools referred to his true zeal.

And this good conclusion of the general matters of the Church gave like success to the conference at *Falkland*, determining their Votes in Parliament, concluding the manner of his Election, who was to have Vote in Parliament, that the Church should name for each Prelacy six, whereout the King should chuse one.

That the nomination of them should be made by the general Assembly.

And his Rent provided out of the Prelacy, whereunto he is preferred.

With such cautions to preserve him, as was not to be feared he could transgress his bounds, or be deposed *ipso facto*; but his Title should be called *Commissioner* for such a place, &c.

Indeed, some of the Articles of Caution were ridiculous and absurd to be performed, but such was the Kings wisdom to consent to all their conceits, knowing that in time the benefit and good use of this Government would appear, which he purposed (says one) to have established, or rather, to permit those inconveniences, until weight of their own sufferings should betake themselves to abler conclusions.

The King having greater Councils of more importance to him, next to the settlement of the Church, and not till then proper for him to ascertain. Queen *Elizabeth* was grown old and weak in body, nor well in minde, and it concerned him to establish

blish to himself, such affectionate Princes in whose relations he might finde aid and assistance when time served.

To that end he considers of Ambassadours, *David* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and *Sir Peter Young* Almoner, men of great abilities and learning. They had in Commission to inform the free Princes of the Religion in *Germany*, his Majesties Right and Title to the Crown of *England*, and to assure to them his singular care and endeavour now and always to conserve amity with them all; *Not that he minded injury to the Queen, whom he had just cause to honour as his Mother, and to wish and pray for many days to lengthen out her ample years; but yet to strengthen himself against foul pretenders he craves their consideration, and to be pleased in common Ambassage to intreat the Queen as their best advice, to declare (in her own good time) the right Successor, for preventing plots and practices of her and his Enemies, &c.*

They had command to turn out of the way, and to take Letters commendatory of the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-Law unto each of those Princes, which were *Udalrick* Duke of *Megleburgh*, *Maurice* Lantgrave of *Hesse*, *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* and Administrator of the *Electorate*, *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, *John Adolph* Duke of *Gleswick*, and *Foakim* Marques of *Brandenburgh*. To each of these single made their Journey tedious, difficult, and took up much time, a whole year. Then they return with their Answers, in substance alike.

That albeit his Majesties right was well known to them, they did esteem it an Act of great wisdom in him, to acquaint his Friends and Allies with the Exceptions which some may presume to take to his just Title, that so, when occasion required, nothing might be amiss for them to do for him within their power. But to move the Queen to name her Successor, they excused themselves therein, as more dangerous to him than usefull to his intent, lest it might less promote the business, and offend her. Always (each of them) would advise, but counsel together with the Confederates and Allies of either, and in the close follow that course which was most likely for his benefit.

Their Answer.

And at their return, *December 24*. *Queen Ann* was brought to bed of the second Daughter, and Christened *Margaret*. The Earl of *Montross*, made Chancellour, with the Lord *Hamilton* and Earl *Huntley* were God-fathers, and these two created Marquesses.

And to minde men of Gods providence in their Declinations as well as Creations, we may not forget to historize the Deaths, as we have done the Lives of worthy men; *John Lindsey* Secretary of State, of a Noble Family, exquisitely learned, held worthy of his Judicature in the Senate, wise and virtuous, he pined away with the grief of the Stone.

David Carnegy of *Colluthy*, peaceable and sober, of good credit with the King, and his Counsellour, for his excellent knowledg in Civil affairs.

H h

Thomas

Anno
1598.

Thomas Buchanan, sometimes a Schoolmaster, I name him with distinction from that other his Kinsman (whose Life and Death we have heretofore mentioned) this man died Provost of *Kirkcubright*, learned and prudent, though a strong stickler for the Kirks rights, and died of good age.

David Fergusus of *Dunferling*, a good Preacher, a sanguine pleasant condition, and thereby the more regarded of the Court and Countrey.

But *Robert Rollock*, most of all beloved, and the more now lamented, because his conscience could not conceal from his brethren, of what their conscience was so much guilty; and therefore as a dying man, besought them to carry themselves more dutiful to the King, lamenting to be so ill used by most of their Members. His learned Works scattered into Pamphlets, the more pity so dispersed, and not in Volume, preserve him learned to all posterity.

France was persecuted by the *Spaniards* in *Picardy*, who take the strong Town of *Amiens*, and therefore were sent over out of *England* four thousand Souldiers to his succour, and so retakes it again. But the fate of War interchangeable to either, with loss to both, inclines them to Peace, by intercession of the *Pope*, intercessing also the *Queen*, who sends over Secretary *Cecil*, and *Wilks* Master of Requests; and the *Netherlands* send *Nassau* and *Barnevelt*; for all were included: but the *States* (gaining by Trade, whilst their Neighbours fight) dehorted the *Queen* under-hand, against any Peace. Much altercation there was by the *French* to introduce *England* into the accord; (for *Spain* now involved with the *French*, being but quit there, intended revenge on *England*, and be able to do it :) and so their *Delegates* meet at *Vervin*, where the *French* dispute place with *Spain*.

The *French* state their Precedency from the Sentence of *Pope Pius quartus*; the *Spanish* deny that, and urge besides a point of civility, that now they were *Guests* invited into a Town of *France*, and so the *French* yielded, out of respect to that and to the *Popes* Legates: but after much travel therein, the Legate (extraordinary for the *Pope*) sits at the upper end, the *Nuncio* (the *Popes* *Liege*) is placed on the right hand; the choice was given to the *French*, either to have the right hand next the *Nuncio*, or the left next the Legate: the *French* accepted the left hand, and the *Spaniard* was content with the right, though the second man.

Indeed, the King of *Spain* had delegated his Authority over to the *Arch-Duke*, whose *Ambassadour* in truth was here, on purpose to avoid the issue of contention, which rather than to submit, was worse to him than a War: and thus was the *Charters* of *Delegation* drawn up onely between them, so advantagious to *France* in the sequel, that he became stiled *Henry 4. le grand*.

And

France craves
aid of Eng-
land against
Spain, and
comes to a
Treaty.

France and
Spain dispute
precedency,

and make
peace.

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

221

Anno.

1598

Disputes of
peace or war
with England.

Queen Eliza-
beth strikes
Essex.

His angry let-
ters.

New agree-
ment with the
Netherlands.

King of Spain
dies.

One Squire
impoysons the
Queens sad-
dle.

And the *Queen* and *Estates* having offers of Treaty with *Spain*, she consults thereon, and it became work it self for *Histo-ry*; the disputes *pro & con*: The wise States-men of the Gown were for *Peace*, *Essex* for *War*, *Burleigh* reacht him *Davids Psalms*, and had so stretched the opening of the *Book*, that ten to one he should light on this Verse, *Bloud-thirsty men shall not live out half their days*. Upon this, there happened contention between the *Queen* and *Essex*; and about sending one in chief for the affairs of *Ireland*; in the presence of some of the *Council* and *Cecil* she named *William Knowls*; the *Earls* Uncle; He in scorn bid her take *Carew*, (indeed expecting his own mighty merits must needs be intreated) and in contempt turns his tail to her; she in disdain gave him a box on the ear, bid him be gone with a vengeance. He in passion, claps his hands on his Hilt; and vows not to put it up, and in chafe gets out of the *Court*: and being admonished of his duty by the *Lord Keeper* who was present, he answers very boldly by Letters, and more unadvised and unhandsom, gives them to his Captains to divulge. They contained thus much.

That a weak Prince rageth like the Tempest. He knows his observance as a Subject, but withall, what to do as an Earl and Lord Marshal, and can distinguish Service and Slavery; It is a Wound that smarts; and it were a sin to serve after such Disgrace. Cannot Princes err? injure Subjects? Is their Power infinite? For my own part, I am rent in pieces with Injuries, and have long enough endured the bitterness thereof.

This was enough to set out his inside, which the *Queen* observed, and lodged it for hereafter, having for the present some use of his followers, who indeed egged him forward to his future ruine.

But after this digression, we minde the occasion, and though no peace with *Spain*, the *Queen* makes sure with the *Netherlands* in a new *League*, and agreements of addition to the former, (See before *Anno* 1585.) viz. to pay her in all eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, (if the War lasted so long) thirty thousand pound yearly, till they had paid four hundred thousand pounds; but if the Peace should conclude by the *Queen* and *Spaniard*, then to pay twenty thousand pounds yearly, till they had paid eight hundred thousand pounds, with other covenants. But the death of *Philip 2.* King of *Spain*, gave breath to them both, for he left his *Netherlands* in Dowry with his Daughter *Isabel*, married at this time to *Albert*, Cardinal of *Austria*; who returns his Cap to the *Pope*, and receives his consecrated *Sword*, to conquer wherever he comes, and so hafts into *Spain*.

There was a fellow, one *Squire*, taken at sea, and carried Prisoner into *Spain*, and by extremity of the *Inquisition*, turns *Papist*,

Anno

1599.

Tomas false
accusation of
K. James to
Q. Elizabeth.

K. James his
prudence to
suppress false
rumours.

Ashfield sur-
prized Priso-
ner to Bar-
wick.

pist, and for trial of his new Profession, *Walpool* a *Fesuite* teaches him to compound a *Poyson*, with which, if but anointing the *Queens Saddle-pummel*, and she touch it, she should be infected; and for this villany he should be sure of salvation. He came now and put his *Poyson* in practice, which she touched, but took not effect; so did he to the *Chairs of Essex*, which proved alike. *Walpool* in *Spain* wondring at *Squires* neglect (as he thought) in very vengeance sends over one that accused *Squire*, who confessed, and was hanged.

These and many other treacheries worrying the *Fesuits* with no success, scattered some tales that King *James* favoured *Papists*, and despised the *Queen*, who had sight of some Letters, (in truth) indited by the villany of his Secretary *Elphinston*, and the Kings hand counterfeit, and Seal to the same; and seeming to confirm it, they had hired a notorious Villain in *England* one *Tomas*, condemned for Theft, and to unburthen his conscience, pretends to reveal a secret, and accuse the King in some generals, but never revealed any, yet was the wretch reprieved; and though her wisdom knew well the malice and cunning contrivance of these Plots, to clear her belief, she sends *Bows* Ambassadour to the King, and by *Queries* she examples her affection to him, before any other, and expects no retribution, but by him, the glory of God, and not be wanting to himself.

The King knew no better means to suppress the credit of false rumours, than by his own pious practice in *Religion*, by outward frequency in the exercises of Prayer and Preaching; duly performing and executing his Justice and Mercy, with such wisdom, and piety, as made his virtues thereby more transparent to the common view and sense of all men.

He wisely gave way to divers *Books*, publishing his right of Succession to the Crown of *England*, with Arguments and Reasons of the benefit and advantage to the people of both *Nations*; that in pious policie, his intentions would be hereafter to force *Ireland* to Religion, and to continue War with *Spain*. He numbers his then princely issue as the defence of State, his power and strength to oppose Enemies, the good affections to him of *Christian Princes*, and proposes miserable Examples of Usurpers.

Whilest *Bows* was about his business at Court, he findes an *Englishman* (*Ashfield*) bold enough to bid himself welcom, besides his merit, for his brave Present, some hunting Horses for the Kings Saddle; but in his journey (it seems) over-saucy with the Kings Warden, or rather suspected as a Spy, to carry Tales to the King: however *Bows* had direction to teach him the *Ambassadours* craft, and enticing him by his servants to *Lietk*, was in his drink coached away to *Barwick*.

The King takes this indignity, offered, to himself, secures the

Am-

James the sixth King of Scotland.

223

Anno

1599.

Ambassadors lodgings; and sends to *Barwick* for release of the Prisoner. The Governour excuses that demand, not to demit him without the Queens pleasure.

And so disputes grew high with the Ambassadour, as injurious to the honor of both Crownes; which he denied, and turn'd the fact upon his men, without his knowledge; but this was *Mentiendi facultate*, and the King not vouchsafing him any more Audience, he departed much discontent.

Sundry disputes were sawcily maintained, concerning the Kings Title to the Crown of *England*. Besides the discourses opposing, Amongst many, *John Colvil* Minister published his *Recantation* in print, and stiled, *the Palionode of John Colvil, &c.* wherein having confuted the contray reasons, he professed, That *Malitiously in time of exile* (as you have heard) *he had penned the Treatise, which now out of conscience he recants.*

Some say, that he was not Author of that book which he ap-
pugned, only to get favour of the King he professed the work,
that had come forth without a name, and was then accounted a *pi-
thy and perswasive cunning discourse*, of that subject.

At this time was published the *K. Basilicon Doron*, directed to the Prince, upon this occasion, Sir *James Semple*, servant to the K. and *Amanuensis* therein, lent the copie to *Andrew Melvil* Minister; who misliking so much truth, which touched the Ministers copie-
hold in their discipline; disperse d several transcriptions amongst the Brethren; and thereupon a *Libell* was framed, and cast in be-
fore the *Synod* of Saint *Andrews*; with such exceptions, as they pleased to set down. It was asked *what censure should be
inflicted upon him that had given such instructions to the Prince,
and whether he could be well affected to Religion, that had deliver-
ed such precepts of Government?*

The Kings Commissioners in the *Synod* (apprehending the *Libell* to concern his Majesty, whom they knew to be the Author of the book,) inquired for the Presenters. And all pretending ignorance, the Commissioners shut the doors, and purged each one by oath; yet was it prooved the next day to be *John Dikes*, Minister; who, in fear of the Citation before the Council, fled, and was denounced *Rebell*. And Hereupon, rumours were hatch-
ed, how prejudicial these directions were to the Church. But to satisfie the truth, the Book came abroad, and was carried in-
to *England*, with admiration of all men, to read the Kings piety and wisdom, Heretofore somewhat doubted, by the de-
ceipt of certain discourses which now were sure to be replied un-
to, and evermore somewhat of Consequence, for the Kings just title to the Crown of *England*.

By which, and his continual disputes, and reasoning with learned men of all knowledg, He in truth soon became royally
famed

Colvil Re-
cants his trea-
tise against
the Kings ti-
tle.

The Kings
Basilicon do-
ron, the occasi-
on of it in
publick.

Anno
1599.

The new year
altered from
25. of March
to 18. Janu-
ary.

The state of
Bishopricks at
that time.

Irish Rebelli-
on with Ti-
rone.

Essex and
Cecil's Intel-
ligence with
King James.

famed through *Christendom*, and more effectual with her, whom he was to succeed. Her self grown very studious and retired, and because she excelled in languages, she translates out of *French*, and *Latine*, *Salust*, and *Horace*, which she writ with her own hand, and extant.

And in this general Assembly of the Church, a politick Ordinance was published; To have the next year begin at the *Calends* of *January*, and from thenceforth for ever. For before that time, the year was reckoned, as in some other Churches, from the 25. of *March*.

And now, disposing votes, for the Ministry in Parliament, I shall close up the year with the pitifull discovery of the State of *Bishopricks*, and how farr this godly Kirk had incroched upon them; So that, there rested no more, but to Nominate persons to the *Bishopricks*, that were voyd. *Aberdeen* and *Arguile* had their own Incumbents, at the time, both actual Preachers.

Saint Andrews and *Glasgow*, were in the hands of the Duke of *Lenox*.

Murray was possessed by the Lord *Spinie*.

Orkney, by the Earl of *Orkney*.

Dunkeld, *Birchen* and *Dumblane*, had their own titulars; but were not ordinary Preachers.

Galloway and the *Isles*, so dilapidated as scarce to be remembered that ever they had been.

Ross, and *Cathnes*, some provision were left.

And so we return to *England*. The Queen much perplexed; the *Irish* Rebellion mightily increasng, and that *Nation* in lamentable condition by *Ter-oen* (or *Tyrone*) and others, though but lately broken out, and how to quench that fire, was her and her whole Councils continual care.

And therefore, they consider of present forces, to be sent over, extraordinary, under command of a *Generalissimo*, for that expedition. And after some debate, the Earl of *Essex* was markt out by the Queen, to that purpose, though Secretary *Cecil* hated him to the death. His wit made him equal, to mate the others greatness, and never left, untill he brought him to the Block, with the weight also of his own wicked desert.

Give me leave to let in the Reader with some reasons why and how *Essex* and *Cecil*, whom Authors make *Antagonists*, had several interests in one design of envy. Queen *Elizabeth* was ever shy of her Successor; and these two families were equal in power and affection in Court, enjoying Her present favour, but looking to the future, in the Queens declension. And in several held correspondence with some of the principal in *Scotland* (if not with the King) which had she known, might have cost their heads.

Secretary

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

225

Anno

1599.

Secretary *Cecil* had the safer conveyance in disposing all publick addresses of State, and was in hazard to have forfeited his honesty, if not his head, but his ready wit served the turn.

Cecil.

The Queen taking ayre upon *Greenwich-beath*, a post came thither to *Cecil* from *Scotland*; she hastily commanded the *Packet*, which he, with much diligence to obey, stept neer her person, telling her it smelt, and looked ill-favouredly, coming out of a filthy Budget, and that it were fit to be ayred. She being averse from ill fents, bid him do so, and so he gained time to sever what he would not have her to see.

The Earls accident of the same Nature, had more cost and difficulty in the redress.

Essex.

He entertained a domestick, Master *Anthony Bacon*, of a quick wit; by whom, the Scottish intelligence was managed; which dangerous secret, he acted for reward. And upon that score, had private invitation, to amend his fortune with *Cecil*. Of which he makes use, and, as a mercenary man, revealed it to his Master, who knew well enough, it behoved him to out-bid *Cecil*, and sodainly gave him *Essex* house; which was disingaged for 2500l, besides another sum before, of 1500l, so in all we may guess it, costly counsel.

About this time, There was a treasonable Assassination, acted upon the King by *John Ruthen* Earl of *Gowry*, and commonly called *Gowries* conspiracie.

Gowries conspiracie.

The principal Actors, The Earl and his brother *Alexander Ruthen*, *Andrew Henderson*, and *John Cranstone*.

The conspirators were *Robert Logain Laird* of *Restalrigge*, the *Laird* of *Bour*, and *Georg Sprot*, the last were discovered afterwards, and *Sprot* executed eight years after.

See anno
1608.

And because *Gowry* had insinuated himself into the faction of the ministry, presuming on their wonted way of countenancing all mutinous designs, These men in malice to their Sovereign, who kept them under with Bitt and Bridle, began to quarrel at the publick declarations herein, till the Conspiracie was examined and witnessed by their worships.

Their but infection hath impoysoned others, who wilfully and maliciously, have now, very lately spit their venome in print; as if the world had been (more than these half hundred years last past) abused, with a false and feigned story.

Court and
ch: of King
James pa: 8
Hist: Gr:
Br: Pa: 12.

We therefore, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*, have endeavoured the truth, From such information and printed Narratives, as we may with confidence satisfie the most suspicious.

The name *Ruthen* in *Scotland* was not notorious, till Anno 1568; when the chief of that familie, amongst other confederates in those divided times of trouble, laboured the imprisoning the Kings Mother, Queen *Mary*. In 1582 his son *William*,
was

Vide ante
1568.

et 1582.

Anno
1600.

was created Earl Gowry, in the Kiugs minority; and two years after fel into actual Rebellion at *Dundee*, for which he suffered at *Sterlin*, anno 1584.

His eldest son *John*, not long after, was restored in blood, and had leave to travel beyond seas. I have a Manuscript which saies, that in *Padona* amongst other impressa's, in a fencing school, he caused a hand and sword aiming at a Crown, for his device. And the Earl of Arguile (this mans father 1552) told the King, that in a house at Orleans in France (where Gowry had been lodged) he found a prophetic, That he should with too much love, fall into melancholy, have great power and rule, and die by the sword.

And thereafter his return home, he was extraordinary ambitious, proud and haughty. His answer shew'd no less unto Colonal Stuart, a man of high esteem, who humbly desiring, to be reconciled for acting as a minister of justice in apprehending his father; He scornfully answered, *Aquila non capit Muscas*.

Himself, too big in his own thoughts, to be comprehended with Court observance, retired to his familie, accompanied with such of his Creatures, that could descend to observe him, only his brother *Alexander* was designed to play the Courtier, to take off the suspicion, being of the Kings Bedchamber.

And although divers overtures were conceived between the Earl and *Robert Logain* of *Restalrig* which took not effect; But at last it was resolved in this manner.

The Earl sends his Brother *Alexander* from Saint *Johnstons* his house, to the King at *Faulkland*, to intice him thither with as much privacie as could be. And overnight the 4. day of August 1600. commands one of his servants, *Andrew Henderson*, to ride with his brother *Alexander*, and one *Andrew Ruthen*, to *Faulkland* to the Court the next morning by 7. a clock. The King putting his foot in the stirrop to hunt, *Alexander* tels him, That he had apprehended one lately come from beyond seas, with much gold coyn, and sundry suspicious letters to Popish Lords; advising his Majesty to receive the mony and letters, and to examine the person, being in safety with his Brother at Saint *Johnstons* (but 10. miles) and this to be done speedily and privately; which was concluded at Noon, whilst his train and attendants should be at dinner.

Alexander Immediately commands *Henderson* to speed to his Brother; finding him in his Chamber, where they had communication, and that the King would be there by Noon, and that the business took well with the King, for he clipt him about the neck; that he was accompanied with a slender Train, the Duke of Lenox, Sir Thomas Erskin, and about a dozen persons. Well saies the Earl, get on

Earl Gowry
retires home.

The manner
of the con-
spiracie.

4. of August.

Hendersons
Examination
and confessi-
on.

Anno
1600.

on your plate sleeves, for I must take an highland robber.

The King staying longer in his sport of hunting than was expected, the Earl at middle of dinner; Andrew Ruthen came in hast, and signified the King to be nerer at hand; presently after came Alexander and William Bloire, and withdrew themselves to consult, sending Henderson for the Earls Gantlet and steel Bonnet; at the instant the King comes in, is received by the Earl, and retires to dinner.

Alexander bids Henderson to fetch the keys of the Chambers from one William Rynde; and presently after Cranston requires Henderson to come to the Earl; who commanded him to attend his brother Alexander, and to doe what ere he bid him; which was, to be locked up within the round Chamber, and to stay in silence, till his return.

Neer the end of dinner, the King at his fruit, and the Lords and wayters gone to eat, Alexander beggs of his Majesty, in this opportunity to withdraw, and to dispatch the business. And up he leads Him through four or five roomes, locking each dore behind them, til they came into the round Chamber where Henderson stood armed. No sooner entered, but Alexander pulls out Hendersons dagger, held it to the Kings brest, claps on his Bonnet, and with stern countenance faces the King and saies, Now Sir you must know I had a father, whose blood calls for revenge, & you shall die, minting to the K. heart with the dagger.

Alexander
treats with
the King.

The King amazed, deals gently with his fury; excuses himself from the guilt of his death, by his then Infancie; advising him, not to lay violent hands on the sacred person of his Annoynted Sovereign; especially in a cause of his innocencie; pleading the lawes of God and Man; and his merits, by restoring your brother in blood and honors; by breeding your Sister the neerest in the Queens affection, and by his reception of his Bedchamber, withall promising pardon of all that is past. And which wrought so much upon Alexander for the present, that he leaves the King in custody of Henderson, until he returns from his brother, having taken oath of the King not to stir, nor cry out, and so locks them in.

Alexander gone, Henderson trembles, with reverence of his Sovereign, and craves pardon; the King works upon his passion, and asks him what he was? who answered, a servant of the Earls; and wilt thou kill me? he replied with an oath, himself would sooner die.

The King
takes to Hen-
derson.

Presently Alexander enters, with a Garter in his hand, and saies, Sir, there is no remedy, by God you must dye, and strives to bind him. Nay (saies the King) I was born free and will not be bound, and struggling together, Alexander got the Kings head under his arm, and his hand upon his mouth; which the King bit by the thumb, and dragging him to the window, bade

Alexander
stives with
the King.

Anno
1600.

The King
cries Treason.
John Ramsey
comes up;

and Sir Tho-
mas Erskin
follows.

Ramsay
wounds
Alexander.
Henderson
slips away.

Earl Gowry
comes up to
the fray.

Gowry asto-
nished,

is killed by
Ramsay.

Others hurt.

The Lords
and company
come in.
Gowries Spels
of Enchant-
ment.

Two other
brothers Wil-
liam and Pa-
trick beyond
seas.

1652.

Henderson open it. The King cried out into a back Court, where the Duke, the Earl of Mar, and others were, in pursute of him who was rumoured to be gone out the back way into the Park.

At the cry of *Treason*, and known to be the King, they hastened to the *Chamber* where he dined, but no entrance was found. The while, *John Ramsay* (formerly the Kings Page, and now Groom of the Bed-chamber) with *Sir Thomas Erskin* also, sought counter, to get up by the *Turn-Pike back-stairs*, directed thither by a Boy of the House, who saw *Alexander* ascend that way, and forcing one Door findes them panting. *Ramsay* casts off his Hawk from his fist, draws out his Fauchion, and wounds him deadly in the belly, (*being bid to strike low, for the King found him armed with a Male.*) And the instant, comes in *Sir Thomas Erskin*, *Doctor Herres*, and one *Wilson*, and by them was the body dispatcht, whilest *Henderson* slipt away.

When they soon suspected by the noise of unlocking Doors, that *Gowry* himself might assail them, advising the King to withdraw into the *Lobby*, they cast the Kings Coat upon the dead body.

The *Earl* enters by his double Keys with seven servants the fore-way, and his Case of *Rapiers*, his usual Weapon, ready drawn, to whom *Erskin* earnestly said, (to divert him from his purpose) *What do you mean my Lord? The King is killed*, and points to his brothers covered body, bleeding on the ground.

At which *Gowry* stops, sinking the points of his weapons; when suddenly *Herres* assails him with his rusty sword; *Ramsay* steps in and strikes him to the heart; not so soon, but that the *Earl* thrust him into the thigh, assisted by *Cranston*, who hurt *Erskin* and *Herres* in the hand, and they him through his body, who lived onely long enough to be hanged and quartered.

And forthwith came up all the *Lords*, the *Court*, and *Townsmen*. After thanks to God for this mercy, they surveyed *Gowries* body, which did not bleed, untill a Parchment was taken out of his bosom with Characters, and these Letters, which put together made *TETRAGRAMMATION*; having been told, *His Bloud should not spill, whilest he had that Spell*. Being thus deceived by the Devil, he thought he should not die, untill he had power and rule, which he had of the King, and so suffered by the Sword.

There remained in *Scotland* one younger son (two other brothers being fled) of that House, then a childe, and was from that time imprisoned by Act of Parliament, and so continued afterwards in the *Tower of London* untill this Kings death; and the grace of the late King *Charls* restored him to liberty, with a small Pension, which kept him like a Gentleman to these times, but now failing, he walks the streets poor, but well experienced in

in Chymical Physick, and in other parts of Learning, which he got, whilst he lost his liberty.

Not long after Herres well rewarded dies.

Ramsay hath the honour of *Knighthood*, with additional bearing of his Coat of Arms, *A Hand holding forth a Dagger, mounted proper, peircing a bloody Heart, the point crowned Imperial, with this Motto.*

Hæc dextra vindex Principis & Patriæ.

Not without increase of Wealth and Honour, to his Death.

Sir Thomas Erskin afterwards created Earl of Kelly, and by degrees Knight of the Garter, Captain of the Kings Guard, and Groom of the Stool.

Henderson had a large Pension confirmed by Act of Parliament, and died not long since.

The Commemoration hereof was advisedly settled by Act of Parliament, the Anniversary Feast-day of the fifth of August, solemnized to Gods glory, during this Kings life; and Narratives in print in Scotland and England of all these circumstances, which I have to produce; as also several Examinations taken at Falkland this year, viz. James Weyms of Bogye, William Rynde, and Andrew Henderson, the very man assigned to murder the King, whose Examination onely I thought good to insert.

Falkland, 20th August, 1600.

In presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Advocate, Controulers, Sir George Hewme, and Sir James Methold, viz. That the Earl Gowry, at St. Johnstons, appointed this Deponent Henderson over night to ride with his Brothers, Alexander and Andrew Ruthen to Falkland the next morn, who came all together thither at seven of the clock; Alexander presently spake with the King in private, as he gat on horse-back, and instantly commanded this Deponent to ride with all possible speed to the Earl, whom he found at St. Johnstons in his chamber at ten of the clock, and told him that the King would be there by noon. The Earl presently with-draws into his Cabinet, demands, How his Majesty took with his Brother? This Deponent said, Very well, for the King clapt him about the shoulder. The Earl asked if there were many with the King, and what special persons? He answered, The usual number, and the Duke of Lenox. And that within an hour after the Earl commanded this Deponent to put on his secret plate-sleeves, saying, He had an High-land man to take.

That about one a clock the Earl being at Dinner, Andrew Ruthen came from Alexander, and whispered to the Earl, and presently after came Alexander and William Bloir, and took the Earl

The Kings grace and preferment to all those Rescuers.

The Thank-giving day settled by Parliament.

Hendersons confession of the whole matter.

Testimony of the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews.

Anno
1600.

from his Dinner, and sent for his Gantlet and Steel-Bonnet, and then the King came in.

That Alexander bids this Deponent fetch the Keys of the chambers from William Reynd, and so both went up the stairs; but afterwards Thomas Cranston required this Deponent to come to the Earl, who commanded him to go up to Alexander, and immediately the Earl followed, bidding this Deponent do what ere Alexander bade him, who forthwith lockt him within the Round in the Chamber, telling him, *he must stay there till he returned*; who shortly after came with the King, and opening the Door, both of them entred, and instantly Alexander clapping on his Hat pulled out this Deponents Dagger, and held it to the Kings breast, saying, *Remember ye of my Fathers murther; You shall now die for it.* And minding to his Higness heart with the Dagger, this Deponent tript the same out of his hand, and believes, *that if Alexander had retained the Dagger, so long as one might go six steps, he had killed the King therewith.* But wanting the Dagger, the King gave him gentle language, excusing himself of Gowries death. Alexander says, *Well, if you keep quiet, nothing shall ail you, if you will do as my Brother will have of you.* The King asked, *What would you have?* He answered, *I will bring my Brother.* And having taken Oath of the King not to cry out, nor ope the Window till his return, he lockt them both together.

The King asked the Deponent *what he was?* who answered, *A Servant of my Lords.* The King said, *Will your Lord kill me?* The Deponent said, (with an Oath) *He shall die first.*

Alexander enters, and says, *Sir, there is no remedy, by God you must die.* And having a loose Garter, strove to binde the Kings hands, who said, *Nay, fall you not, I se die a free man.* And this Deponent pulled the Garter from him. Then Alexander clapt his hand upon the Kings mouth, to stop his crying, and held his head under his arm. But this Deponent pulled his hand from the Kings mouth, and opened the Window, and the King cried out thereat. Whereupon the Kings Servant came running in at the Gate, and the Deponent ran and opened the Turn-Pike head, whereat John Ramsey entred; and this Deponent saw him give Alexander the blow, and then this Deponent gat away.

It is remembred by the Archbishop of St. Andrews in his History, pag. 460. that he three days after, meeting Mr. William Cooper (who had been Tutor to Alexander) told him, that not many days before that Action, visiting the Earl at his own house, he found him reading a Book intituled *de conjurationibus adversus Principes*; shewing him, *That it was a Collection of the Conspiracies made against Princes, which (he said) were foolishly contrived by all of them, and faulty, either in one point or other; for he that goeth about such a business (said he) should not put any man on his counsel.*

But

Testimouy of
the Arch-bi-
of St. An-
drews.

But the Ministers refuse to give God thanks for the Kings delivery, excusing themselves, as not being acquainted with the particulars, nor how those things had fallen out. It was answered, *That the Kings escape was evident.* They replied, *that nothing ought to be delivered in the Pulpit but that whereof the truth was known, and that all spoken there should be in faith.* And so it was done onely by a narrative Relation of Bishop Ross, at the Market Cross, to the singular joy of the people.

And afterwards the King and Councel, with all the Nobility, solemnized the Deliverance with Thanksgiving and Prayer, with great satisfaction to the multitude, *Who (as Domitian said) seldom give credit to the Conspiracy, unless the Prince be slain.*

Those Ministers that refused, were silenced from Preaching, *under pain of Death;* and well they deserved it; untill afterwards, that they declared, *They were resolved of the truth of Gowries Conspiracy, and submit for their former fault.* And so were ordered to publish the same in sundry Churches. One of them had his reservation, *He would reverence the Report, but was not perswaded of the truth.* And therefore was banished into France.

The Bodies of the two Brothers were sentenced by the Parliament, hanged on a Gibbet, dismembred, and their Heads set upon the Prison-house; and then ordained the fifth day of August in all Ages to come should be solemnly kept for Publick Prayers.

The assasination of *Princes*, the more common, the more close, and as they were mightily performed on the persons of his Predecessors in Scotland, so not seldom practised on Queen Elizabeth in England, whilst she was increasing in years, but being declined through age, near her end, the Jesuit Catholick considered it to be lost labour upon her, then her death gave being to another Phoenix, as the onely Defender of the Faith.

Upon him therefore they intend the like, which being known unto Ferdinando Grand Duke of Tuscany, out of the singular fame of the Kings princely virtues, he sent to him an Express, an English Gentleman Sir Henry Wotton, a Traveller in Italy, with a Dispatch and Packet of Letters intercepted by the Duke, in them, a Design of certain men sent secretly to Scotland, to im-
poyson the King.

Wotton was well rewarded, and returned with many princely expressions of the Dukes timely intimation, and the Kings infinite obligation, and bad him say to the Duke, as from the King!

That to him, it was less considerable to die than to fear.

And whilst he was here 26. of February 1600. was born the Kings

Anno
1600.

The Ministers
refuse to give
God thanks
for the Kings
delivery.

They are si-
lenced.

The King
forewarned
out of Italy
of Poyson.

Anno
1600.

Prince Charles
born.

The Life and
Death of
John Cragg
Minister.

Kings third son (the second son *Robert* died young) and Christened *Charls*, at *Dunferling*, a sickly weak Infant, but recovered beyond expectation, and proved all his life exceeding healthy, and by his constitution might have lived a great age, had not untimely accidents bereaved us of him.

To give end to this year, we recommend to memory the *Life* and *Death* of Mr. *John Cragg*, he had been Minister to the King, (they will not stile themselves *Chaplains*) of good fame and scale of learning; without faction, (which I note, as a rarity in them) and therefore his reputation. His Parent kill'd at *Flouden-field*; his means no more than poverty affords, put him into extremities, to work out a livelihood.

To *England* first, an ordinary *Pedagogue*, to a private family; then he returns, and necessity enforcing, he becomes a *Dominican*, and imprisoned for four Tenents of Heresie, got out, and went back to *England*.

Then to *France*, and thence to *Rome*, where *Cardinal Pool* prefers him to instruct *Novices* of the *Cloister* in *Bononia*; and employed their *Envoy* in affairs through *Italy*, and in Commission to the *Isle Chios* in the *Ionick* sea, to redress disorders there.

Afterwards returning, he became *Rector*, and so access to the *Library* of the *Inquisition*, where he happened on *Calvins Institutions*, and by them, and the Instructions (his own Tale) of an old man in the Monastery, he was confirm'd a Profelyte to his *Discipline*, and not able to keep counsel, was carried to *Rome*, and by the *Inquisition* condemned to be burnt an *Heretick*.

That night *Pope Paul* the fourth dies, the people hating his person, in huge tumult, tumbled down his *Statue* of *Marble*, dragging it about the streets for three days, and then drowned it in *Tiber*, and increasing villany, and power, discharged the *Prisons*, and amongst the rest, *Cragg* gat loose, first into the *Suburbs*, and there falling into mean company, was known by a *Banditto*, whom he had relieved at *Bononia*, who gratefully assisted him with money for the journey thither, where finding friends to fail, he took his course to *Millan*.

Ere he got there, an accident befell him; (his own relation, and a Bishops record) for declining the common Road in fear of discovery, he fell into a Forrest, weary, out of the way, and want of food, brought him to rest under a Birch, and near a Brook; when in much amuze what to do, a Dog comes fawning with a Purse of money in his mouth, which he lays down in his lap, and whining, (as to invite him to rise and follow him) brought him not far off, to a poor Village, and into company, that conducted him to *Vienna* in *Austria*.

There he preaches before *Maximilian* the second; the fame of the man, and his good manners to boot, brought him a Preferment,

James the sixth King of Scotland.

233

Anno
1600.

ment, when by Letters from *Pope Pius* the third he was demanded to *Rome*, as a condemned *Heretick*, but was dimitted to shift for himself, under conduct, from the *Popes* reach.

Through *Germany* he journeys homewards to *England*, where he was informed of the *Scots Reformation*, and so comes home an effectual *Convert*; and instantly was made a *Minister*. Disuse of his native speech (four and twenty years) made him trip with his tongue; but being understood by the learned, in his *Latine*, and not long after speaking *Scotch*, he steps into the Ministry at *Holyrood-house*, and so in several years to seven sundry places; he came at last to serve the King his Household *Chaplain*; full of age, even eighty eight; he ended his days the last of *December*, (for so of late they end their year.)

We left the Earl of *Essex* designed against the Rebels of *Ireland*, where soon he learned to practice *Treason* at home. His story is thus.

Essex his
Treason,

This *Earl* was eldest son to *Walter Devereux* (of a *Norman* family) Viscount *Hereford* and *Bouchier*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and by *Queen Elizabeth* created Earl of *Essex* and *Ewe*, Anno 1572. and Knight of the *Garret*; and was sent into *Ireland*, Lord *Marshall*, against the *Rebells*; and as if but sent of an *Errand*, he presently falls sick and dies at *Dublin*, 1576. His body brought over and entombed at *Carmarthen* in *Wales*.

His descent.

This *Robert* succeeded his fathers honour, and was looked upon in Court by all with pity, through the sacrifice of his father, but by the *Queen* with more affection; whom she advanced (his fortunes low) with many gifts of grace and bounty. At his Arraignment, accounted by the Lord *Treasurer Buckhurst*, to be twenty thousand pounds in pure gift, besides the fees of his Offices, and the dispose of the *Treasure* of the *Army*.

Heir to his
Father.

His entrance into Court was let in by the Earl of *Leicester* his supporter, though he never neither lived nor died by his discipline, who though he deserved it, was yet a better *Master of Art*, than to die by the *Axe*.

His entrance
into Court by
the Earl of
Leicester.

He called him to Court from his House near *Carmarthen*, settled there to his book, in contemplation belike of his fathers fate, who had spent all, and died when fortune turned him up *Trump*. *Leicester* did this upon design, not by affection, (the honest mans principle) for having let in Sir *Walter Raleigh* a little before, he soon neglected his *Patron*, and set up for himself. *Essex* came in to allay him.

And Anno 1585. receives Knighthood, in 1588. the *Garret*, in 89. command in chief in an *Expedition* into *Portugal*, which was his forwardest piece of service. In 95. sworn Counsellour of State. The next year sent with a Navy to the *Spanish* Island *Cadiz*, his most fortunate; and therefore presently after made Lord

His great pre-
ferments.

Anno
1600.

His contemporaries
Sir Ch. Blunt
and General
Norris.

Essex goes in-
to Ireland,

and lands at
Dublin.

His Messen-
gers & Treas-
ons with
Tyrone.

Lord Marshall of England. In 97. he commanded in another Fleet to the Islands *Tercera*, which was his best; and this last into *Ireland*, his worst, being the Sepulcher of his Father (as we have said) and the *Gulf* of this Lords fortune.

So that in twelve years he had no rest from additions of Honours or profit, which he supposed his own *Metall*, but indeed it was the Queens *Mint*.

His Contemporaries who stood in competition with him, were Sir *Charls Blunt*, after Earl of *Devonshire*, who succeeded him in *Ireland*, and General *Norris*, both his near Friends, and yet whom he envied, the last to his ruine.

But after the destruction of *Norris*, he takes upon him the Expedition into *Ireland*, the place of exercise for the best of the *Militia*; and who durst oppose him? Though *Blunt* stood in favour, whom she foretold, should discharge the cares of *Ireland*, as he did, though after her death, in this Kings time, where we shall remember him hereafter.

This *Blunt* was a gallant Gentleman, and learned, with whom *Essex* must needs challenge the *Duel*, for wearing of the Queens favour, for his success in a Tilting, and ran him also through the arm.

But *Essex* got the Employment from all, and over he goes Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of all the Forces there, with Commission, strickt enough to imbound his popularity with the Souldiery, and his own family, which followed him in Troops; indeed the flickering of his friends (like so many *Vice-kings*) foretold his Funeral. (*That Town is easily undermined, whose foundation is hollow.*) Besides, he left not a Friend behinde him, being fain to disperse his own *Apology*, for some airy objections, which it seems he durst not leave unsatisfied, having never a Friend to do it for him; *either of them a weak way to manage a mans fame, and does but multiply the discourse, which a wise man should shun.*

And being landed there 1599. not long after he received the Sword as Deputy and General; He declines his intended Northern journey, and engaged a fruitless Expedition into *Munster*, not so counseled there, nor commanded here, nor so much as advertised home, from him.

By which tedious Marches, his Army harazed and tired out, four Moneths of Summer spent, three parts of the Forces wasted, he plots a *Peace* with the Arch Rebell *Tyrone*.

He imployes one *Lee*, a man familiar with *Tyrone*, and one that (immediatly upon *Essex* his Rebellion after at *London*) attempted violence on the Queen, confessed his Design, for which he was hanged.

Blunt Marshall of the Army had order to licence *Lee* to treat with *Tyrone* at pleasure, as also *Lee*'s Messenger, one *Knowd*, who brings

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

235

Anno.

1600

brings word from *Tyrone*, That if *Essex* would follow *Tyrone's* plot, he would make the Earl the best man of England, desiring conference with *Essex* herein, and *Tyrone's* eldest son offered for Pledge.

This Message was delivered by *Knowd*, to *Lee*, and by him to *Essex*. And though my Lord was charged herewith afterwards, by my Lord Keeper in England, his Lordship flatly denied it, till all their confessions condemned him, and pretended their justification by general pardon from *Essex* in Ireland for all Treasons.

And accordingly, (to shadow the odious overture, and to agree with so arch a Rebel,) under colour of a Treaty, he designs an Interview with *Tyrone* alone; no third person admitted, and a guard of Horse kept all men off from hearing.

Considering the former Message by *Knowd*, what construction can this secrecie produce, but great surmize of the height of Treason? and yet (though *Essex* was not arraigned for his Irish actions, his latter in London sufficient,) let me relate what is testified in pursuance of this, in the designs of *Essex*.

On *Tyrone's* part it fell out, That the very day that *Essex* returned to the Queen, *Tyrone* told Sir *William Warren* at *Armagh*, That within two or three Moneths he should see the greatest and strangest alteration that could be imagined, and that himself hoped to have a large share in England. And unto *Bremingham* he said, That he had promised ere long, to shew his face in England, little to the publick good thereof.

Thomas Wood confesses, That the Lord *Fitzmorris* in *Munster*, about the same time told him, That *Tyrone* had written to the Earl of *Desmond* (so called) that the contract was, That *Essex* should be King of England, *Tyrone* Viceroy of Ireland, and should assist him in England with 8000 Souldiers.

With which agrees, the answer of *Tyrone*, to *Mac Rories* letter, That *Essex* had agreed to side with *Tyrone*, and so be ayded by them all towards the Conquest of England.

The general opinion and discourse of the Rebels, That *Essex* was theirs, and they his, and that he would never relinquish the sword of Ireland, till he was Master of that in England.

Tyrone after the parley, grew proud and secure, into strange progresses, visitations, homages of his confederates, as of a new spirit and courage.

Essex, presently thereupon, having retired thoughts, became melancholly, as of doubtfull ambition, and secretly imparts himself only to the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Christopher Blunt*.

Resolving to go into England, with 2. or 3000. choice of the

Warrens confession.

Woods confession

Resolves how to return into England.

Anno
1600.

And lands
with a 100.
Gentlemen.
September.

The Queen
offended.

He is com-
mitted,

And censu-
red.

the Army to make good his landing at Milford Haven; so gather power, march to London, and make his own conditions.

They diswade him, from the hazard, and odiousness of the design, but rather, to draw out 200. of the most resolute, to make sure of the Court, and so to follow the effect.

And accordingly over he comes; his Company in a muze of his intents, he publisht his pretext to them, by the efficacie of his presence, to draw the Queen to confirm his Articles with Tyrone.

But in great choler as to dispute, or Revenge, and without leave from England, He leaves his command to a Lieutenant, and lands with 100. Gentlemen his best confidents, hastens to Court ere it was known to any, but to his dear Uncle Sir William Knowles, Controulor of the Queens Household, to whom he writes.

Dear Uncle, Receiving your last at my entring on shipboard, I return you this accompt at my landing, being resolved with all speed (and our silence) to appear in the face of my Enemies, not trusting a farr off to my own Innocencie, or to the Queens favour, with whom they have got so much power.

At sight of him with amaze, the Queen swore, Gods death my Lord, what do you here; your presence hatefull, without Tyrones head? But he, falling more to a dispute, than any excuse, she, in disdain to be taught, but what she pleased to do, bid him be gone, his boots stunk.

So was he, commanded to his Chamber at Court, for some daies; thence to the Lord Keeper, til neer Easter after; then to his own house, under custody of Sir Richard Barckley, til the end of Trinity Term; so by degrees of restraint, to win him to repentance, the Queen said, that he was young enough to amend, and make amends for all.

Yet to repress seditious libels, dispersed in his Justification, and to observe a form of justice, ere she gave him libertie, There were associates unto her privy Council, some chosen persons of the Nobility, and judges of the Law, to examine his breaking of his instructions in Ireland, his treating with Tyrone, and leaving his Government, coming over without leave, nay expressly, contrary to his command under her hand & signet.

With limitation, not to be charged with disloyalty, nor to be questioned publickly in Starr Chamber, which upon his most penitent letter he desired to be spared, and to be heard at the Lord Keepers house.

The sentence was then no more, than suspension from some of his Places; for he called God to witness, He made an utter divorce with the world, and desired favour, only for a preparative for his Nunc Dimittis, the tears of his heart having quenched in him

him, all humors of ambition.

Upon which, in few daies his Keeper *Barckly* was taken from him, with this admonition, That *he was not altogether discharged, though left to the guard of his own discretion.*

He had taken into his service as chief Secretary in *Ireland* and long before, one *Henry Cuff*; base by birth, a great Scholar, of a turbulent and mutinous spirit. This fellow, a *Moneth* after his Lords liberty, practised with Sir *Henry Nevil* lately Lieger Ambassadour with the *French King*, and now newly come from *Bullen*, Insinuating as a secret, That the breach of the treaty of *Bullen*, was like to light upon him.

Consults of
Treason with
Cuff his Secretary.

By *Cuff* it was first concluded, that ancient principle of Conspiracie, To prepare many, and trust but to few; and after the manner of Mines to make ready the powder, place it firm, and then give fire in the instant.

The first of Nobility was *Wriothesly* Earl of *Southampton*, and some others of quality, and with Profane policie to serve their turns with both factions, *Papist* and *Puritan*; *Essex*, his outside to these professing Hypocriticall zeal and frequent Sermons; To the other, as to *Blunt* and *Davis*, his inmost secrecies for Tolleration of Religion. And thus he spent *Michaelmas* Term.

Blunt and
Davis confession.

Towards *Christmas* there passed a watch-word amongst his associates, That he intended to stand upon his guard; a double sence, as of circumspection, or force. But in truth, not to be cooped up, with restraint,

The time of execution, was *Hilary* Term, when by invitation, or business, the Town would fill with his friends. But in *Candlemas* Term, they fell to consult at *Drury House*, where Sir *Charls Davers* lodged; a man obliged unto him, for his pardon about the Murther of one *Long*. Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governour of *Plymouth*, sent for by his letter, not to fail before the second of *February*. Sir *Fohn Davis*, Surveyor of the Ordinance, his former servant; And *Fohn Littleton*, a man of wit and valour.

Blunts confession.

Their consultation rest upon three parts { The perusal of a List of confederates.
How to act.
Distribution of each mans action.

Their plot

The List was 106. Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen, of *Essex* own hand writing.

The action, was in two Articles, { Possessing the Tower,
Surprizing the Q. & Court.

In which was deliberated, what course to hold with the City towards

Anno

1600.

For the Tow-

er

For the

Court

For the

Court

And for the
CityNevils con-
fessions

towards effecting the surprize, or after.

The Tower would give reputation and security to the Action, by means of *Davis*; but most of the rest were jealous, that whilst they built upon two foundations, one must fail, and distract the other; therefore the more certain, To surprize the Queen, *the rest would follow*.

The manner thus; Certain select persons well known at Court, for access, should distribute themselves into the Present, Guard-Chamber, Hall, and utter Court and Gate. And in each of these places, one principal person, to guide the assistants.

Their distribution; Sir *John Davers*, to the Presence and Guard-Chamber, to seize the *Halberds* of the Guard; *Davis* to the Hall; *Blunt* to the Gate. These in readiness; by a signall, *Essex* should remove from his house, and well attended, or to meet him, should with correspondence of the letters and some tumult and confusion, effect their design.

Thus the plot-form; the second act to their Tragedy, that *Essex* should prostrate himself at the Queens feet, desire removal of evil Counselors, who possessed her Majesty and State; Then, to summon a Parliament, alter Government, and confirm conditions to themselves.

In this consult, *Essex* inclined most for possessing *London*, as a surer ground to that of the Court also. Being wedded to his false overweening opinion, of the people and Citizens, and their number. Suspecting belike the instinct loyalty of many of his Train, when the fury should be over, and he perhaps left in the lurch, with the fewest of his friends. The true Nature of usurping Rebels, to trust more to the main of Multitude, than of qualitie; especially *Essex*, who had gotten (I know not how, nor by what merit) the specious Mark of a Patriot; proper to infuse, and mint jealousies, into the heads of the more unworthy, and less prudent, and these he could easily stir up by Emissaries, who lye at watch to *boutefeu* it, and inflame mens minds, to disperse abroad unshrowded sparks of discord, and that way to convert a Kingdom into a flame.

But this Counsel was afterwards refined by *Essex*, *Cusse*, and *Blunt*: To assemble a Troop to come sodainly from the *Mews* in scattered Numbers, and unite in a moment at the Court Gate.

And as good Common-wealths men, lest their new contrivements should want Ministers, they would supply in a readiness of their own for Counselors, and Servants to the Queen, in place of such evil ones (the beaten path of Traytors) as they thought fit to remove; which should be their plausible pretext to their own practices, and a general ground, to the common people.

The

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

239

Anno.

1600

The day drawing nigh (but not assigned, being left to my Lord) the Curse of the Psalmist interposed, *like the untimely fruit of the woman, brought forth before it came to perfection.*

For many that knew of the plot, diligent, with too much resort at *Essex* house, brought forth mutterings of somewhat, which states soon discover. The afternoon 7. *February* before the next day of Rebellion, was sent to *Essex* house Secretary *Herbert*, to summon him before the Council, sitting at *Salisbury* Court, at the Lord Treasurer *Buckhursts*, which he excused not to do, under colour of being ill.

The day of
Preparation
February 7.

And suspecting the discovery of his Trains, and doubting delays, resolved upon his enterprize the next day, Sunday. But then, upon advertizement of doubling the Court Guards, and allarum there, he determined on his former conceipt, of being the peoples darling, and the Minion of London, upon confidence of Sir *Thomas Smith* the City Sheriff. Giving out that Evening, that he was sent for to Counsel, to be betrayde by an Ambuscado of Musketeers, upon the water, by the devise of the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to murder him by the way.

He is sent for
to the Council.

This mean design, the best he had, took fire like a squib; the Messages and warning, to his chief confidents all that night, and next morning. And his servant *Temple* took up his Tale and told it to the City. And to colour it the more, watch and ward was up all night, to open his gates to all comers in, so that the morning hastens *Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, *Southampton*, Lord *Sands*, Sir *Henry Parker* (called Lord *Mounteagle*,) with some Number of Knights and Gentlemen, and being Sunday, it gave occasion to others, to come to his Sermon, whom he carressed with his Cap in his hand, telling them his former tale.

Earl Rut-
lands confes-
sion.

But to his more confidents, *That he was sure of the City, and that strength, which the Queen could not oppose, nor his Enemies withstand his revenge.*

Alwaies, with this caution, to his Gate-Keepers, to suffer none to return out, to tel News.

Sunday at 10. a clock the Queen had intelligence, and yet was willing to cast water on this fire, ere it should flame to a Rebellion; her authority, before her force; she sent the Lord Keeper, Earl of *Worcester*, the Controulour of hir Household, the Lord chief Justice, who finding the Gates shut, after some stay, were let in by the wicket, but all their servants kept out, except the bearer of the Seal, the Court full of Company with *Essex* and his Lords, to whom the Lord Keeper said, *That the Queen sent them to understand the reason of their Assembly, that if they had cause of griefs against any persons whatsoever, they should have hearing and justice.*

The day of
rebellion.

Council sent
to Essex house.

Essex

Anno
1600.

Essex preten-
ces.

And South-
hamptons.

The multi-
tude clamour.

Secures the
Counsel, and
goes into the
City.

Earl Rutlands
confession

Proclaimed
Traytor

Earl Rutlands
Confession.

Forces oppose
Essex.

Essex told them aloud, *That his life was sought, to be murthered in his bed, and had been perfidiously dealt withall.*

The Chief Justice answered, *If any such matter were attempted or intended, it were fit for him to declare it, and to be assured of their faithfull relation, and so He should not fail of her Majesties Princely Indifferency, and Justice.*

Southampton objected, *the assault upon him by the Lord Gray, to which the Chief Justice said, that justice had been done, and the party in prison.*

The Keeper required Essex to impart his griefs, *if not openly, yet privately, and promised satisfaction.*

Upon this, arose a high clamour of the multitude, *Away my Lord, they abuse you, they destroy you, they undoe you, you lose time.*

The Lord Keeper putting on his hat, commanded them all upon their Allegiance to lay down their weapons and depart, When Essex and all the rest clapt on their Caps, and going into the House, the Lords followed him, as to have private conference, and fearing the Multitude, who cryed out kill them, *shop them up, keep them pledges, cast the great seal out at window.*

And accordingly, he gave them in custody, principally to Sir John Davis, and one Owen Salisbury, a seditious notorious robber; guarding them with Muskets, fired, and cockt; and left the charge of his house to Sir Gilly Merrick, bidding the Lord Keeper to have patience whilst he would take order with the Maior and Sheriffs for the City, and be with them again within an hour.

So goes forth with his Number 200. men, entered Ludgate, and with a fearfull, timorous, discomposed tale repeated, *That he should have been murthered; and so passing through Cheap-side unto Sir Thomas Smiths house in Philpot-lane who was at Church; where he shifts into a dry shirt; the passion of fear firing him into a hot sweat.* The people flocking and gazing as he went. To whom he said; *they did him hurt and no good, without weapons.*

The Queen and Court, somewhat frightened, commanded the City to be in readiness, but to keep within doors.

The Lord Burghley with Garter King of Heraulds proclaimed him Traytor in the principal parts of London, which was done with expedition and resolution, though with loss of some of his Train, and hurt of many.

Clifford Earl of Cumberland, with Sir Thomas Gerrard Knight Marshal, rode up and down proclaiming them Traytors. And so, divers withdrawing, he altered his former pretext, and said, *That Kingdom should have been sold to the Infanta.*

Then making stay in Grace-street, and dismaid at the tidings that forces

Anno

1600.

forces were approaching under conduct of the Lord Admiral Lieutenant for the Queen, resolved to return by water, and make good his own person by the pledges of the Lords, which a good fellow over-hearing, and not well assured of his part there, being as deep in the design as death, hasted before by land, told Davis and Merick, that by any means they should release the Council, and so got his own pardon, and this was Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

But Essex ignorant as yet, goes on by land to Ludgate, there at the West end of Pauls, he was resisted by the forces of the Bishop of London, commanded by Sir John Luson. At which Incounter Blunt was wounded, young Tracie slain, and others, on his part. Wyat slain, and some hurt on the Queens part.

Encounter at
the west end
of Pauls, some
slain.

But upon this small repulse, He slips from his Train, turns down to Queen-hith, and by a pair of oares, was received into his Water-gate at home, which he fortified and baricadoed. And as instantly was he besieged on land, by the Earls of Cumberland, and Lincoln, Lords Thomas Howard, Gray, Burghly, and Compton Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Thomas Gerrard.

He returns
home by wa-
ter and is be-
sieged by
land and by
water.

And by water; by the Lord Admiral, the Lord Esfingham, Lord Cobham, Sir John Stanhop, Sir Robert Sidney, and Master Poulk Grevil, and this way, forcing the walls, wonne the Garden; And being offered parly, and time to remove his Countess and Sister Rich, with other Gentlewomen, before they would storm the House.

But Essex, with his Lords upon the Leads, would not capitulate, but intreat.

Submits the
same day.

That they might be used Civilly.

To have an honourable Tryal.

To have Ashton his Preacher with him in Prison.

And so by ten a clock at night, they submitted themselves Prisoners to the Tower.

This monstrous Treason, of this mighty man, thus weakly managed, was began and ended in twelve hours, and the next day as calm, as if no Motion or Billowes had been before.

For which he, and Southampton, eleven dayes after were arraigned and condemned, this one had his reprieve, but Essex the reward of his merits, and executed the 25. February, upon the Inner Hill in the Tower.

Essex execu-
ted.

Southampton
reprieved

Several dayes before Sir Charles Blunt suffered by the Axe, and Cuff by the halter.

Essex before his, and at several times (so not surprized) betrayed most of his confederates, and discovered Sir Henry Nevil, late Ambassadour in France, as privie to all his conspiracies, of whom til then there had been no suspicion, which was construed in him an Act more of temerity and hope of pardon, than

Anno

1600.

than in Grace, and good Conscience of a Repentant Offender.

And this being his Tragedy. It is no wonder though our Adversarie Authors, the one, *The History of Great Britain*, the other, *The Court and Character of King James*, should so slightly pass over his Treasons.

With them we shall have some dispute, as we meet them Contemporaries in our farther proceedings, in the second Part. Let me add the Opinion, that a writer had of *Essex*, and published in these verses.

*Quod Regina, scelus; scelus est, quod Virgo petatur;
quod pia Virgo, scelus; quod tibi grata scelus;
Cum Virgo, Regina, Pia, et tibi grata, petatur,
Proh scelus! et superat quod scelus omne scelus.*

*It's Treason, that a Queen should ruin'd be;
That a Maid, ill;
That she was Good; yet worse; that good to Thee,
More wicked still.*

*But when a Queen, a Maid, Good, and thy Friend,
Thou wouldst dispatch,
The Treason, that thy black heart doth intend,
Dares Hell to match.*

England thus long sick of the disease of *Irish* affairs, the expence whereof had brought the State into a Consumption, which put the Queen to seek money of her Subjects, besides her way of sweetning them with good words. *Tyrone* grew so Insolent, as to act Sovereignty, where ere he came, disposing Honours, Estates, Privileges, Freedomes. And therefore *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*, is sent over Deputy; and though others as fit as the former, the Queen (who seldome chose amiss) pickt out him to command, for his readiness to obey; a fault in *Essex*, proud, and stubborn, uncounsellable, and unconstant.

The Rebels put him to it, salute him by Allarm, in the very *Suburbs of Dublin*, which the Deputy with his selected *Veteranes* meant to requite soon after, in a Massy-body, and fight him, which the Enemy sought for, and had been worsted, of which some underhand Counsellors at the Queens elbow warn'd him to prevent, by turning a side. But with several light *Brigadoes* he was so hotly pursued, as put him to his holes again.

Sir Warham Saint-Leger, meets *Mac-guire*, (a graceless wretch) and with their Launces full Career run each other thorough, and dye.

Romes friendship to those Rebels, much encouraged by his Indulgence

Blunt sent
Deputy of
Ireland

Tyrone had
friends in the
English
Court

The Popes
pardon to the
Rebells.

Anno
1601.

Indulgence, (the aboundance of the Churches Treasure) was pleased to spare them pardon of their sinnes, for the good service of shedding so much blood of their Sovereigns Subjects; and for fighting in the faith of his beloved sonne Hugh Prince, O-neal, and Earl of Ter-Oen, Captain General of the Catholick forces in Ireland; Whom His Holiness accompanies with all his spirritual graces, and those that follow him, or favour him, (by pains, counsel, arms, provision, or any other means) a plenary pardon of all their sinnes; the very same pardon (sayes he) that was wont to be granted to those that warre against the Turk, or for the Holy land.

However the deputy sends Docwray into Ulster Garrisons; himself with 4000. foot, and 300. horse, put the Enemy to his lurking, & with new supplies in August out of England, he breaks through many difficulties, into Ulster: Erects Mont-Norris fort in memory of that gallant John Lord Norris, under whom he first exercised arms. Docwray likewise, being assaulted by Ter-Oen with treacherie, perjurie, and cunning deceit, and wounded; yet gets out of all dangers, and takes Dunalong, a lesser Castle. On the other side the Deputy in winter, forces several Rebels to Obedience; passes victoriously (in compass,) so farr as Ulster in his first years Regency.

George Carew no less fortunate in Munster; The Southern parts, burthened by the Titular Earl Desmond (of Ter-Oens making) he surprizes; but was again rescued; Takes seven Castles; drives him out of that province; reduces many Rebels to obedience, quiets the County, and comes home at Christmasts; And this was done there.

In England they consult for peace with Spain; being invited by the Arch-Duke Albert, lately returned to Bruxell with his Bride the Infanta. And inclusive, he knew the better how to condition with the Dutch, to save charges of his warre there, convey home safe his Indies Fleets, & so at last grow infinite rich.

By which, the English would neglect their navylodg in peace; lazy and wealthy; discontinue warre, the easier hereafter to be soon invaded.

The Queen old, and weary of warre, very willing to make peace within her self, and outward, with all the world, leaves the motion to the French Kings managing, for time and place of meeting; He appoints May, the time; and Boulen the place.

For the Queen, came Henry Nevil her Lieger there, her new Secretary Herbert; Beal, Secretary in the North; and Edmonds her French Secretary.

For Spain, came Don Balthasar domine de Zuniga Fonseca (the prolixity of whose Name, strecht out like a Cable (sayes little Nevil) is longer than I am) his Lieger in the low Countries; Ferdinando Corel a Counciller of Castile. And for Albert, came Ricardot, and Verskenie.

George Carew's service

Spanish designs.

Treat with English commissioners at Bulloine.

Anno
1601.

The Arch-
Dukes forces.

The *Arch-Dukes* army had 25. hundred horse, and 15000. foot, divided also as the other, into three *Brigades*.

Before the Armies should meet the *Dutch* conclude the siege of *Newport*; (the States taking leave and go to *Ostend*;) and got to the *Downs* by the *Sea-side* & so to *Newport*; where in three daies they had taken Fort *Albert*; encamped and quartered, raising a stone bridge over the *Haven*, for the Carriages to pass.

The *Arch-Duke* hastens his Marches, & came neer the Fort *Albert* with some horse and foot, which the Prince supposes but a *Bravado*, and meant to retire.

Sir *Francis Vere* was of opinion that it was the gross body; and therefore advised to meet them, before their forts should fall into their hands; And whilst these disputes, The *Spaniards* Cannon was come, and the Fort yielded to him; and as in a trice, had seized the Bridges & was entered on the *Downs*. But by the way, met with some forces sent by the *Prince*, to hinder his free passage, who were encountered, fought bravely, though against a puissant army, till they were too weak and fled, the fate falling upon the *Scotish* forces about 800. eleven Captains, besides other Officers. The hasty News gave heart to the *Arch-Duke*, to write to *Burges* that he had vanquished the *Princes* Van, and ingaged his whole Army, which made them Triumph, and the States at *Ostend* to tremble.

The *Arch-Duke* thus incouraged, Marches in hast to *Newport*; The *Prince*, presuming that the late defeat must needs frighten his Army, forthwith sends away their shipping to *Ostend* and fords over the *Haven*, and lodges between the *Spanish* and the *Sea*, so to fight, or dye. The rest of the Army of foot, passed over the next day at *Ebbe*, being the turn of Sir *Francis Vere* to have the Van, where he found the *Arch-Duke* with all his Army in Battalia, who apprehending, that these forces were the whole Army, come over, otherwise it had been easy for him to have prevented the *Princes* fording the rest. And besides, the dust of the sand-hills drove upon the *Spanish*, that blinded their sight, who were forced to halt, until all were got over.

Vere with the Troops of the Van, leaving the foot, ranged into Order, behind the sand-hills, hastens not to ingage with the Enemy, as yet, but only to chose the place, to attend for them, being all the advantage was left. And so got to a hollow bottome between the Hills and *Downs*, which they might make use of, and stop the *Spaniards* way, by the *Sea-shore*, also. And so draws out 1000. men, whereof 300. *English*, and 50. of the *Princes* guard were lodg'd on the top of an Hill, steepy and sandy, and so hollow, that they were covered from the

Anno
1601.

the other Hills, and might shoot as from a Bulwark. And the like order upon two other Hills with 700. men more, the rest of the *English*; so that this *avant-guard* took up the third part of the downs.

The Prince comes to *Vere*, and consult, whether to advance upon the Enemy, or to stay his coming: Most voices (as in honour to advance) conceived it would rather daunt them, and prevent their fortifying upon their Princes passages to *Ostend*, and so stop their victuals, and cut off any retreat thither.

Vere was of the contrary opinion. That the *Arch-Duke* gathered his Army in hast, and brought thither, where they intended not to make a seat of warr, unprovided and without any Magazine of victuals, and so no fear to starve the Prince who had the sea open. And according to his Counsel here they stayed.

The Prince returns, places his horse next the sea, six pieces of Cannon advanced and planted in the head of the *Avant-guard* with advantage of wind and sun, some ships of warr waved so neer as to gall the *Spanish Battalions* upon the sand.

The *Arch-Duke* had been hurried out, and tired, his men with a nights March and all that day; and his adversaries moving he rested a holt, for some time, and staying till half flood, that the *Dutch* might have less land for their horse, He marches, and before him some light Horse-men to discover; One of them suffering himself to be taken, and tels *Vere* (what he knew) that some *Dutch* forces had been routed, brags of their Number, valour, and resolution speedily to give battle.

And so they did; their Horsemen come in the head of their Divisions, a competent distance, who marching neerer, *Vere* discharges his Cannon, scatters their Troops in disorder, and fly. The *Spanish* foot come on & discharge their Ordnance roundly and did much hurt, which drew them on into the Downs, where *Vere's* horse stood, & a fit place upon a Hill for two demy Cannons to be planted, and himself on the Top of another which commanded all, from whence he gave his Orders.

Thither comes the *Spaniards* with 500. pikes, without Ensign or order, labour to enter upon *Vere's* Hill, who was forced to succour himself with more shot, and gawled them.

Their horse likewise, Marching between the Hills, were sore put to it by the two Demy Cannons, gawling them upon the first profer of a charge; with the advantage also of the Princes horse encountring, put them to a disorderly retreat.

The Battail begins, the Ordnance on all sides, increasing the Fight, with diverse charges; *Vere* beats two Regiments of *Spaniards* to a retreat, which incenseth the rest to advance their

Battel

Battel.

Anno
1601.

Battel and Rear, so does the *Prince* the like, and at the first Charge came to handy blows, the *French* against the *Spaniards* and *Italians*; and not long after a second Charge also, and retired.

The *Prince* sees this, and once more commands *Solms* with the *French* to fall on, assisted with the *Walloons* Regiments called the new *Geux*, and fought bravely against *Burlette* and *Bucquoy*, the Enemies *Rere*.

The *Princes Rere* come in with five Regiments, and a lasting fight of three hours was doubtfully performed: the *Arch Dukes* side declining, had their Horse driven almost to *Newport*; but then, their Foot did the like, against the *Orange* party on the *Downs*, to the hazard of their *Ordnance*.

This while, *Vere*, with the *Van*, and his shadowing Hills, had advantage thereby, to gall his Adversaries, who retire to their *Gross*, from whence disbands five hundred *Spaniards* more, and fall upon the Assailants, forcing them back to *Vere*, who not used to give ground, beats the *Spaniard* home again; whilst their Battel of Foot are come up to the *Gross* of their *Van*, under good covert, and by fresh men force *Vere's* men from his Grounds of Advantage, which he sometime lost and won again, with loss of men, his Design being to beat upon his Adversaries gross body, and to engage them till the *Orange* other Troops might advance, which did and retreat, and were pursued; by which occasion the *Arch Dukes* Horse were got out of the Foot-mens reach; an over-sight in fight; for in Battel the success of Foot depend most on the Horse.

But the fight increased on all sides, the *English* on *Vere's* side pell mell with the *Spaniard*, and seeing their *Gross* disband by degrees, sends to the *Prince* to second him, with some Horse; lest his Enemy grow too strong upon him, and so increased, that he was forced to descend and encourage them in the *Downs*; who were driven from their good Ground to Disadvantages. And at his very Approach had two Bullets through his Leg and Thigh, which he dissembled from his Surgeon, knowing, that his presence must encourage his Troops near foiling; for in all this time, the *Prince* sends no Relief, being put hard to it in the *Battell*. *Vere* gave Ground, and retires to his *Canon*, when his own Horse being shot, fell dead upon him; and his hurts affording him no help of assistance being alone, there he lay, till by good hap Sir *Robert Drewry* and Sir *John Ogle* drew him from under his Horse; and being set up behinde one, he escaped the Enemy at his heels, his hurts bleeding much at four holes, he was forced to fall off for that present.

His Brother Sir *Horace*, he found at the two *Canons*, having gathered some three hundred retreat Foot, and there staid the Enemy

Anno
1600.

my, who came up to the very handing the *Ordnance*, which fired on them, with a Train also of some Barrels hid in the sand, and made wondrous Execution.

And not till now comes Succour, two *Cornets* of *English* from the *Prince*, which encourages Sir *Horace*, and bold necessity to boot, beat the *Spaniard* back again; by the way, some others fell on also, and followed them to Execution.

The *Arch Dukes Phalanges* and *Battalions* startle, and rowse up, rather for defence, than revenge: and now *Orange* findes his Friends have fresh courage, by the tottering effects of fight, caused his whole *Battell* to advance; both meet, and joyn pell mell, Horse to Horse, Foot to Foot, till the fate of fight forced the *Arch Duke* to turn faces and fly, and were followed to Execution as far as the *Morish Dam*.

The *English* having the Chace, took *Don Jasper Sampen*, *Don de Villars Maestro del Campo*, and the *Arch Duke* escaped hardly, for his Horse-bit was held by a Souldier, and he spurred on and got off; losing in this *Battell* the most of his chief Officers: the Prisoners were *Don Francisco de Mendoza* Lieutenant General, a Count of *Solms* on his side, *Don Lewis de Arville*, *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, Doctor *Anarea* the *Arch Dukes* Phyfician, *Don Jaspas Marogan*, and five and thirty Horse and Foot Captains, three hundred and ten more men of note, eight Pieces of Cannon, most of the Ammunition, Baggage, and Furniture, the *Arch Dukes* own Tent, Cabinet, Plate, Seals of Arms, one hundred and six Colours, five thousand slain on the place, besides hundreds of others out-lying, in fight; the loss fell most upon the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, who fought bravely, and bore all their brunt, taking too much heart upon their morning success.

On the *Orange* part were slain two thousand and five hundred, most *English*, who were put to it against the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, in several brave Charges, and so lost six *English* Captains, *Yorkley*, *Hunniwood*, *Tyrrill*, *Duxborow*, *Priton*, *Woodward*, and most of the Officers slain or hurt. The *Spaniards* complained of their own Horse which jaded and should have succoured their Foot that fought bravely, and commended the *Dutch's* order in marshalling their men into severall light Divisions, when as the Adversaries great *Phalanges* and Stand of Pikes were unwieldy heavy to charge.

The *Danes* dispute the *English* Fishing upon their Coasts *Norway* and *Island*, and seize the *English* and Goods there, who indeed, made no claim of Right, but onely, Leave and Custom from *Norways Kings*, before their conjunction with *Denmak*; and confess, that by the League with King *John* heretofore, they were to ask it from seven to seven years, which had been neglected with King *Christian*; for in 1585. they had Liberty with-

The King
congratulates
the defeat of
Rex's Treas-
son.The Queen
Answer.1601.
The Danes
deny the
English to
fish.

Anno
1601.

The King
congratulates
the defeat of
Essex's Treason.

without further Licence; and concluded (which I wonder at) *Mare liberum*. This occasion acquainted the *English* Delegates (that were sent thither to treat) with the mystery and benefit of Trading, and for the *Londoners* to be instituted into an *East-India* Company with great Privileges.

King *James* nearly concerned to congratulate the happy prevention of *Essex* his Rebellion, sends to *England* the Earl *Mar* Ambassador, with the Abbot of *Kinloss*, to congratulate the *Queens* happy success, against such treasonable Attempts; which she takes well, (coming so seasonably, to satisfy ill Rumours, That *Essex* was made away for affection to the King of Scots Title, and that the Ambassadors Commission had been to plead for his part.) And withall to expostulate her remisness, for not due punishing *Valentine Tomas* a base Calumniator of their King: and that *Ewer* and *Ashfield* should be shadowed here, two Fugitives from *Scotland*; But *Ashfield* might be released; And in conclusion, (their chiefeft Errand) for Assignment of some Lands in *England*, as a Rent-charge, for defraying the affairs in *Scotland*, then too burdensom for the King.

The Queens
Answer.

She thanked the King, and wished that all *Rebellions* against him, might the Eve of that Day finde the same End and like Success of all *Traitors* to Him, as *Essex* was to Her.

That *Tomas* was spared in prudence to their Masters honour, lest by rubbing old sores with often *Trials* and *Executions*, (too frequent Examples) might rather increase slanderous Tongues, whose impudence in accusing, even without any possibility of truth, or shew of proof, yet through too common rumour thereof, may beget (and that, in time) belief.

Ewer indeed was an ill man for denying peremptory things of evident truths, which yet his protestations wrought upon easie spirits with credulity.

As for *Ashfield*, he had couzened the *President* of the *English* Borders of *Scotland*, with a Trick to go thither, and play'd the *Knave* to get home again.

She always found with long experience, that to countenance evil manners in her neighbour subjects, was, to teach her own, to do worse to her self, and made a distinction of that, with national protection, which in some cases must be maintained.

And that for *Lands* she would add to the former Advance two thousand pounds a year, for maintaining inviolable unity and agreement with her, with caution to him, not to intrust such, as seek their own private gain, with the publick loss.

Thus much in publick, besides their private contrivance with the principal Nobility and Council, to work them the *Kings* Friends; who assured him peaceable reception into *England* after *Queen Elizabeth*.

The

James the sixth King of Scotland.

251

The Pope *Clement* the Eighth had that fear, and therefore by his *Breves* prohibits all such Professors of the *Roman* faith not to admit any, how near soever in blood, unless upon Oath he promote the *Catholick* Doctrine; and the like is brought over to *Scotland* by *Hamilton* and *Hayes*, two *Jesuits*, men of fiery spirits and working brains, chief Instruments of Sedition at the holy League in *Paris*; these men are proclaimed *Traitors*, but lurk in the *North* for a long time.

A general *Assembly* is there resolved at *Brunt-Island* for representing *Papists*, and very conscientious, begin to rectifie themselves; *careless Ministry*, *hasty admission of mean men*, *pleasing the people*, and *ruineth the Church*; and therefore they ordain Days of *Humiliation* and *Prayer*.

But Mr. *John Davidson* was of opinion, they did ill, not to blanch the *King* and *Court*, and therefore writes to them.

How long shall we fear or favour flesh, and follow the counsel and command thereof? Shall our Meetings be in the name of Man? (The King called them, &c.) Is it time for us now, our Brethren thrust out without just order; *Papists*, *Jesuits*, *Atheists* countenanced and advanced to the best Room in the Realm, bringing *Idolatry* and *Babylonish Captivity*? Shall we be inveigled with pretences, petty Preferment to Parliament Votes, and Titles of Prelacy? &c.

Then scoffing at the King, *But Boniton* (says he) that *Thief* is executed, What's that to Religion? Is there none offends but *Boniton*? But the King is sound, if so, the danger the less, but there is nothing sound in *Kirk* or *King*.

Melius & obtabilius est bellum pace impia, & a Deo distrahente.

Do what the King could, such *Libells* were licensed, for which he was committed.

Their Church thus settled, the King urges for a new Translation of the *Bible*, being miserably lamely done, disputing with them the Errors therein, as also their *Prose*, and *Singing Psalms*, wherein he shewed the faults of *Meeter* and *Matter*, with admiration to all that heard him so ready to reason with them, their discrepance from the *Text*, by proofs of other *Languages*, which though he could not obtain from them therein, yet he had it accomplished, where he found obedience to his commands afterwards in *England*, Anno 1603.

The King caresses all his Friends, and sends *Lodowick Duke of Lenox* Ambassadour into *France*, with some persons of Honour, and two Counsellours of State to caress the King; he arrives at *Diep*, and enters *Paris* with a train of *Scots*, that met him from all parts, a custom they ever had, to set out themselves the

Anno

1601.

Pope Clement
his Bulls a-
gainst Scot-
land.

An Assembly.

Davidson's
Letter to
them.

He desires a
new Transla-
tion of the
Bible.

1601.

The Duke
of Lenox
Ambassadour
into France.

Anno
1601.

best side outwards, especially from home, where they are least known, but by their own declarations.

And not long after Audience, at *St. Fermans*, (the *Queen* in childe-bed) and then took leisure to visit his Mother *Madam d'Aubigney*, whilst the *King* boasted to *Callis*, upon false intelligence that *Queen Elizabeth* was desperate ill, or that the affairs of *Flanders*, invited him, *Ostend* then besieged. No doubt, his mouth watered to have found such another faction, as might foist in another *Bastard* of *Normandy*; in gallantry he would say so. Upon his return the Duke takes leave, and lands in *England*.

We may guess what he had done, assured the *Kings* affection to the *French*, and as of ancient amity, so craves continuance and support towards his new *Inheritance*, in case of necessity, when his time should come to the Crown of *England*.

And here he findes the *Queen* ill disposed, and the *Parliament* set, suspected of all, to have made his Masters clame to the Right of *SucceSSION*, and many one ready to offer assistance, but he declared to them, the *Kings* dislike to breed jealousies by such unkindness; his *Commission* being no other, than to salute her, with the *Kings* filial affection to her Majesty; and because he found the *Irish* malady oppressed her most, he proffered his *Masters* aid, to serve her there, which she took well, and he took leave.

The *Mighty States* (out of *sunken Netherlands*) will have no delay, but to subdue *Flanders*; and to amuze the *Arch Duke*, *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* is sent into *Gelderland*, to besiege *Reinbergh*, and had assistance from *England* of four thousand men; but the *Arch Duke* was more forward, and fell upon *Ostend*; to whose Relief are sent twenty *Companies*, and *Sir Francis Vere* their General, both without and within.

Ostend from a poor Fisher-town, had repulsed the Duke of *Parma*, *Maltee*; and now this *Arch Duke* with all his seventeen Forts erected round about it.

For *Sir Francis Vere* in the fifth moneth of the Siege, treats about the Surrender, delaying the *Delegates*, till *Auxiliaries* were raised, and then sent them away, with a fig for them.

The *Arch Duke* was angry, batters *Ostend* with eighteen *Cannon*, drives on two thousand Foot to set upon the old Town, the Horse put them on, and take two Fortresses and the *English* Trenches; nine Ordnance out of the *West Gate* with *Chain-shot* miserably rent the *Affailants*, with mighty loss in other places.

Sir Francis Vere quits his six moneths Government (as it was ordained) to *Frederick Dork* a *Dutch-man*, who with others succeeding him, defended it three years and four months, against *Spains* fury, and the raging sea, the more troublesom Enemy, and

From thence
comes into
England,

and returns
home.

The siege of
Ostend.

1601
The Duke
of Flanders
Ambassador
into France.

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

253

Anno.

1601.

Marshal Byron sent to the Queen,

and in that time were intomb'd in honour, many brave *English* and others the most warlike Souldiers of all *Nations* in *Christendom*, contending for a barren piece of land.

The *French* King fearing such an evil *Neighbour*, provides for his own Coast, and comes to *Callis*, whom *Queen Elizabeth* congratulates by her Secretary *Edmonds*, and he returns the Visit to her by Marshal *Byron*, Monsieur *Arvern*, and Sir *Aumons*, and besides they had in charge, to wish her happiness in the timely suppression of the late *Rising* and sudden *Execution* of *Essex* and his *Complices*.

She said, *His faults deserved that punishment, of which she gave him timely warning, foreseeing his ambition, edg'd on by others, to commit Treason; for which yet, had he begg'd it, she might have given him pardon.*

Byron not long after, felt the like destiny for his *Plots* against the *French* King, though his merits to his Master were far exceeding any pretences of *Essex*; yet all of them and his thirty wounds in the *Kings* service could not prevail, though he begg'd it, with too much desire of longer life. And indeed, they were both equally matches, in most things parallel, either in vice or virtue.

executed after.

Money was scarce in *England*, being transported yearly into *Ireland*, one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling, and under that colour the Merchants had a common way, to convey elsewhere much more; and once got to the *Rebells*, it was good barter for all commodities with any foreign *Nation*, and (by stealth) with *English*; the *Coin* for *Ireland* was therefore abased, with some *Brass*, which would bring over the sterling money back again into *England*.

Irish money abased, 160000. per annum.

The Arguments against this could not prevail with Treasurer *Burkhurst*, besides the Law of that time, *Necessity*. 'Tis true, the Souldier lost in his pay, which they felt, but understood not, and the *Queen* was not so nice of her publick repute, but to veil to the benefit, which lasted not long; and the money-masters not then so well experienced to manage the advantage; the *Spanish* policy therein grown cunning might have taught us what they practice for gain.

With fresh pay, the *Deputy* goes on, removes *Ter Oen* from *Black-water*, *Derry Castle*, *Donegal Monastery*.

The titular Earl of *Desmond* and *Mac Cart* are surprized, arraigned and condemned of *Treason*, and sent into *England*, by whom and others is discovered the intention of landing Forces from *Spain* at *Cork*, which was therefore fortified, and fresh mann'd with help of two thousand new Souldiers out of *England*.

The *Spaniards* lands in *September* at the mouth of *Kingsale* Haven

Anno
1601.

Spanish land
in Ireland,

are defated,

24. Decem-
ber.

and depart
home,

Ecclesiastick
Papists at dif-
ference,

Secul ars set
out the Jesu-
ites in their
Colours.

Haven, and the Governour there, *Percie*, retires to *Cork*, and the other let in with thirty five *Ensignes*, and welcomed by the Inhabitants. The President *Carew* bestirrs him; drives the County about; lodges some forces in places of advantage, ready with his Army, to expect *don John D'Aquila* with his title of *Master General and Captain of the Catholick King*, in defending the war of God, and maintenance of Religion in Ireland, and to deliver them from the jaws of the Devil.

Carew forthwith drives them out of the Castle, by the Haven, when 150. more got in, and the Haven blockt up by *Levison*, the English vice Admiral; This news brings *Ter-Oen* with all the chief Rebels, to joyn with some Spanish got out of the Town, and altogether make up an Army of 6000. foot, and 500. horse, assured of victory. And the English, wearied with winter sieges, spent with poverty and hunger yet ply the siege, not suffering the Enemy without to recruit the Town, or Spaniards to recenter but they adventure, and are repulsed, and retreat, but are hotly pursued by the Deputy, (whilst *Carew* keeps the Spaniards from breaking out of the Town) and forced to make a stand and fight, with great loss and then to fly. *Don Alphonso O'compo* taken prisoner, with three of his Captains and six *Alpherez*, (Ensignes) Nine Colours, whereof six Spaniards, and 1200. slain; with very little loss to the English; And within six daies after, *don John* designs a parly, And to yield up to the Deputy what they possesse, and to depart with life and goods, but brave *Don* to be the last Man left behind.

Their departure so sodain, troubled the Irish, who are worsted every where, many of the chief Surprized and taken.

And now the old English Adage, when knaves fall out, truth comes to light. The Ecclesiastick Papists in England go by the Ears; The Jesuite against Secular Priests: No blowes but Bookes, and pens for Pot-guns, the general thus.

One *Blackwel* sometime fellow of *Trinity* in *Oxon* was made Arch-priest for the Seculars, and he too much a friend to *Garnet* their Jesuites general, they decline him with scorn.

Hereupon they are degraded, and appeal to Rome, and therefore are Booked for *Schismatics* and *Heroticks*, but they got the censure of the University at *Paris* to approve the same, and meaning to prevail in the Queens favour,

They shew, that in her first eleven years reign not one suffered for his Conscience; Nor for ten years after that *Pius Quintus* Bull against the Queen, there were executed but twelve Priests; most of them convicted Traytors; And that then about the year 1580. crept in the Jesuite, whose mischivous practices against the State had disturbed all, and accasioned the severe Lawes against Catholicks.

And

And yet they say, in ten years following, but fifty Priests were executed, the Queens mercy banishing fifty five more, justly deserving death.

From that time (say they) Parsons in Spain an English Jesuite entertains all Vagabond English into their Seminaries there, and from thence came hither turbulent Priests. That he incites the Spaniard now to invade Ireland again, and confirms the Infanta's Title to this Crown, which at the seminary Students maintained by oath.

That Holt the Jesuite suborned Heskett to rebellion, Cullin, York, and Williams, to kill the Queen, Walpole and Squire to impoyson her.

They set out Parsons for a Bastard, a seditious Sicophant; and condemn the Jesuite libels to be full of falsities, and trayterous to God and Her; And conclude, with advise to the English, not to hazard their Children into their seminaries, where, with the Elements of Learning, they infuse Tenents, poysonous Treasons.

The Jesuites thus set out, they retort on the other; and it was best wisdom for the State, to banish them both, and but time; for, Winter and Tesmond a Jesuite, were sent for into Spain, to consult the destruction of the Queen, and by other plots, to exclude King James Inheritor.

The like Conspiracie in the Low-Country against the Arch-Duke, and in France against the King, (and so against most Princes; The Planets then in Conjunction, Malevolent to great men, and foretold by most Astrologers.) In which he escaped hapily, Byrones Treason, who was beheaded and accuses Bouillon, confederate, who fled into Germany, and was complained of to Queen Elizabeth, whose Counsel he craves in these his difficulties, dangerous to his safety, and the hazard of the Monarchy, somewhat drooping, which in policie she endeavoured to support, and did, with Counsel and Arms, in much affection also to him and reformed Religion, which faith she defended alwaies, in every place.

And now the Town and signiory of Geneve is assaulted by the Duke of Savoy, much pittied by their Pupils here in Scotland and England, having their Nourishment from that seminary (then) of seditious reformers, who by their preaching to the people, procured sums of money to be gathered by the benevolence of most Churches in this Island. The Common-people well minded were often cacht, in that time and oportunitie of Devotion, liberally to contribute; especially, if it please the Preacher to set it forth, with Rethorical Sanction; as the Presbyters use to do, for the dear Brethren of Geneve, Germany, and Scotland, &c. One for another as they, for us, when in truth these other were (the most of them) rank Rebolters, and it

Anno.

1602

The Ills of
is reduced to
the Kings
Commande.

The unburnt
Kare.

Both are banished Eng-
land.

Macdonald
lyes to Sea
and takes
his ship.

Macdonald
lyes to Sea
and takes
his ship.

Geneve be-
sieged, the peo-
ples contribu-
tion of mony.

The new
Lyons
to the new

Anno
1600.

And lands
with a 100.
Gentlemen.
September.

The Queen
offended.

He is com-
mitted,

And censu-
red.

word resolves how
to return into
England.

the Army to make good his landing at Milford Haven; so gather power, march to London, and make his own conditions.

They dissuade him, from the hazard, and odiousness of the design, but rather, to draw out 200. of the most resolute, to make sure of the Court, and so to follow the effect.

And accordingly over he comes; his Company in a muze of his intents, he publisht his pretext to them, *by the efficacie of his presence, to draw the Queen to confirm his Articles with Tyrone.*

But in great choler as to dispute, or Revenge, and without leave from England, He leaves his command to a Lieutenant, and lands with 100. Gentlemen his best confidents, hastens to Court ere it was known to any, but to his dear Uncle Sir William Knowles, Controulor of the Queens Household, to whom he writes.

Dear Uncle, Receiving your last at my entring on shipboard, I return you this accompt at my landing, being resolved with all speed (and our silence) to appear in the face of my Enemies, not trusting a farr off to my own Innocencie, or to the Queens favour, with whom they have got so much power.

At sight of him with amaze, the Queen swore, *Gods death my Lord, what do you here, your presence hatefull, without Tyrones head?* But he, falling more to a dispute, than any excuse, she, in disdain to be taught, but what she pleased to do, *bid him be gone, his boots stunk.*

So was he, commanded to his Chamber at Court, for some daies; thence to the Lord Keeper, til neer Easter after; then to his own house, under custody of Sir Richard Barckley, til the end of Trinity Term; so by degrees of restraint, to win him to repentance, the Queen said, *that he was young enough to amend. and make amends for all.*

Yet to repress seditious libels, dispersed in his Justification, and to observe a form of justice, ere she gave him libertie, There were associates unto her privy Council, some chosen persons of the Nobility, and judges of the Law, to examine his breaking of his instructions in Ireland, his treating with Tyrone, and leaving his Government, coming over without leave, nay expressly, *contrary to his command under her hand & signet.*

With limitation, not to be charged with disloyalty, nor to be questioned publickly in Starr Chamber, which upon his most penitent letter he desired to be spared, and to be heard at the Lord Keepers house.

The sentence was then no more, than suspension from some of his Places; for he called God to witness, He made an utter divorce with the world, and desired favour, only for a preparative for his Nunc Dimittis, the tears of his heart having quenched in him

Anno
1600.

him, all humors of ambition.

Upon which, in few daies his Keeper *Barckly* was taken from him, with this admonition, That *he was not altogether discharged, though left to the guard of his own discretion.*

He had taken into his service as chief Secretary in *Ireland* and long before, one *Henry Cuff*; base by birth, a great Scholar, of a turbulent and mutinous spirit. This fellow, a *Moneth* after his Lords liberty, practised with Sir *Henry Nevil* lately Lieger Ambassadour with the *French King*, and now newly come from *Bullen*, Insinuating as a secret, *That the breach of the treaty of Bullen, was like to light upon him.*

Consults of
Treason with
Cuff his Secretary.

By *Cuff* it was first concluded, that ancient principle of Conspiracie, To prepare many, and trust but to few; and after the manner of Mines to make ready the powder, place it firm, and then give fire in the instant.

The first of Nobility was *Wriothesly* Earl of *Southampton*, and some others of quality, and with Profane policie to serve their turns with both factions, *Papist* and *Puritan*; *Essex*, his outside to these professing Hypocriticall zeal and frequent Sermons; To the other, as to *Blunt* and *Davis*, his inmost secrecies for Tolleration of Religion. And thus he spent *Michaelmas* Term.

Blunt and
Davis confession.

Towards *Christmas* there passed a watch-word amongst his associates, That he intended to stand upon his guard; a double sence, *as of circumspection, or force.* But in truth, not to be cooped up, with restraint,

The time of execution, was *Hilary* Term, when by invitation, or business, the Town would fill with his friends. But in *Candlemas* Term, they fell to consult at *Drury House*, where Sir *Charls Davers* lodged; a man obliged unto him, for his pardon about the Murther of one *Long*. Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governour of *Plymouth*, sent for by his letter, not to fail before the second of *February*. Sir *John Davis*, Surveyor of the Ordinance, his former servant; And *John Littleton*, a man of wit and valour.

Blunts confession.

Their consultation rest upon three parts { The perusal of a List of confederates.
How to act.
Distribution of each mans action.

Their plot

The List was 106. Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen, of *Essex* own hand writing.

The action, was in two Articles, { Possessing the Tower,
Surprizing the Q. & Court.

In which was deliberated, what course to hold with the City
K k 2 towards

Anno
1600.

For the Tow-
er

For the
Court

And for the
City

Nevils con-
fessions

towards effecting the surprize, or after.

The Tower would give reputation and security to the Action, by means of *Davis*; but most of the rest were jealous, that whilst they built upon two foundations, one must fail, and distract the other; therefore the more certain, To surprize the Queen, *the rest would follow*.

The manner thus; Certain select persons well known at Court, for access, should distribute themselves into the Present, Guard-Chamber, Hall, and utter Court and Gate. And in each of these places, one principal person, to guide the assistants.

Their distribution; Sir *John Davers*, to the Presence and Guard-Chamber, to seize the *Halberds* of the Guard; *Davis* to the Hall; *Blunt* to the Gate. These in readiness; by a signall, *Essex* should remove from his house, and well attended, or to meet him, should with correspondence of the setters and some tumult and confusion, effect their design.

Thus the plot-form; the second act to their Tragedy, that *Essex* should prostrate himself at the Queens feet, desire removal of evil Counselors, who possessed her Majesty and State; Then, to summon a Parliament, alter Government, and confirm conditions to themselves.

In this consult, *Essex* inclined most for possessing *London*, as a surer ground to that of the Court also. Being wedded to his false overweening opinion, of the people and Citizens, and their number. Suspecting belike the instinct loyalty of many of his Train, when the fury should be over, and he perhaps left in the lurch, with the fewest of his friends. The true Nature of usurping Rebels, to trust more to the main of Multitude, than of qualitie; especially *Essex*, who had gotten (I know not how, nor by what merit) the specious Mark of a Patriot; proper to infuse, and mint jealousies, into the heads of the more unworthy, and less prudent, and these he could easily stir up by Emissaries, who lye at watch to *bontefaux* it, and inflame mens minds, to disperse abroad unshrowded sparks of discord, and that way to convert a Kingdom into a flame.

But this Counsel was afterwards refined by *Essex*, *Cusse*, and *Blunt*: To assemble a Troop to come sodainly from the *Mews* in scattered Numbers, and unite in a moment at the Court Gate.

And as good Common-wealths men, lest their new contrivements should want Ministers, they would supply in a readiness of their own for Counselors, and Servants to the Queen, in place of such evil ones (the beaten path of Traytors) as they thought fit to remove; which should be their plausible pretext to their own practices, and a general ground, to the common people.

The

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

239

Anno.

1600

The day of
Preparation
February 7.

He is sent for
to the Coun-
cil.

Earl Rut-
lands confes-
sion.

The day of
rebellion.

Council sent
to Essex house.

Essex

The day drawing nigh (but not assigned, being left to my Lord) the Curse of the Psalmist interposed, *like the untimely fruit of the woman, brought forth before it came to perfection.*

For many that knew of the plot, diligent, with too much resort at *Essex* house, brought forth mutterings of somewhat, which states soon discover. The afternoon 7. *February* before the next day of Rebellion, was sent to *Essex* house Secretary *Herbert*, to summon him before the Council, sitting at *Salisbury* Court, at the Lord Treasurer *Buckhursts*, which he excused not to do, under colour of being ill.

And suspecting the discovery of his Trains, and doubting delays, resolved upon his enterprize the next day, Sunday. But then, upon advertizement of doubling the Court Guards, and allarum there, he determined on his former conceipt, of being the peoples darling, and the Minion of London, upon confidence of Sir *Thomas Smith* the City Sheriff. Giving out that Evening, that he was sent for to Counsel, to be betrayde by an Ambuscado of Musketeers, upon the water, by the devise of the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to murder him by the way.

This mean design, the best he had, took fire like a squib; the Messages and warning, to his chief confidents all that night, and next morning. And his servant *Temple* took up his Tale and told it to the City. And to colour it the more, watch and ward was up all night, to open his gates to all comers in, so that the morning hastens *Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, *Southampton*, Lord *Sands*, Sir *Henry Parker* (called Lord *Mounteagle*,) with some Number of Knights and Gentlemen, and being Sunday, it gave occasion to others, to come to his Sermon, whom he carressed with his Cap in his hand, telling them his former tale.

But to his more confidents, That he was sure of the City, and that strength, which the Queen could not oppose, nor his Enemies withstand his revenge.

Alwaies, with this caution, to his Gate-Keepers, to suffer none to return out, to tel News.

Sunday at 10. a clock the Queen had intelligence, and yet was willing to cast water on this fire, ere it should flame to a Rebellion; her authority, before her force; she sent the Lord Keeper, Earl of *Worcester*, the Controulor of hir Household, the Lord chief Justice, who finding the Gates shut, after some stay, were let in by the wicket, but all their servants kept out, except the bearer of the Seal, the Court full of Company with *Essex* and his Lords, to whom the Lord Keeper said, That the Queen sent them to understand the reason of their Assembly, that if they had cause of griefs against any persons whatsoever, they should have hearing and justice.

Anno
1600.

Essex preten-
ces.

And South-
hamptons.

The multi-
tude clamour.

Secures the
Counsel, and
goes into the
City.

Earl Rutlands
confession

Proclaimed
Traytor

Earl Rutlands
Confession.

Forces oppose
Essex.

Essex told them aloud, *That his life was sought, to be murthered in his bed, and had been perfidiously dealt withall.*

The Chief Justice answered, *If any such matter were attempted or intended, it were fit for him to declare it, and to be assured of their faithfull relation, and so He should not fail of her Majesties Princely Indifferency, and Justice.*

Southampton objected, *the assault upon him by the Lord Gray, to which the Chief Justice said, that justice had been done, and the party in prison.*

The Keeper required Essex to impart his griefs, *if not openly, yet privately, and promised satisfaction.*

Upon this, arose a high clamour of the multitude, *Away my Lord, they abuse you, they destroy you, they undoe you, you lose time.*

The Lord Keeper putting on his hat, commanded them all upon their Allegiance to lay down their weapons and depart, When Essex and all the rest clapt on their Caps, and going into the House, the Lords followed him, as to have private conference, and fearing the Multitude, who cryed out kill them, *shop them up, keep them pledges, cast the great seal out at window.*

And accordingly, he gave them in custody, principally to Sir John Davis, and one Owen Salisbury, a seditious notorious robber; guarding them with Muskets, fired, and cockt; and left the charge of his house to Sir Gilly Merrick, bidding the Lord Keeper to have patience whilst he would take order with the Maior and Sheriffs for the City, and be with them again within an hour.

So goes forth with his Number 200. men, entered Ludgate, and with a fearfull, timorous, discomposed tale repeated, *That he should have been murthered; and so passing through Cheap-side unto Sir Thomas Smiths house in Philpot-lane who was at Church; where he shifts into a dry shirt; the passion of fear firing him into a hot sweat.* The people flocking and gazing as he went. To whom he said; *they did him hurt and no good, without weapons.*

The Queen and Court, somewhat frightened, commanded the City to be in readiness, but to keep within doors.

The Lord Burghley with Garter King of Heraulds proclaimed him Traytor in the principal parts of London, which was done with expedition and resolution, though with loss of some of his Train, and hurt of many.

Clifford Earl of Cumberland, with Sir Thomas Gerrard Knight Marshal, rode up and down proclaiming them Traytors. And so, divers withdrawing, he altered his former pretext, and said, *That Kingdom should have been sold to the Infanta.*

Then making stay in Grace-street, and dismaid at the tidings that forces

Anno
1600.

forces were approaching under conduct of the Lord Admiral Lieutenant for the Queen, resolved to return by water, and make good his own person by the pledges of the Lords, which a good fellow over-hearing, and not well assured of his part there, being as deep in the design as death, hasted before by land, told Davis and Merick, that by any means they should release the Council, and so got his own pardon, and this was Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

But Essex ignorant as yet, goes on by land to Ludgate, there at the West end of Pauls, he was resisted by the forces of the Bishop of London, commanded by Sir John Luson. At which Incounter Blunt was wounded, young Tracie slain, and others, on his part. Wyat slain, and some hurt on the Queens part.

Encounter at
the west end
of Pauls, some
slain.

But upon this small repulse, He slips from his Train, turns down to Queen-hith, and by a pair of oares, was received into his Water-gate at home, which he fortified and baricadoed. And as instantly was he besieged on land, by the Earls of Cumberland, and Lincoln, Lords Thomas Howard, Gray, Burghly, and Compton Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Thomas Gerrard.

He returns
home by wa-
ter and is be-
sieged by
land and by
water.

And by water; by the Lord Admiral, the Lord Esfingham, Lord Cobham, Sir John Stanhop, Sir Robert Sidney, and Master Poulk Grevil, and this way, forcing the walls, wonne the Garden; And being offered parly, and time to remove his Countess and Sister Rich, with other Gentlewomen, before they would storm the House.

Submits the
same day.

But Essex, with his Lords upon the Leads, would not capitulate, but intreat.

That they might be used Civilly.

To have an honourable Tryal.

To have Ashton his Preacher with him in Prison.

And so by ten a clock at night, they submitted themselves Prisoners to the Tower.

This monstrous Treason, of this mighty man, thus weakly managed, was began and ended in twelve hours, and the next day as calm, as if no Motion or Billowes had been before.

For which he, and Southampton, eleven dayes after were arraigned and condemned, this one had his reprieve, but Essex the reward of his merits, and executed the 25. February, upon the Inner Hill in the Tower.

Essex execu-
ted.

Southampton
reprieved

Several dayes before Sir Charles Blunt suffered by the Axe, and Cuff by the halter.

Essex before his, and at several times (so not surprized) betrayed most of his confederates, and discovered Sir Henry Nevil, late Ambassadour in France, as privie to all his conspiracies, of whom til then there had been no suspicion, which was construed in him an Act more of temerity and hope of pardon, than

Anno

1600.

than in Grace, and good Conscience of a Repentant Offender.

And this being his Tragedy. It is no wonder though our Adversarie Authors, the one, *The History of Great Britain*, the other, *The Court and Character of King James*, should so slightly pass over his Treasons.

With them we shall have some dispute, as we meet them Contemporaries in our farther proceedings, in the second Part. Let me add the Opinion, that a writer had of *Essex*, and published in these verses.

*Quod Regina, scelus, scelus est, quod Virgo petatur;
quod pia Virgo, scelus; quod tibi grata scelus;
Cum Virgo, Regina, Pia, et tibi grata, petatur,
Proh scelus! et superat quod scelus omne scelus.*

*It's Treason, that a Queen should ruin'd be;
That a Maid, ill;
That she was Good, yet worse; that good to Thee,
More wicked still.
But when a Queen, a Maid, Good, and thy Friend,
Thou wouldst dispatch,
The Treason, that thy black heart doth intend,
Dares Hell to match.*

England thus long sick of the disease of *Irish* affairs, the expence whereof had brought the State into a Consumption, which put the Queen to seek money of her Subjects, besides her way of sweetning them with good words. *Tyrone* grew so Insolent, as to act Sovereignty, where ere he came, disposing Honours, Estates, Privileges, Freedomes. And therefore *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*, is sent over Deputy; and though others as fit as the former, the Queen (who seldom chose amiss) pickt out him to command, for his readines to obey; a fault in *Essex*, proud, and stubborn, uncounsellable, and unconstant.

The Rebels put him to it, salute him by Allarm, in the very Suburbs of *Dublin*, which the Deputy with his selected *Veteranes* meant to requite soon after, in a Massy-body, and fight him, which the Enemy sought for, and had been worsted, of which some underhand Counsellors at the Queens elbow warn'd him to prevent, by turning a side. But with several light Brigadoes he was so hotly pursued, as put him to his holes again.

Sir Warham Saint-Leger, meets *Mac-guire*, (a graceless wretch) and with their Launces full Career run each other thorough, and dye.

Romes friendship to those Rebels, much encouraged by his Indulgence

Blunt sent
Deputy of
Ireland

Tyrone had
friends in the
English
Court

The Popes
pardon to the
Rebells.

Anno
1601.

Indulgence, (the abundance of the Churches Treasure) was pleased to spare them pardon of their sinnes, for the good service of shedding so much blood of their Soveraigns Subjects; and for fighting in the faith of his beloved sonne Hugh Prince, O-neal, and Earl of Ter-Oen, Captain General of the Catholick forces in Ireland; Whom His Holiness accompanies with all his spirritual graces, and those that follow him, or favour him, (by pains, counsel, arms, provision, or any other means) a plenary pardon of all their sinnes; the very same pardon (sayes he) that was wont to be granted to those that warre against the Turk, or for the Holy land.

However the deputy sends Docwray into Ulster Garrisons; himself with 4000. foot, and 300. horse, put the Enemy to his lurking, & with new supplies in August out of England, he breaks through many difficulties, into Ulster: Erects Mont-Norris fort in memory of that gallant John Lord Norris, under whom he first exercised arms. Docwray likewise, being assaulted by Ter-Oen with treacherie, perjurie, and cunning deceit, and wounded; yet gets out of all dangers, and takes Dunalong, a lesser Castle. On the other side the Deputy in winter, forces several Rebels to Obedience; passes victoriously (in compass,) so farr as Ulster in his first years Regency.

George Carew no less fortunate in Munster; The Southern parts, burthened by the Titular Earl Desmond (of Ter-Oens making) he surprizes; but was again rescued; Takes seven Castles; drives him out of that province; reduces many Rebels to obedience, quiets the County, and comes home at Christmas; And this was done there.

In England they consult for peace with Spain; being invited by the Arch-Duke Albert, lately returned to Bruxell with his Bride the Infanta. And inclusive, he knew the better how to condition with the Dutch, to save charges of his warre there, convey home safe his Indies Fleets, & so at last grow infinite rich.

By which, the English would neglect their navylodg in peace; lazy and wealthy; discontinue warre, the easier hereafter to be soon invaded.

The Queen old, and weary of warre, very willing to make peace within her self, and outward, with all the world, leaves the motion to the French Kings managing, for time and place of meeting; He appoints May, the time; and Boulen the place.

For the Queen, came Henry Nevil her Lieger there, her new Secretary Herbert; Beal, Secretary in the North; and Edmonds her French Secretary.

For Spain, came Don Balthasar domine de Zuniga Fonseca (the prolixity of whose Name, strecht out like a Cable (sayes little Nevil) is longer than I am) his Lieger in the low Countries; Ferdinando Corel a Counciller of Castile. And for Albert, came Ricardot, and Verskenie.

L1

And

George Carew's service

Spanish designs.

Treat with English commissioners at Bulloine.

Anno

1600.

Dispute precedence and titles.

And must not these men quarrel for Precedencie, as before Anno 1598. at *Vervin*? They did so now; and did nothing else, but quarrel the peace. By which means, they were the better known, for the airand of the *English*; which was, first, to stand upon punctilios of place; but not, altogether, before profit: or else, by casting lotts. Then, not to be censured into any kindness for the Low-Countries traffick, Nor in the trade to the Indies; but to be free, as in 1591. general freedom to all places of Charles the fifth. But then, if Spain hath the place, let him lose the advantage, and propound first; He inviting the Treaty.

Copies of their Delegation being given to each other, they now differ about Title; Most Illustrious, she gave to the Arch-Duke, but he clames, to be Most Puissant, as descended from sacred Emperours, and he son in Law, and Brother to the King of Spain.

The *English* Answer; Kings, have no more difference from an Arch-Duke; And Arch-Duke Philip, father to Charles the fifth, had no more from Henry the eighth, But then (say they) those times afforded no more unto Henry himself.

The *English* found fault with them. The very Form of the Delegation to be wanting; and obscurely Intermixing other Commissioners; and made up, only, with a Privy Signet; when theirs was, with the Broad Seal of England. Nor does their King ratifie what ere shall be concluded. They Answer to all. *Par trattar y hazar trattar*, in Spanish, comprehends all formall subdelegation. That, in Spain, no such distinction of seals, Private and Broad. This being *yo, el Rey*, the Kings own hand in presence of his Secretary; with the publick seal, And by, *Estar y passar, y estare y passare*, all warrants fil'd.

Then they meet, (as yet but by papers) the *English* demand priority, as if *Le premier demandeur estoit le vancuer*. A Challenge (say they) never presumed upon before, nor equality yielded. Little Edmonds was angry, who had prepared Richardot with the Queens Priority; That the presence of an Ambassador Nevil, was to be preferred before a Delegate Title.

They reply, for England to be but equall, submits Spain as inferiour to France, England alwaies yielding to France. And such a doe it came unto, that Edmonds comes over, and hath Item not to stand upon Place so he should get the Profit in particular demands; hard enough to be allowed.

In the mean time the Spaniard complains; that succour and subsidy was sent to the States; and ships, ready for the Indies. They were answered, it was in ballance with their assistance to the Rebels in Ireland. And so far they were from Submission to Priority, or to admit equality, as to break off the Treaty.

And so at leasure let us discuss Priority for England.

Among

Priority disputed.

Among the *Temporal powers* The first place was to *France*, the second to *England*, the last to *Castile*; and the *Book of Ceremonies* at *Rome* saies so, as a Canon, at three general Councils, *Pisa*, *Constance*, and *Basil*, it was in Example. The title *Castile*, which the *Spaniard* most boasts of, is but a late Monarchy to *England*; having neither *Earls* nor *Kings* before the year 1017. and those *Kings* not Anointed. That *England* is the third; Intituled *Most illustrious*, and *Spain* the fourth. Pope *Julius* the second gave it to *Henry* the seventh before *Ferdinand* of *Castile*. The *Queens* ancient years and Reign (an argument they urged at *Bazil* against *Henry* the sixth) and all this original, exceeds mans memory.

Whilst these treat for peace, The *Dutch* soring high, impeded with *English* feathers bethink how to fall upon the *Spaniard*. It was, when their Enemy Arch-Duke *Albert* was weak in forces, and those in Mutiny. Hasty intelligence did this good service to Prince *Maurice*, who finding them in this disorder, resolved to fall upon him in *Flanders*; And because the *English* had the brunt of the Battel, and Sir *Francis Vere* the honour of that day, we may take boldness to add it in memory; with matters of our own Historie. Our fate with those people, evermore to be left out of the fame, though we fought for their freedom; and is called the Battel of *Newport*.

Battel of
Newport in
Flanders.

The Princes Army lands at *Philipine*, upon the River *Scheld*, 12000. foot, and 3000. horse in 3. *Tercias*; Commanded by Count *Ernest* of *Nassaw*, Count *Solms*, and Sir *Francis Vere*, taking their daily turns by change, of *Avant-guard*, *Battel*, and *Rere*.

Prince Maurice his
forces.

The Van of Horse consisted of ten *Cornets* and led by Count *Lewis* (Brother to *Ernest*) being Lieutenant-General. And to them were adjoynd Prince *Maurices* guard, and the Regiments of Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *Horace Vere*, accounted 1600. *English*. As also the *Frizons* being seventeen Companies. In all, of the *Avant* forty foot Companies, which Sir *Francis Vere* commanded.

The Battel was Numbred seven Cornets of Horse; To whom were joynd nine foot Companies of *Walloons*, and four *Swisse* for the first division. With two other divisions of *French*; the first of three Companies, the second of twelve. In the midst was Prince *Maurice* himself, with his Brother Prince *Henry*, and divers *Noblemen*, strangers, and voluntiers; so that the Battel had seven Troops, and 25. Companies.

The Rere consisted of three Cornets and thirteen colours, in the first division. And in the second eight Companies. And in the third three Troops and twenty six Companies.

Anno

1601.

The Arch-
Dukes forces.

The *Arch-Dukes* army had 25. hundred horse, and 15000. foot, divided also as the other, into three *Brigades*.

Before the Armies should meet the *Dutch* conclude the siege of *Newport*; (the States taking leave and go to *Ostend*;) and got to the *Downs* by the *Sea-side* & so to *Newport*; where in three daies they had taken Fort *Albert*; encamped and quartered, raising a stone bridge over the *Haven*, for the Carriages to pass.

The *Arch-Duke* hastens his Marches, & came neer the Fort *Albert* with some horse and foot, which the Prince supposes but a *Bravado*, and meant to retire.

Sir *Francis Vere* was of opinion that it was the gross body; and therefore advised to meet them, before their forts should fall into their hands; And whilst these disputes, The *Spaniards* Cannon was come, and the Fort yielded to him; and as in a trice, had seized the Bridges & was entered on the *Downs*. But by the way, met with some forces sent by the Prince, to hinder his free passage, who were encountered, fought bravely, though against a puissant army, till they were too weak and fled, the fate falling upon the *Scotish* forces about 800. eleven Captains, besides other Officers. The hasty News gave heart to the *Arch-Duke*, to write to *Burges* that he had vanquished the *Princes* Van, and ingaged his whole Army, which made them Triumph, and the States at *Ostend* to tremble.

The *Arch-Duke* thus encouraged, Marches in hast to *Newport*; The Prince, presuming that the late defeat must needs frighten his Army, forthwith sends away their shipping to *Ostend* and fords over the *Haven*, and lodges between the *Spanish* and the *Sea*, so to fight, or dye. The rest of the Army of foot, passed over the next day at *Ebbe*, being the turn of Sir *Francis Vere* to have the Van, where he found the *Arch-Duke* with all his Army in Battalia, who apprehending, that these forces were the whole Army, come over, otherwise it had been easy for him to have prevented the *Princes* fording the rest. And besides, the dust of the sand-hills drove upon the *Spanish*, that blinded their sight, who were forced to halt, until all were got over.

Vere with the Troops of the Van, leaving the foot, ranged into Order, behind the sand-hills, hastens not to ingage with the Enemy, as yet, but only to chose the place, to attend for them, being all the advantage was left. And so got to a hollow bottome between the Hills and *Downs*, which they might make use of, and stop the *Spaniards* way, by the *Sea-shore*, also. And so draws out 1000. men, whereof 300. *English*, and 50. of the *Princes* guard were lodg'd on the top of an Hill, steepy and sandy, and so hollow, that they were covered from the

Anno
1601.

the other Hills, and might shoot as from a Bulwark. And the like order upon two other Hills with 700. men more, the rest of the *English*; so that this *avant-guard* took up the third part of the downs.

The Prince comes to *Vere*, and consult, whether to advance upon the Enemy, or to stay his coming: Most voices (as in honour to advance) conceived it would rather daunt them, and prevent their fortifying upon their Princes passages to *Ostend*, and so stop their victuals, and cut off any retreat thither.

Vere was of the contrary opinion. That the *Arch-Duke* gathered his Army in hast, and brought thither, where they intended not to make a seat of warr, unprovided and without any Magazine of victuals, and so no fear to starve the Prince who had the sea open. And according to his Counsel here they stayed.

The Prince returns, places his horse next the sea, six pieces of Cannon advanced and planted in the head of the *Avant-guard* with advantage of wind and sun, some ships of warr waved so neer as to gall the *Spanish Battalions* upon the sand.

The *Arch-Duke* had been hurried out, and tired, his men with a nights March and all that day; and his adversaries moving he rested a holt, for some time, and staying till half flood, that the *Dutch* might have less land for their horse, He marches, and before him some light Horse-men to discover; One of them suffering himself to be taken, and tels *Vere* (what he knew) that some *Dutch* forces had been routed, brags of their Number, valour, and resolution speedily to give battle.

And so they did; their Horsemen come in the head of their Divisions, a competent distance, who marching neerer, *Vere* discharges his Cannon, scatters their Troops in disorder, and fly. The *Spanish* foot come on & discharge their Ordnance roundly and did much hurt, which drew them on into the *Downs*, where *Veres* horse stood, & a fit place upon a Hill for two demy Cannons to be planted, and himself on the Top of another which commanded all, from whence he gave his Orders.

Thither comes the *Spaniards* with 500. pikes, without Ensign or order, labour to enter upon *Veres* Hill, who was forced to succour himself with more shot, and gawled them.

Their horse likewise, Marching between the Hills, were fore put to it by the two Demy Cannons, gawling them upon the first profer of a charge; with the advantage also of the Princes horse encountring, put them to a disorderly retreat.

The Battail begins, the Ordnance on all sides, increasing the Fight, with diverse charges; *Vere* beats two Regiments of *Spaniards* to a retreat, which incenseth the rest to advance their

Battel

Battel.

Anno
1601.

Battel and Rear, so does the *Prince* the like, and at the first Charge came to handy blows, the *French* against the *Spaniards* and *Italians*; and not long after a second Charge also, and retired.

The *Prince* sees this, and once more commands *Solms* with the *French* to fall on, assisted with the *Walloon* Regiments called the new *Geux*, and fought bravely against *Burlette* and *Bucquoy*, the Enemies *Rere*.

The *Princes Rere* come in with five Regiments, and a lasting fight of three hours was doubtfully performed: the *Arch Dukes* side declining, had their Horse driven almost to *Newport*; but then, their Foot did the like, against the *Orange* party on the *Downs*, to the hazard of their *Ordnance*.

This while, *Vere*, with the *Van*, and his shadowing Hills, had advantage thereby, to gall his Adversaries, who retire to their *Gross*, from whence disbands five hundred *Spaniards* more, and fall upon the Assailants, forcing them back to *Vere*, who not used to give ground, beats the *Spaniard* home again; whilest their Battel of Foot are come up to the *Gross* of their *Van*, under good covert, and by fresh men force *Vere's* men from his Grounds of Advantage, which he sometime lost and won again, with loss of men, his Design being to beat upon his Adversaries gross body, and to engage them till the *Orange* other Troops might advance, which did and retreat, and were pursued; by which occasion the *Arch Dukes* Horse were got out of the Foot-mens reach; an over-sight in fight; for in Battel the success of Foot depend most on the Horse.

But the fight increased on all sides, the *English* on *Vere's* side pell mell with the *Spaniard*, and seeing their *Gross* disband by degrees, sends to the *Prince* to second him, with some Horse; lest his Enemy grow too strong upon him, and so increased, that he was forced to descend and encourage them in the *Downs*; who were driven from their good Ground to Disadvantages. And at his very Approach had two Bullets through his Leg and Thigh, which he dissembled from his Surgeon, knowing, that his presence must encourage his Troops near foiling; for in all this time, the *Prince* sends no Relief, being put hard to it in the *Battell*. *Vere* gave Ground, and retires to his *Canon*, when his own Horse being shot, fell dead upon him; and his hurts affording him no help of assistance being alone, there he lay, till by good hap Sir *Robert Drewry* and Sir *John Ogle* drew him from under his Horse; and being set up behinde one, he escaped the Enemy at his heels, his hurts bleeding much at four holes, he was forced to fall off for that present.

His Brother Sir *Horace*, he found at the two *Canons*, having gathered some three hundred retreat Foot, and there staid the Enemy

my, who came up to the very handing the *Ordinance*, which fired on them, with a Train also of some Barrels hid in the sand, and made wondrous Execution.

And not till now comes Succour, two *Cornets* of *English* from the *Prince*, which encourages Sir *Horace*, and bold necessity to boot, beat the *Spaniard* back again; by the way, some others fell on also, and followed them to Execution.

The *Arch Dukes Phalanges* and *Battalions* startle, and rowse up, rather for defence, than revenge: and now *Orange* findes his Friends have fresh courage, by the tottering effects of fight, caused his whole *Battell* to advance; both meet, and joyn pell mell, Horse to Horse, Foot to Foot, till the fate of fight forced the *Arch Duke* to turn faces and fly, and were followed to Execution as far as the *Morish Dam*.

The *English* having the Chace, took *Don Jasper Sampen*, *Don de Villars Maestro del Campo*, and the *Arch Duke* escaped hardly, for his Horse-bit was held by a Souldier, and he spurred on and got off; losing in this *Battell* the most of his chief Officers: the Prisoners were *Don Francisco de Mendoza* Lieutenant General, a Count of *Solms* on his side, *Don Lewis de Arville*, *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, Doctor *Anarea* the *Arch Dukes* Phyfician, *Don Jasper Marogan*, and five and thirty Horse and Foot Captains, three hundred and ten more men of note, eight Pieces of Cannon, most of the Ammunition, Baggage, and Furniture, the *Arch Dukes* own Tent, Cabinet, Plate, Seals of Arms, one hundred and six Colours, five thousand slain on the place, besides hundreds of others out-lying, in fight; the loss fell most upon the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, who fought bravely, and bore all their brunt, taking too much heart upon their morning success.

On the *Orange* part were slain two thousand and five hundred, most *English*, who were put to it against the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, in several brave Charges, and so lost six *English* Captains, *Yorkley*, *Hunniwood*, *Tyrrill*, *Duxborow*, *Priton*, *Woodward*, and most of the Officers slain or hurt. The *Spaniards* complained of their own Horse which jaded and should have succoured their Foot that fought bravely, and commended the *Dutch's* order in marshalling their men into severall light Divisions, when as the Adversaries great *Phalanges* and *Stand* of Pikes were unwieldy heavy to charge.

The *Danes* dispute the *English* Fishing upon their Coasts *Norway* and *Island*, and seize the *English* and Goods there, who indeed, made no claim of Right, but onely, Leave and Custom from *Norways Kings*, before their conjunction with *Denmak*; and confess, that by the League with King *John* heretofore, they were to ask it from seven to seven years, which had been neglected with King *Christian*; for in 1585. they had Liberty with-

The King
congratulates
the defeat of
Alex's Tre-
son.

The Queen
Answer.

1601.

The Danes
deny the
English to
fish.

Anno
1601.

The King
congratulates
the defeat of
Essex's Treason.

The Queens
Answer.

without further Licence; and concluded (which I wonder at) *Mare liberum*. This occasion acquainted the *English* Delegates (that were sent thither to treat) with the mystery and benefit of Trading, and for the *Londoners* to be instituted into an *East-India* Company with great Privileges.

King *James* nearly concerned to congratulate the happy prevention of *Essex* his Rebellion, sends to *England* the Earl *Mar* *Ambassadour*, with the Abbot of *Kinloss*, to congratulate the *Queens* happy success, against such treasonable Attempts; which she takes well, (coming so seasonably, to satisfy ill Rumours, That *Essex* was made away for affection to the King of Scots Title, and that the *Ambassadors* Commission had been to plead for his part.) And withall to expostulate her remissness, for not due punishing *Valentine Tomas* a base Calumniator of their King: and that *Ewer* and *Ashfield* should be shadowed here, two Fugitives from *Scotland*; But *Ashfield* might be released; And in conclusion, (their chiefeft Errand) for Assignment of some Lands in *England*, as a Rent-charge, for defraying the affairs in *Scotland*, then too burdensom for the King.

She thanked the King, and wished that all *Rebellions* against him, might the Eve of that Day finde the same End and like Success of all *Traitors* to Him, as *Essex* was to Her.

That *Tomas* was spared in prudence to their Masters honour, lest by rubbing old sores with often *Trials* and *Executions*, (too frequent Examples) might rather increase slanderous Tongues, whose impudence in accusing, even without any possibility of truth, or shew of proof, yet through too common rumour thereof, may beget (and that, in time) belief.

Ewer indeed was an ill man for denying peremptory things of evident truths, which yet his protestations wrought upon easie spirits with credulity.

As for *Ashfield*, he had couzened the *President* of the *English* Borders of *Scotland*, with a Trick to go thither, and play'd the *Knave* to get home again.

She always found with long experience, that to countenance evil manners in her neighbour subjects, was, to teach her own, to do worse to her self, and made a distinction of that, with national protection, which in some cases must be maintained.

And that for *Lands* she would add to the former Advance two thousand pounds a year, for maintaining inviolable unity and agreement with her, with caution to him, not to intrust such, as seek their own private gain, with the publick loss.

Thus much in publick, besides their private contrivance with the principal Nobility and Councel, to work them the Kings Friends; who assured him peaceable reception into *England* after *Queen Elizabeth*.

The

James the sixth King of Scotland.

251

The Pope *Clement* the Eighth had that fear, and therefore by his *Breves* prohibits all such Professors of the *Roman* faith not to admit any, how near soever in blood, unless upon Oath he promote the *Catholick* Doctrine; and the like is brought over to *Scotland* by *Hamilton* and *Hayes*, two *Jesuits*, men of fiery spirits and working brains, chief Instruments of Sedition at the holy League in *Paris*; these men are proclaimed *Traitors*, but lurk in the *North* for a long time.

Anno
1601.
Pope Clement
his Bulls a-
gainst Scot-
land.

A general *Assembly* is there resolved at *Brunt-Island* for representing *Papists*, and very conscientious, begin to rectifie themselves; *careless Ministry*, *hasty admission of mean men*, *pleasing the people*, and *ruineth the Church*; and therefore they ordain Days of *Humiliation* and *Prayer*.

An Assembly.

But Mr. *John Davidson* was of opinion, they did ill, not to blanch the *King* and *Court*, and therefore writes to them.

Davidson's
Letter to
them.

How long shall we fear or favour flesh, and follow the counsel and command thereof? Shall our Meetings be in the name of Man? (The King called them, &c.) Is it time for us now, our Brethren thrust out without just order; *Papists*, *Jesuits*, *Atheists* countenanced and advanced to the best Room in the Realm, bringing *Idolatry* and *Babylonish Captivity*? Shall we be inveigled with pretences, petty Preferment to *Parliament Votes*, and *Titles of Prelacy*? &c.

Then scoffing at the King, But Boniton (says he) that Thief is executed, What's that to Religion? Is there none offends but Boniton? But the King is sound, if so, the danger the less, but there is nothing sound in Kirk or King.

Melius & obtabilius est bellum pace impia, & a Deo distrahente.

Do what the King could, such *Libells* were licensed, for which he was committed.

Their Church thus settled, the King urges for a new Translation of the *Bible*, being miserably lamely done, disputing with them the Errors therein, as also their *Prose*, and *Singing Psalms*, wherein he shewed the faults of *Meeter* and *Matter*, with admiration to all that heard him so ready to reason with them, their discrepance from the *Text*, by proofs of other *Languages*, which though he could not obtain from them therein, yet he had it accomplished, where he found obedience to his commands afterwards in *England*, Anno 1603.

He desires a
new Transla-
tion of the
Bible.

The King caresses all his Friends, and sends *Lodowick Duke* of *Lenox* Ambassadour into *France*, with some persons of Honour, and two Counsellours of *State* to caress the King; he arrives at *Diep*, and enters *Paris* with a train of *Scots*, that met him from all parts, a custom they ever had, to set out themselves the

1601.
The Duke
of Lenox
Ambassadour
into France.

Anno
1601.

best side outwards, especially from home, where they are least known, but by their own declarations.

And not long after Audience, at *St. Fermans*, (the *Queen* in childe-bed) and then took leisure to visit his Mother *Madam d' Aubigney*, whilst the *King* boasted to *Callis*, upon false intelligence that *Queen Elizabeth* was desperate ill, or that the affairs of *Flanders*, invited him, *Ostend* then besieged. No doubt, his mouth watered to have found such another faction, as might foist in another *Bastard* of *Normandy*; in gallantry he would say so. Upon his return the Duke takes leave, and lands in *England*.

We may guess what he had done, assured the *Kings* affection to the *French*, and as of ancient amity, so craves continuance and support towards his new *Inheritance*, in case of necessity, when his time should come to the Crown of *England*.

And here he findes the *Queen* ill disposed, and the *Parliament* set, suspected of all, to have made his Masters clame to the Right of *Succession*, and many one ready to offer assistance, but he declared to them, the *Kings* dislike to breed jealousies by such unkindness; his *Commission* being no other, than to salute her, with the *Kings* filial affection to her Majesty; and because he found the *Irish* malady oppressed her most, he proffered his *Masters* aid, to serve her there, which she took well, and he took leave.

The *Mighty States* (out of *sunken Netherlands*) will have no delay, but to subdue *Flanders*; and to amuze the *Arch Duke*, *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* is sent into *Gelderland*, to besiege *Reinbergh*, and had assistance from *England* of four thousand men; but the *Arch Duke* was more forward, and fell upon *Ostend*; to whose Relief are sent twenty *Companies*, and *Sir Francis Vere* their General, both without and within.

Ostend from a poor Fisher-town, had repulsed the Duke of *Parma*, *Maltee*; and now this *Arch Duke* with all his seventeen Forts erected round about it.

For *Sir Francis Vere* in the fifth moneth of the Siege, treats about the Surrender, delaying the *Delegates*, till *Auxiliaries* were raised, and then sent them away, with a fig for them.

The *Arch Duke* was angry, batters *Ostend* with eighteen *Cannon*, drives on two thousand Foot to set upon the old *Town*, the Horse put them on, and take two Fortresses and the *English* Trenches; nine *Ordnance* out of the *West Gate* with *Chain-shot* miserably rent the *Affailants*, with mighty loss in other places.

Sir Francis Vere quits his six moneths Government (as it was ordained) to *Frederick Dork* a *Dutch-man*, who with others succeeding him, defended it three years and four mouths, against *Spains* fury, and the raging sea, the more troublesom Enemy, and

From thence
comes into
England,

and returns
home.

The siege of
Ostend.

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

253

Anno.

1601.

Marshal Byron sent to the Queen,

and in that time were intomb'd in honour, many brave *English* and others the most warlike Souldiers of all *Nations* in *Christendom*, contending for a barren piece of land.

The *French* King fearing such an evil *Neighbour*, provides for his own Coast, and comes to *Callis*, whom *Queen Elizabeth* congratulates by her Secretary *Edmonds*, and he returns the Visit to her by Marshal *Byron*, Monsieur *Arvern*, and Sir *Aumons*, and besides they had in charge, to wish her happiness in the timely suppression of the late *Rising* and sudden *Execution* of *Essex* and his *Complices*.

She said, *His faults deserved that punishment, of which she gave him timely warning, foreseeing his ambition, edg'd on by others, to commit Treason; for which yet, had he begg'd it, she might have given him pardon.*

Byron not long after, felt the like destiny for his *Plots* against the *French* King, though his merits to his Master were far exceeding any pretences of *Essex*; yet all of them and his thirty wounds in the *Kings* service could not prevail, though he begg'd it, with too much desire of longer life. And indeed, *they* were both equally matches, in most things parallel, either in vice or virtue.

executed after.

Money was scarce in *England*, being transported yearly into *Ireland*, one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling, and under that colour the Merchants had a common way, to convey elsewhere much more; and once got to the *Rebells*, it was good barter for all commodities with any foreign *Nation*, and (by stealth) with *English*; the *Coin* for *Ireland* was therefore abased, with some *Brass*, which would bring over the sterling money back again into *England*.

Irish money abased, 160000. per annum.

The Arguments against this could not prevail with Treasurer *Burkhurst*, besides the Law of that time, *Necessity*. 'Tis true, the Souldier lost in his pay, which they felt, but understood not, and the *Queen* was not so nice of her publick repute, but to veil to the benefit, which lasted not long; and the money-masters not then so well experienced to manage the advantage; the *Spanish* policy therein grown cunning might have taught us what they practice for gain.

With fresh pay, the *Deputy* goes on, removes *Ter Oen* from *Black-water*, *Derry Castle*, *Donegal Monastery*.

The titular Earl of *Desmond* and *Mac Cart* are surprized, arraigned and condemned of *Treason*, and sent into *England*, by whom and others is discovered the intention of landing Forces from *Spain* at *Cork*, which was therefore fortified, and fresh mann'd with help of two thousand new Souldiers out of *England*.

The *Spaniards* lands in *September* at the mouth of *Kingsale*
M m 2 Haven

Anno
1601.

Spanish land
in Ireland,

are defated,

24. Decem-
ber.

and depart
home,

Ecclesiastick
Papists at dif-
ference,

Secul ars set
out the Jesu-
ites in their
Colours.

Haven, and the Governour there, *Percie*, retires to *Cork*, and the other let in with thirty five *Ensignes*, and welcomed by the Inhabitants. The President *Carew* bestirrs him; drives the County about; lodges some forces in places of advantage, ready with his Army, to expect *don John D'Aquila* with his title of *Master General and Captain of the Catholick King*, in defending the war of God, and maintenance of Religion in Ireland, and to deliver them from the jaws of the Devil.

Carew forthwith drives them out of the Castle, by the Haven, when 150. more got in, and the Haven blockt up by *Levison*, the English vice Admiral; This news brings *Ter Oen* with all the chief Rebels, to joyn with some Spanish got out of the Town, and altogether make up an Army of 6000. foot, and 500. horse, assured of victory. And the English, wearied with winter sieges, spent with poverty and hunger yet ply the siege, not suffering the Enemy without to recruit the Town, or Spaniards to recenter but they adventure, and are repulsed, and retreat, but are hotly pursued by the Deputy, (whilst *Carew* keeps the Spaniards from breaking out of the Town) and forced to make a stand and fight, with great loss and then to fly. *Don Alphonso O'compo* taken prisoner, with three of his Captains and six *Alpherez*, (Ensignes) Nine Colours, whereof six Spaniards, and 1200. slain; with very little loss to the English; And within six daies after, *don John* designs a parly, And to yield up to the Deputy what they possesse, and to depart with life and goods, but brave *Don* to be the last Man left behind.

Their departure so sodain, troubled the Irish, who are worsted every where, many of the chief Surprized and taken.

And now the old English Adage, when knaves fall out, truth comes to light. The Ecclesiastick Papists in England go by the Ears; The Jesuite against Secular Priests: No blowes but Bookes, and pens for Pot-guns, the general thus.

One *Blackwel* sometime fellow of *Trinity* in *Oxon* was made Arch-priest for the Seculars, and he too much a friend to *Garnet* their Jesuites general, they decline him with scorn.

Hereupon they are degraded, and appeal to Rome, and therefore are Booked for Schismatics and Heroticks, but they got the censure of the University at *Paris* to approve the same, and meaning to prevail in the Queens favour,

They shew, that in her first eleven years reign not one suffered for his Conscience; Nor for ten years after that *Pius Quintus* Bull against the Queen, there were executed but twelve Priests; most of them convicted Traytors; And that then about the year 1580. crept in the Jesuite, whose mischivous practices against the State had disturbed all, and accasioned the severe Lawes against Catholicks.

And

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

255

Anno.

1602

And yet they say, in ten years following, but fifty Priests were executed, the Queens mercy banishing fifty five more, justly deserving death.

From that time (say they) Parsons in Spain an English Jesuite entertains all Vagabond English into their Seminaries there, and from thence came hither turbulent Priests. That he incites the Spaniard now to invade Ireland again, and confirms the Infanta's Title to this Crown, which at the seminary Students maintained by oath.

That Holt the Jesuite suborned Heskett to rebellion, Cullin, York, and Williams, to kill the Queen, Walpole and Squire to impoyson her.

They set out Parsons for a Bastard, a seditious Sicophant; and condemn the Jesuite libels to be full of falsities, and trayterous to God and Her; And conclude, with advise to the English, not to hazard their Children into their seminaries, where, with the Elements of Learning, they infuse Tenents, poysonous Treasons.

The Jesuites thus set out, they retort on the other; and it was best wisdom for the State, to banish them both, and but time; for, Winter and Tesmond a Jesuite, were sent for into Spain, to consult the destruction of the Queen, and by other plots, to exclude King James Inheritor.

The like Conspiracie in the Low-Country against the Arch-Duke, and in France against the King, (and so against most Princes; The Planets then in Conjunction, Malevolent to great men, and foretold by most Astrologers.) In which he escaped hapily, Byrones Treason, who was beheaded and accuses Bouillon, confederate, who fled into Germany, and was complained of to Queen Elizabeth, whose Counsel he craves in these his difficulties, dangerous to his safety, and the hazard of the Monarchy, somewhat drooping, which in policie she endeavoured to support, and did, with Counsel and Arms, in much affection also to him and reformed Religion, which faith she defended alwaies, in every place.

And now the Town and signiory of Geneve is assaulted by the Duke of Savoy, much pittied by their Pupils here in Scotland and England, having their Nourishment from that seminary (then) of seditious reformers, who by their preaching to the people, procured sums of money to be gathered by the benevolence of most Churches in this Island. The Common-people well minded were often cacht, in that time and oportunitie of Devotion, liberally to contribute; especially, if it please the Preacher to set it forth, with Rethorical Sanction; as the Presbyters use to do, for the dear Brethren of Geneve, Germany, and Scotland, &c. One for another as they, for us, when in truth these other were (the most of them) rank Rebolters, and it

Both are banished England.

Geneve besieged, the peoples contribution of mony.

Anno

1602.

The Isle Lewis reduced to the Kings Commands.

The undertakers.

Macklond flies to Sea and takes Balcolmy.

Mordock Executed.

The new Planters beaten out of all.

it was then, a great suspicion that much of monies, drapt short of their receiving; we return to *Scotland*.

The King minding to take leave of his *Native-Country* in peace, and so to settle the continuance after his remove to his second inheritance, now at length very near, He resolved to reduce the High-land Inhabitants of the *Northern Isles* into the *Main*; to civilize them, and to plant *Low-land* men in their habitations.

Some forward Gentlemen, were undertakers, Guided by the affection and Prayers of the *Abbot of Lenders*, who went with them. The Gallants were Colonel *William Stuart*, Captain *William Murray*, *Lermouth* of *Balcolmy*, *James Spence* of *Wormston*, Sir *James Amstrader*, and *James Forret* of *Fingasker*. These well furnished, fell first upon the *Isle Lewis*, and within four daies voyage landed there.

It was Commanded (for Government these had none) by *Mordoch Macklond*, base son to old *Macklond*, tyrannously lording over the poor people. Being surprized, he made bad resistance; his base usage of the Natives, made him more fearfull of their revenge than of an Enemies Conquest, and therefore humbling himself to Conditions; even in the Treaty, his heart distrusting quarter, who never gave any, he stole away, and fled to Sea, leaving the Inhabitants soon to Obedience.

The Laird of *Balcolmy* returning back with this good news to the King; and not many Leagues lanced from Land, but *Macklond* with a Number of *Birlings* (little vessels) boarded *Balcolmy*, killed all his men, and kept him alive, for advance of a Ransome, which was procured out of the Kings Coffers, and he conveyed into *Orkney*, where he died.

The other Conquerors interessed in this injurie, conjure *Neill Macklond* brother to *Mordoch* to betray him, for a piece of money and hopes of preferment; He did so, by *Ambuscado* surprizes him and twelve Men more. Murthers these in could blood; but to keep his word, delivers *Mordoch* to the undertakers, who sent him to Saint *Andrews*, where he was executed.

The New Planters, began to settle, and share out Lands to themselves, and tenure it out to the poor Natives, drudges, and sworn Subjects; whilst in this seeming security, *Norman Macklond*, Natural son to old *Macklond*, with a Regiment of Rogues, raised from all the Neighbour Isles, fell upon them unawares, and forced them to these Conditions.

To procure Him and His remission of all offences and pardon.

To resign to him all their right, to the Isle Lewis.

That Sir *James Spence* and his son in Law, should be Pledges to him, til these were performed, by Patent from the King.

The

The case thus altered, Sir *James Armstroder* with his company came home (many being killed) obtained them remission, and security of the *Isle*, and sent to *Norman*, by *James Lermouth*; the Pledges released, and this Enterprize defeated; but was again attempted three years after, 1605. in this manner.

The first Undertakers weary of their Design by excessive expence made over their Right to *Lumsdale* of *Ardie* and *Hay*, who with the treachery of *Mackey Mackerzy*, and *Donold Gorum*, forced the Indabitants out of the *Isle*; and having done this work, sends to the *South-land* for *Artizans* and *Laborers*, and beginning to build and plant, but wanting means to pay, the Work-men went away; the Natives abroad associate with a number of *Islanders*, invade the *Planters* with often Incurfions, and so wearied them out of all, for a piece of money to boot to *Mackerzy*.

and again attempted, but to no purpose.

There being no remedy left for *Robert Bruce*, exiled into *France*, yet upon intercession of some friends, and submission to the *King*, he had leave to return; and so appearing before the *King* and Commissioners of the *Church*, acknowledged his Error, concerning *Gowries* guilt, (as you have heard) and further to recant it in his next Sermon; which Protestation he subscribes, witnessed by eleven Commissioners, and so had leave to preach, but did not, pretending, *That his Ministry would be discredited if he should preach by injunction*; and was therefore discharged his Ministry by the *General Assembly*, who enacted, *That in memory of his Majesties Deliverance from Gowries Attempt, Sermons, Prayer and Thanksgiving should be solemnized in all the Burghs every Tuesday the fifth of August for ever, as the Parliament had prescribed in all Churches of the Kingdom.*

Bruce the Minister his inconstancy.

The *Jesuits* (as in *England* so in *Scotland*) having no hopes of *Toleration*, but much urged in both Kingdoms, and that their pitifull Pamphlets, for the petence of the *Infanta's* title to *England*, not prevailing with the people, nor their *Treaty of Marriage* of the *Lady Arabella*, with the *Prince of Savoy*, nor with her and the *Earl of Hertfords* Grand-childe; they went the old way to work, by Murder; and *Francis Mowbray* son to the *Laird* of *Barruchowgall*, by the *Infanta's* Court at *Bruxels*, undertook to kill the *King*; and in his journey home through *England* was discovered at *London*, and accused by one *Daniel* an *Italian*, which the other denied, and were both sent secure to *Scotland*; and there by more severe Examinations, *Mowbray* was committed to *Edenburgh castle*, where, forcing the Grate Irons of his *Window*, intended to let himself down by his *Bed-sheets*, which proving too short, he fell from the precipice, and dashed out his brains upon the *Rocks*; his body was ordered into quarters, as the manner of *Traitors*, though his kindred (well born) pretended

Mowbrays intent to kill the King,

He breaks his own neck.

Anno
1601.

The French
Ambassadors
in England.

Delivers Let-
ters to Cecil
and discourses
with him.

Cecil's an-
swer.

tended that he was strangled in *Prison*, and his body flung out of the *Window*, to amuze the world with his own death and guilt.

Queen *Elizabeths* increasing towards her decreasing, she was now left of all without recovery, which occasioned the *French King* to send his Ambassadour into *Scotland*, and another into *England*, under pretence of impeaching the policies of *Spain*, but rather to observe the motions and disposition of either people, in reference to the *Queens* death, accompanied with Letters to certain Lords of either *Nation*.

To Secretary *Cecil* with extreme affection, it being high time to caress such men of interest in *State*, when in a visit, the Ambassadour to sound him, fell into heart-burning for the miserable calamity that would befall the poor *Nation*, in the death of the *Queen*, and in particular *Cecil's* exchange, of a gracious *Mistress* for a stranger, *King of Scotland*, if he should succeed; a *Prince* no doubt subtle (said he) enough, as yet, to seem fair, untill the future occasion give him power and means to revenge his *Mother's* death, as upon others, so in particulars on you, for your fathers fault then, and your counsels since.

The Secretary suspecting his drift, answered, That it was the usual reward of unspotted duty, when Ministers of State chiefly respect the service of their Sovereign, without regard to their own safety: himself ready to suffer with comfort for so just a cause, the credit thereof being the best security to an even conscience; esteeming that *Maries* Martyrdom the highest honour; but he supposed, that matters past would not be challenged to memory; if it should be so, and his own case desperate, he might be minded to flee into another City, and take the benefit of his Majesties royal offer.

The Ambassadour made fair retreat, and said, That in case the *King of Scots* should carry himself with respect which was due to a *King of France*, his Master was not purposed to impeach his interest.

Cecil replied, The *King* was wise, and shewed it in that resolution.

The Secretary sets down this passage to *King James*, taking occasion thereby to assure him his faithfull service, Though he does not as others had done, needlessly hazard his fortune, before fit time.

The *King* returns him this Answer.

As I do heartily thank you (says he) for your plain and honest offer, so may you assure your self, that it would do me no pleasure, for you to hazard Fortune or Reputation, since the loss of either would make you less valuable to me; No, I love not to feed on such fantastical humours, though I cannot hinder busie-bodies, their own idle imaginations; but I hold it the Office of a *King*, as sitting on the Throne

James the Sixth King of Scotland.

259

Anno

1602.

Throne of God, to imitate the Primum Mobile, and by his steady and ever constant course to govern all other changeable and uncertain motions of the inferiour Planets. And I protest in Gods presence, that for your constant and honest carriage in your Sovereigns service, I loved your virtues, long before I could be certain that you would deserve at my hands the love of your person. Wherefore go on and serve her truly that reigneth, as you have done; for he that is false to the present, will never be true to the future.

To give your judgment of the Kings wisdom and piety, see the difference in his answer to the Earl of Northumberland, who certified him of the Queens weakness, and advised him to make sure of his Title, by apprehending the necessity of hasty possession whilest time was offered.

To him he professeth, That man can neither be religious nor just, that deals not by his Neighbour as himself would be dealt withall, and in a Person of quality it can be no wisdom, to leap Hedge and Ditch, and adventure his neck, for gathering forbidden fruit before it be ripe, when as by waiting the seasonable time, he may be sure to finde the Gates of the Orchard open, and with freedom, to enter; take, and tast at liberty.

Sure it were a weakness and unworthiness in me to come in as an Usurper, with offence and scandal to the Laws, and present Estate of Government, when I may in the right time clame the Crown as nearest Heir to the Prince deceased, and possess it with equity. Should I, out of untimely ambition break the long continued and faithfully preserved Amity, that by the proof of many mutual kinde offices hath taken root amongst us, were an error inexcusable. And though I do acknowledg your kinde affection in the offers you make of assistance; I must tell you freely, That no Prince can presume of any Subjects loyalty to himself, that hath been unfaithfull and unsound to his own Sovereign; nor could I ever look to be secure in a Kingdom so traiterously disposed.

And adviseth the Earl, To forbear such Letters; and when he did write, (which he wished but rarely, and not but in great occasion) to beware of any thing justly to offend the Queen; lest by interception or other misadventure, he might be disabled to serve him hereafter.

The Spaniards driven out of Ireland, Ter Oen retires to his Fastness in Ulster, the Deputy pursues him with a great Army, burn, kill, and take all that come in their way of enmity, divers of the chief Rebels submit, whom the Deputy receives to favour and preferment, somewhat (the common sense) before others, of that Nation, always loyal; It was his wisdom so to do, to quiet the Kingdom, and quench the issue of Bloud, by forgetting rather injuries past, than for the present to reward the merits

The Kings
answer to the
Earl of Northumberland

Spaniards
drove out of
Ireland.

Anno

1602.

Ter Oen sub-
mits to mer-
cy.

Charges of
the Irish War
in the four
last years and
a half.

1198717.l.
9.s.1.d.

The Queens
ominous re-
move to Rich-
mond in Ja-
nuary,

past hope of
recovery.

The Court
custome.

of others, much deserving. And it took effect also in the person of *Ter Oen*, who tired with treachery, his best defence, and wearied with a world of miseries, in this time of *Rebellion*, having leisure, whilst he lurked, to meditate and bring all together to the sadness of his soul; he humbly offers his submission to the *Queen*, and prays for pardon, which she in distemper of health authorized the *Deputy* to promise, and to receive his subjection, which was done at *Dublin*, in that *State of Vicegerency*, the *Deputy* sitting in his *Throne*, incircled with the most of his *Militia*.

Ter Oen, whose wicked life had brought him to misery, despicable to himself, humbled him at the very threshold of the chamber, prostrates his knees, for pardon of his many offences of God and his Sovereign, to whose princely clemency he flies, as to *Anchor-hold*, submits his life and fortune, having heretofore found her goodness, as he hath felt her power, now seeks for mercy as an Example to everlasting memory of her present clemency; assuring, his years not so many, nor his body so weak in power, nor courage so cold, but that by valiant and loyal service, he may live to expiate his *Rebellion*.

Upon this score he was taken to favour and pleasure of the *Queen*: now eight years after his first *Rebellion* brought to an happy issue, under the Lord *Mountjoy* the *Deputy*; the long distraction whereof, added to the *Queens* age, often distempers of the minde, which settled into a sickness of her climaterick seventieth year; and with a fatal longing to remove from *London* to *Richmond*, in a foul day, to talk of death, and divorce between *Her* and her *Kingdoms*, to whom she wedded her self, she said, (*When first she put on a remarkable Ring on her finger*) and never removed, till now, it was cut off.

And thus sadness increasing, no wonder at what cause, for she had many; most men, the multitude, will have one to be forsooth the want of *Essex*; such also were his admirers, and none other of honesty or discretion. Indeed the *French King* to curry favour, had sent her Letters of suspicion, *That the Nobility neglected her too much, affecting the King of Scots, that the dawning of her day should Sun-set, when too timely they endeavoured to adore the morning-rise*. And this was true, her Ladies weary of waiting, wish for a change, and all together, long for a *Successor*, whom they advise to be sent for. The *Queen* not so sick but to see this, and complain'd, *That being yoked she could trust to none, and her Estate turned top-side turvey*.

She was told also, the frequent *poasting* to *Scotland*, at which she did not repine, having settled her affection on the *Kings* succession, though not necessary for her heretofore to declare. In *March* she hastens with some symptoms of death's approach; very

very froward and pettish, evermore declining *Physick*, and now onely took Medicines for the soules health, communicated to her by the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury* in Discourse and Prayer.

The *Lord Admiral*, *Lord Keeper*, and *Secretary Cecil*, came from the *Council*, to know her pleasure for her *Successour*.

She said, *My Throne is for a King, none other shall succeed me.*

Cecil asked her, *What King?*

She said, *What other King than my Kinsman, the King of Scots?*

She was frequent in Prayer, till her tongue was weakned into silence, hands weary with heaving up, or eys able to look out, then after some time, not stirring, she leisurely turned her head, with ratling in the throat, and gave up the ghost to God Almighty on that day of her Birth, from whom she had it, seventy years since, on a *Thursday* night this four and twentieth of *March*, the last day of the year 1602. and in the five and fortieth of her *Reign*, an Age and *Reign* not to be numbered by any one *King of England* before. Her *Successour* said as much in his *Preface* to his son, *The like had not been seen or heard of since the days of Augustus.*

And one speaking of her days, *We have lived* (says he) *in a time of miracles; Was it not a miraculous mercy, that Queen Elizabeth that matchless Princess and Pearl of the World should in these fiery times be preserved in safety, as a sweet harmless Lamb, amidst so many merciless, Romish Wolves, who implacably thirsted for her pretious life? Was it not a wonder, that the sacred hand of that self-same crowned blessed Lady (next under Gods Almighty one) should in despite of all the Powers of Darkness and popish rage, raise out true Religion; as it were, by miracle from the dead, a thing which the World hoped little to see, that even they which beheld it done, scarcely believed their own senses, that after the silver line of her most honoured life, should be hid in the endless maze of Gods bottomless mercies, from the fiery assaults of so many popish Bulls, such a prodigious variety of murderous complotments against her sacred person, and all these desperate Assassines of Rome, who all her life long, hunted full greedily after her virgin blood? And was not our Deliverance in Eighty Eight a miracle, when the Sea fought for us? There was a Day, which (as many of us remember) the Papists called, The long lookt for Day, the Day should pay for all; they meant the Day when she should die; that it would be a bloody Day, by the uncertainty of the next Heir; our Countrey is in the most dreadfull and desperate case, in the greatest misery, and most dangerous times that ever it was since or before the Conquest, and far worse than any Countrey in Christendom, by the certainty of the most bloody, civil, and forein Wars; all our*

Anno
1602.

Counsellours
come to her.

Q. Elizabeth
dies on a
Thursday, so
did her Fa-
ther and all
his children.

Basilicon
Doron.

See Boltons
Lectures,
p. 13, 14, 15.

Answer to the
Libell of
England,
p. 176, 185.

Anno
1602.

Westonius in
peroratione ad
Academicos.

wealth and felicity whatsoever, depending upon a few uncertain days of *Queen Elizabeths* life.

Clouds of bloud (says another) *hang in the Air, which at the death of Queen Elizabeth will dissolve and rain down upon England, which then is expected as a Prey to Neighbour Nations,*

These false Prophets spake this sense; for the Sun set, and no night followed.

Mira cano, Sol occubuit, Nox nulla secuta.

The same mercifull hand, at the same time, crowned *Queen Elizabeth* with immortal glory, and set the *Earthly Crown* of this *Kingdom* upon King *James* his head, without shedding so much as one drop of bloud.

Sic transit gloria mundi.

Queen Elizabeth was a Princess excellent in all *Tongues*; she translated the *Prayers* of *Queen Katharine* into *Latine, French,* and *Italian*; she wrote a *Century of Sentences*, and dedicated them to her Father; and translated *Salustius*; she made several *Orationes* in *Latine* in both the *Universities*; and entertained *Ambassadors* always in their own *Languages*: many of her excellent *Speeches* in *Parliament* are in print.

Queen Mary of *Scotland* wrote a Book of Verses in *French* of the *Institution* of a *Prince*, all with her own hand, wrought the Cover with her Needle, which the *King* kept as a Relick of her Memory, as I have seen.

The End of the first Part.



LONDON.
Printed by Henry Hills, 1655.



THE
R E I G N
AND
D E A T H
OF
King J A M E S
OF

Great BRITTAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND,
the First, &c.

The Second Part.



L O N D O N,
Printed by *Henry Hills*, 1655.

THE
RIGHT
AND
DEATH
OF
King JAMES

OF
Great BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND,
the First &c.

The Second Part.



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These particular Passages of the Second Part may be read by themselves apart.

I ntroduction to the Second Part	page 2	The Oath of Supremacy, and K. James his Apology to Forein Princes	329
Of Knights Batchelors	271	Of Jesuits how to suppress them	331
Of the Order of the Garter, and Saint George his story	273	Libel against the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, and His answer	334
Of Earls, and their Dignities	274	King James Speech and answer to the Arguments concerning the Union	338
Of Barons, and their Dignities	275	Sprots Conspiracy with Gowry, his arraignment and Execution	342
Knights of the Bath their Creation	276	Lord Balmerino his treacherous Design	348
Digression, concerning Imperial Rule, and Interest of Christian Princes	277	King James his second Speech in Parliament	353
Of War and Conquest, of Success, their Consequences	281	Duke of Gelders his Descent and Death	361
Sir Walter Raleighs Treason	282	Prince of Wales, their Dignity	362
Of Presbyterians Doctrines	289	Of Chelsey Colledge	365
Conference at Hampton Court	293	Of Masks and Comedies	366
Translation of the Bible and singing Psalms	308	Suttons Hospital founded	367
Catechising commended	310	Of Vorstius and Arminius, their Books and Doctrines	370
Of Parliaments, their beginnings	312	Prince Henries Sickness and Death	377
King James first Speech in Parliament	319	[1] Treasurer	
The Powder Treason	323		

The Index to the second Part.

Treasurer Lord Salisbury his	tion	466
Life and Death	381	
Sir Thomas Overbury his story	Of Synodes and Councils, Synode	467
mixed with the Earl of Essex	of Dore	
and his Countess Divorce	Of blazing Star & Comets	471
disputed and answered by King	Of Prince Palatine and Crown	
James	of Bohemia	478
391	Sir Henry Wootton's Embassy	
Earl of Northampton's Life	into Germany	485
and Death	Marriages with forrein Princes	
393	unfortunate to England	487
Of Duels and Combats	394	
Of Plantations in America	400	
Of Baronet Knights creation	402	
King James wants discussed how	Of Libells and Pasquils	526
to be relieved	404	
Earl of Somerset & his Countess	Of Knights Templers	527
arreigned	414	
His Letter to K. James	Preachers ordered their matter	531
420	and manner	
The case of Commendams	424	
Difference between the Chancery	King of Spain's Letter to Oli-	
and Common Pleas, and their	vares, and his Answer concern-	
Dignities	ing the Princes Match	539
431	Prince Charls journey into Spain	
King James his Speech in Star-	his Treatments and return	542
chamber	439	
Sir Thomas Lake and his wives	Spanish Ambassadour accuses the	
story	Duke of Buckingham of Trea-	
446	son	562
King James journey into Scot-	Prince Charls Marriage with	
land	France treated and effected	566
450		
George Villiers a favourite his	Treasurer Cranfield put out of	
story	Office	573
455	Of Apprentices of London,	
Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana	they are no bond-men, discussed	574
Voyage and Execution	459	
A monstrous Murther in Corn-		
wall	463	
Barnevelt's Treason and Execu-	Cruelty of Amboyna	576
	Famous Siege of Breda	579

The

The *INDEX* to the second Part.

A.

Qu: Ann sent for out of Scotland, her Design to seize the Prince, p.272
 Her Death and Character, 774
 Ambassadour French and Spanish quarrel 320
 Weston and Conway Ambassadors into Germany 482
 Lord Haies Ambassadour into France 428
 Lord Rosse Ambassy into Spain 429
 Spanish Ambassadour accuses the Duke of Buckingham of Treason, the story 562
 Assembly of the Scots Kirk in spite of the King 321, & 475
 Aid-money 363
 Arminius and Vorstius their Heresies and story 370
 Adamites Heresies 375
 Abbot Arch-Bishops Arguments against the Nullity of Essex, and his Countess answered 391
 Kills his Keeper 530
 Arreignment of the Earl of Somerset and Countess for impoisoning of Overbury 414
 Arreigning of Peers discussed 414
 Lady Arabella marries Seymour 423
 Marques D'Ancre murdered in France 549
 Abbot Arch-Bishop his Letters concerning the King of Bohe-

mia

481

Earl Arundel Lord Marshal their Dignities 505
 Of Apprentices of London no Bond-men 574
 Cruelty of the Dutch at Amboyna 576

B.

B Arons created 271
 their Dignities 275
 Beaton Arch-Bishop dies in France 271
 Batchelour Knights manner of Creation 276
 Bible new translated 308
 Balmerino Secretary of Scotland his Treason and story, pardoned, he and his posterity ungratefull 348
 Bishops of Scotland enlarge their power 350
 Baronet Knights created and discussed 402
 Benevolence and means of the Kings supplies discussed 407
 Sir Francis Bacon made Lord Chancellour 437
 his submission in Parliament and supplication 501
 his Character 503
 his Encomium of King James 594
 Barnevelt in Holland his Treason and execution 465
 Blazing Star their effects discussed 471
 King

The Index to the second Part.

King and Queen of Bohemia defeated and fly into Holland	485	succeeds	437
Breda that famous Siege and lost	579 589	Church of Scotlands proceedings	475
Briante, Boteville and Beauvoir their several Duels and Com- bats	582	Cranfield Lord Treasurer questioned in Parliament, and put out	495 572
Bolton's contemplation on King James	594	Calumnies answered	535
		Combates at Breda	582

C.

K ing and Queen crowned	275
Corenation-oath	276
Conference at Hampton-court to settle the Discipline of the Church	282
Catechizing commanded	310
Commotion of Commoners	312
Charls Prince created Duke of York	322
High Commission Court	352
	356
Chelsey College founded, and why	365
Contribution money	367
Car a Favourite and his Coun- tess their story	376
arreigned for impoysoning O- verbury	414
the case pleaded	416
condemned, reprieved and par- doned	419
his Letter to the King	420
The case of Commendams, the Kings right to them pleaded, and passages thereupon	424
Lord Chancellour and Lord Cook difference, the cause and case	431
the Kings Letters to the Chan- cellour, his sickness and death	432
Common Pleas Court what	434
Chancery Court and power	435
Chancellour Sir Francis Bacon	

D.

D igression, designs for Impe- rial rule in Christendom	277
King of Denmark his first arri- val to visit the Queen his Si- ster	333
second arrival	413
E. Dorset Lord Treasurer dies	342
Of Duels	394
Dort Synode	467
Lord Digby Ambassadour to the Empire	495
returns accounts to the Parlia- ment	509
sent into Spain to treat in the Match	524
ordered by Letters how to pro- ceed	536
created Earl of Bristol	539
is to forbear the Esponsals	555
takes leave of Spain	556
and is come home to the Parlia- ment	563
Designs at the Siege of Breda	584

E.

Q ueen Elizabeth not willing to publish her Successour	261
Earls created	274
their Dignities	275
Excommunication absurd in Scotland	368
Earl of Essex, and his Countess, and	

The Index to the second Part.

and Overbury, their story in-
termixed 385
their Divorce and manner 386
Four Earls created for money 463
The Emperour in Arms concern-
ing the Kingdom of Bohemia 480
Eggleſham his ſcurrilous Pam-
phlet 592

F.

Favourite Car his ſtory 376
Villiers a Favourite his ſtory 455

G.

Saint George's Feaſt and his
ſtory, Order of the Garter 273
Gowry's day of Conſpiracy ſo-
lemnized, the memorial 312

H.

King Henry 8. turns Prote-
ſtant, makes war with Scot-
land, defeats them Proeme
Henry 4. of France murdered 362
Prince Henry created Prince of
Wales, their Dignities 362
his ſickneſs and death 377
Hoſpital of Sutton founded 367
Honors illegally adopted in Scot-
land 369
Heresies of Vorſtius and Armi-
nius their ſtory 370
Of Adamites 375
Lord Haies Ambaſſadour into
France, and character 428
Earl Huntley of Scotland his
ſtory 444
Titles of Honor to Engliſh wo-
men 458
Sir Edward Hawley a ſtout
Templer 524
Marqueſs Hamilton's ſudden

death 590

I.

King James 5. dies, his cha-
racter 3
King James 6. his parents 1
Introduction, Queen Elizabeths
ſickneſs and death 265
King James 6. ſettles his affairs
in Scotland 265
proclaimed King of England 268
ſets out from Scotland 269
his intereſt with other Princes 280
Letters of Reprieve for three
ready to be executed 287
his Speech in Star-chamber 439
Journey into Scotland and
paſſages there 450
his Letters to the Aſſembly at
Perth 475
his Speech to the Parliament 493
and again to the Lords 497
retires diſcontent to Newmar-
ket 509
writes to the Speaker 510
his meſſage to the Parliament 512
his Answer to their Petition 513
writes to Secretary Calvert 520
and to the Speaker 521
fights and treats 538
his Speech in Parliament 557
and again 560
answers their Petition againſt
Papists 564
his ſickneſs, diſeaſe, and dies 591
vindicated 592
his character and royal memory 594
and

The Index to the second Part.

and Epitaph 599

K.

K Nights Batchelors made and
their Dignities 270
Knights Templers 527
Knights Baronets created and
discussed 402
Knights of the Bath their man-
ner and creation 276
Kings elective and successive
their different kinds 480
Lord Kensington his birth and
breeding 429
Embassage into France about the
Marriage 566
quarrels with Count Soisons 569

L.

L Epton's speedy post to York
from London and back a-
gain six several days together 333
Sir Thomas Lake and his Lady
their story 446
of Libells and Pasquils 526
answered by Treasurer Salisbu-
ry 381

M.

Earl Montgomery the first
Favourite 365
careless of the Kings sickness 592
Masks and Plays discussed 366
Queen Mary of Scotland her
Corps re-interred at Westmin-
ster 376
Moneys the King wants and ways
of supply 404
restrains his bounty 406
Money of Benevolence 407
Merch. Traders make feuds 313
Cross Marriages of Spain,
France and Savoy 417

congratulated by Embassies 428

Murther monstrous in Cornwall 463

Murther of D'Ancre in France 449

Murther of Henry 4. of France 362

Marriages with forrein Princes
unfortunate to England 487

Match with Spain, the Princes
journey and story 524

Marriage of the Palsgrave with
the Princess Elizabeth 377

married 380

Marriage of the Prince with
France treated 566

Marquess Buckingham created,
and the Dignity of a Marquess 489

Montague made Lord Treasurer
his Descent and Issue 490

Mansel Sir Robert his Expedi-
tion and Voyage against the Pi-
rats of Algier 491

Michel and Mompeffon censu-
red in the Parliament 500

Earl Marshal of England their
dignity 505

Massacre at Virginia 528

Count Mansfield comes to Hol-
land, raises Forces in England
for the Netherlands 587

N.

Earl of Northumberland and
other Lords censured as
guilty of the Powder Treason 334

Earl of Northampton dies, his
concernments 393

O.

Oath of Allegiance 315
and Supremacy 316
the Popes Bull against it, the
Kings Apology to all Princes
thereof

The Index to the second Part.

thereof	329	their thanks and Petition	521
Earl of Orkney committed	352	and are dissolved	522
his Execution	398	another Parliament	555
Sir Thomas Overbury his story	383	petition against Papists	564
impoysoned	393	their Designs of War for the	579
discovered	414	Palatinate	579
Oglevey a Jesuit his story	398	Pastimes harmless allowed, and	458
Earl of Oxford his descent	483	recreations after Sermons	458
he and Essex carries Souldiers		Pouder Treason	323
into Germany	483	Post nati confirmed	340
joyn Forces with the Princes		Papists persecuted by Pens	364
against the Emperour, they are		Prince Palatine a Suitor to the	
beaten and fly	485	Princess Elizabeth	377
he is committed in England		married	380
and the occasion	523	electd King of Bohemia, the	
Prince of Orange dies	588	occasions discussed, story and	
Earl of Oxford's Enterprize at		war	478
the Siege of Breda	588	Proscriptions against him	482
		raises an Army, defeated and	
		flies into Holland	485
		Pirates of Algier, expedition	
		against them	441
		Lords petition against Titles of	
		forrein Honours	496
		against grievances	497
		Preaching how ordered	531
		Papist and Puritan discussed	533
		Prince Charls his journey to	
		Spain	542
		arrives there	543
		complements with the King	544
		enters in triumph to Madrid	545
		visits the Queen	546
		her presents to the Prince	547
		he answers the Popes Letters	548
		takes leave to return	551
		Presents given and received	552
		his journey towards the Sea,	
		and parting with the King	553
		the Pillar at parting	554
		in danger to be drown'd, the	
		storm described	554
		lands in England	555
		Queen	

The Index to the second Part.

Q.

Queen Mother of France flies
from them 450
Queen Ann sent for out of Scot-
land, and her designs to seize
the Prince 272
she dies, her character 474

R.

Raleigh Sir Walter, his birth,
breeding, preferment and
treason 281
released imprisonment 459
his Guiana Voyage and Execu-
tion 469
Sir Harry Rich his birth and
breeding discussed 429
made Baron Kensington, Am-
bassadour into France about the
Marriage 566
quarrels with Soisons 565
Revolt of the Earls in Scotland 368
Rainbowe lunary 378
Duke of Richmond dies sudden-
ly 557

S.

Success and consequence of e-
vents 281
Psalms new translated 309
Star-chamber, original and end-
ing 334
the Kings Speech there 439
Earl of Salisbury his answer to
a Libell 334
dies, his story 381
his Offices how disposed 383
Sprot confederate in Gowry's
conspiracy, his Examination
and Execution 342
Sanquire a Scots Baron hanged
for murther of Turner 380
Earl of Somerset his story 376
his Letter to the King 420
Earl of Suffolk Treasurer sen-
tenced in Star-chamber 437
Spalato Bishop comes into Eng-

land, revolts again, and dies 449
Earl of Shrewsbury dies 459
Synode of Dort 468
Of Synodes, Diet and Councils,
their initiations 468
Spinola his Forces in Flanders 483
besieges Breda 579

T.

Treasurer Mountague 490
Treasurer Suffolk 437

U.

Union of both Nations in-
tended 320
argued, and the Kings answer 338
Vorstius and Arminius their
Heresies and story 370
Villiers a favourite his story 455
Master of the Horse and Mar-
ques 489
Earl and Duke 547
goes with the Prince into
Spain 542
quarrels with Olivares 551
returns to the Ships 552
his Declaration to the Parlia-
ment 559

W.

War, the consequence 281
Whitgift Arch-Bishop
dies 307
Waldenses vindicated 376
Sir Henry Wootton his Em-
bassies to the Emperour and
Princes in Germany 485
Dr. Williams Dean of West-
minster and Bishop of Lincoln
and Lord Keeper 504
his character 507

Y.

Sir Henry Yelverton Prisoner
and why 499
his Letters to the Duke of Buc-
kingham 500

The



THE
P R O E M E
TO THE
Second Part.

WE now enter on the second part, the Accession of a Crown rightly descended to King James by Succession from the Union of Marriage, long since to this re-union of Kingdoms now, as a period (in shew) of all Trepidation and Motions in him, and his Posterity, but the eye of all-seeing Wisdom, hath with his powerful hand of Providence dissipated those designs and aims of perpetuity, and hath not left any one of his, in present possession of any part of his inheritance. And though the prevailing Party minds no other Justification than Success; yet some men more busie than useful take upon them by deformed writings and Pasquilles, to conclude this Fa-
brick from such Foundation as they please to contribute their Counterfeit Materials, with their Prophecies, Policies, Directories, Narratives, and such like stuff, the general blanch upon former Sovereigns. Each one professing Truth to countenance their affecti-
ions and Passions, which alter too, with the subsequence of Time and State. And thereby comes to be published sundry Rapsodies, Petit-Pamphlets, and Papers. But yet if you deny their Tenents, you are forthwith to be taken for a State Heretique.

Non servata unitas, nisi in credendo omnia.

The Proeme to the second part.

As if none could be saved that ever believed Reason in a King. From One of that Brain issued out a Pamphlet [The Court and Character of King James] by which Title I was induced to examine the Book, and the [five Remarkable Passages of the Preface] To them all, my time and experience in the shadow of that Court, enabled me to make present Answer. Which (ere I was aware) got loose into the Press, and stiled *Aulicus Coquinarix*; and so might want necessary dress to give it due passage in the Manner and Matter; which are now supplied in this History, and owned to be mine.

For though there may be granted great Antipathy, between the former, and this State in Civil Policy, yet no such matter from thence, for our disobedience now; What ever may be pretended by Others, I conceive the People no meet Judge or Arbitrator. For my part (I am witness to my self) as that no contradiction shall supplant in me the Reverence I ow to Authority; Neither shall any Adversaries by Calumny embase my Opinion and high Esteem of K. James his just Merits and Royal Memory. The Indisposition of these later times, having pierced with Accusations, very many Men of excellent Virtues.

Mala dicta ingenere, concinnatis calumniis.

They leave all reverend compassion towards evils, or religious indignation towards faults; turn all into a Satyr, search and rip up wounds, with smiling impudence, and strain their counterfeit zeal to the publick, with untruths abominable.

Et magnis Mendacii Credulitas.

Welcome whisperings are quickly heard, where potent malice is Promoter. They tragically aggravate infirmities and slips, unworthily upbraiding adverse Fortunes; and that their belief herein, must necessarily be the more perfect, which is most degrees removed from the last Actors, and so becomes,

*Postumi erroris filii:
Non tam in odium boni,
Quam amorem Mali
Proclives sumus, As one saith.*

These Kingdomes in King James time, grown aged in happinesse, that as men used to say of the spiced air of the Sabæans,

Summus quidem Odor, sed voluptas, Minor.

The very excess seemed to abate the pleasure: Or as the hot sent of Musk to some Savors seem to stink.

The Proeme to the second part.

Repetitions of our Blessings then, did not so much affect our Nations as dull them. Peace made us wanton; Plenty intemperate; Mercies secure; Our Benefits then became our Weapons to rebell against his fame now; The whole Land being sowed by the Peoples Sins; too much felicity introduced Luxury, and Correllaries of Vices, Pride, Ambition, Contempt of things Divine and Humane.

This Nation in short time sick of a surfeit of Health; afterwards broke with too much wealth; and now it comes to amendment. Ryot begins to grow thirsty, made so, to go plain; Gluttons, to fast; Wantonness, starved into Soberness.

But --- we may already be affraid of Relapse; Bedrid Exorbitancies, fowler for purging.

Need is there none to number up the Graces and Blessings by this King in competition with Her, his Predecessor. It may be, Her virtues then are now become Torches in the dark, which appear greatest afar off, as His Vices (made so by some writers) do neer at hand.

I shall endeavour to recover the truth of his time, least slanderous Tongues, run mad with railing; they presuming to be got out of distance of time, and reach of Confutation; So that Maiesty which dies not may yet be discoloured.

As in particular, a Writer indeed a few years since, holds forth, (he saies) The History of Great Brittain, but speaks not a word of Scotland or Ireland, and so this Vindication serves the turn to answer All.

But to give this Man therein his due, we may find truth and falsehood, finely put together (if it be his own) for it is my hap to meet with Post-nati; both these Books, born from the dead, and were Abortives; but like Bear-whelps, licked over by laborious Penmen.

The one a Manuscript of Sir A. W. which with some regret of what he had maliciously writ, intended to the fire, and dyed Repentant, though since stoln to the Press out of a Ladies Closet.

This Other, designed an Epistle for honourable Patronage, who disdained the owning. And so comes out bare Collections of Old. I knew of them, and their Parent Presbyter, put together by the Poet; And shaped out by the Doctor, and Wilsons Name, set to the Sale.

My aym is in these times of Distraction, to present to the publique the former fruits of Peace and Plenty, planted by Providence, and ripened to Maturity, by Divine Influence, throughout His Daies. If any failings, so much searched for, and to be found at last, are then to be attributed to his age, not Him. In declention of years not many Princes end in much splendor, when vigour fails, so does their fortune.

For my self, having lived long time in Court, and employed (till my gray hairs) more in Businesses than Books; far unworthy, I humbly

The Proeme to the second part.

bly confesse, to have any hand to the Helm, yee I cabin'd neer the Steerage, and so might the more readily Run the compass of the Ships-Way. And truly I traversed aboard too, though not in Counsel with Masters or Mates; observing also the Heights and Declinations of the Sun and Stars, the better able to evidence their Actions and Influence upon our World.

Add herein to be read in few howers, what have been reaped in many years, These undeniable Truths, which I have seen and heard.

Will. Sanderson.

The



Introduction.



E reade in *Stories*, how perplexed several *Princes* have been in some dependent policies, at their first *acquisition* to their *Governments*, especially such *Sovereigns* as come to their *Crowns* by *accidents* mixt with *Succeſſion*: I finde not any (amongst many) more difficult to decide, than that which befell King *James*, and followed the death of *Queen Elizabeth*.

The horrid remembrance of the late execution of his *Mother Queen Mary*, famed by all forein *Nations*, for a *Lady* that had born the *Illustrious Diadems* of two glorious *Scepters*, the one by lawfull *Succeſſion* of former *Kings*, even from her *Cradle*; the other by powerfull *Conquest* of a mighty *Prince*, with her incomparable merit, *beauty* of her *body*, and more of her *minde*, living long time, to see her Son a *King*, renowned for *wisdom*, and thereby apt to *apprehend*, and powerfull of himself, and so fitted for *Revenge*.

The splendour of *Imperial Crowns* are eclipsed by suffering such *ignominy*, the sacred character of *Church* and *State* defaced, the magnificence of the most secured *Thrones* destroyed, and *Sovereignty* would cease to be the *image* of *God*.

But for him to ascend that *Throne* steeming with his *Mother's* innocent blood, wrought amazement to himself (no doubt) and wonder to the world, what he would do in this *Dilemma*.

Best of beauties may be discoloured, and so the complexion alters; *Christian* policies are good rules for *Sovereignty*: we may examine his *Resolution* by the happy effects of his *Actions*.

Besides, he was bound to acknowledge *Truths*. Her *Adoption* of *Him* to his inheritance, sweetned *Him* into the peoples candid *Acceptation*. And though by that solemn *Action*, on Her death-bed she gave *Him* but his *Own*; Yet she might have rendered Her self and former *Cruelty* less disputable, by objecting against *Him*, his Mothers *Religion*, averſe to the reformed in *England*; strangers they were both; and He Her son, whom in *Justice* she had destroyed.

For though her fathers will ſetled the *ſucceſſion*, Her power with the people might have allowed it, ſhe might have *Married*, or *Created* another, and ſo made a favorite. Or indeed (the
ſure

Dilemma in
King James
what to do in
reference to
his Inherit-
ance in Eng-
land.

Anno

1602.

sure of all) she might have settled this *Nation* in the people, to succeed Her as heirs to all. *The times and Relations then, more likely than ever since as now it is.* Thus she might have done, see what she did.

Seing, *She* could not repair *Her* cruel *Error*, Yet by those means *She* manifested *Her* resentment, of what, *She* had done amiss, by recompensing that *Evil*, with this *Good*.

And ill humour of *Malice*, is not easily purged, It reacheth to the *Person* hated; and to all near *Relations* *Children* and *Friends*.

And no doubt, some secret *Maxime* or *Policie* of *State* might be taken up sufficient to have accused *Queen Mary* of *Crime*, and so to have put a fixed *Resolution* to that *Action*, which otherwise, in it self seems *Savage*.

Her Adoption of *Him*, was of equal *Ballance* with *His Birth-right*, and (usually) as *Venerably* received, as *Inheritance* from *Parents*. 'Tis true, *They* give the *Birth*, but leave us, to *succession*, *Free Election* (as the *Gift*) is most admirable, for its *merits*; so ought it to be, the more *Acceptable* for the *Miracle*. The *One*, *Natural*, even to *Brutes*, in their *Ordinary Inclinations*: But *Adoption* operates with affection, and choice; not from *Sense*, but from *Reason*; and examines the *Object*, ere it settles the *possession*. And so, thus considered, *she*, merits *Pardon*; *He*, *Excuses*.

Another *Relation*, falls upon *Her Counsellors* then, the most *honourable birth*; admirable in *wisdom*; and *Eminent* in *Power*; for the *King* to confide in *These*; or *They* in *Him*. *Those*, that found an *Executioner* for *Her*, might in time, bring forth a *Regicide* for *Him*.

See, how his *wisdom*, *Expiates* all.

Those hands, that hurt *Her*, healed *Him*, who sealed to *Her* death, signed to *His Reception*. Nor, could any private malice of theirs, be directed towards *Her Person*, but *Her Power*.

Necessity of *State*, made *Them* submit, to sentence *Her*, which otherwise, they (perhaps) would have spared, in *Reverence* to *Her*, and *Honor* to *Him*. And, as their *Persons* were *Eminent*, so was it hazardous for *Him*, to question a *Crime*, that *He* had not power, to punish.

Acts they are, so different in *Them*, as make up the wonder in *Him*. How to *revenge* the *One*, and not *reward* the *Other*. *Acts* of *Oblivion*, alwaies more *Noble*, than *Revenge*. *Cesars*. erection, of *Pompeys Statue*, secured his own.

Acts of *Honor* to others memory, reflect, in effect, upon the *person present*.

And therefore; *He*, rather chose to Court *Her Counsellors* with the favour of *Clemencie*, than to correct *Them*, with the

Rod

Rod of Justice. Rigour hath much of *Majesty*; but *Mercy* hath more of *Glory*. The *One* may be more safe, the other more secure. And though *Machivael*, makes *Fear*, and *Love*, incompatible and inseparable: *Justice* and *Mercy* may *Kiss* each Other; we may *Fear* and yet *Love* the Lord.

Virtues consist in *Concatenation*. He who stiled *Hanibals Cruelty* a *Virtue*, by the same *Argument*, concluded *Clemencie* a *Vice*.

He had *Examples* of former *Presidents*; The King of *France* forgot the *Quarrel* of the *Duke* of *Orleans*; He did so: And more did King *James*, which over-ruled *Him*, to that pious, and prudent *Consideration*, that resolved into the most happy *Event*, The *aym*, and *End*, to make *His* design also *Practical*, and *His Precepts* an admirable *Pattern*. And indeed, the *Paths*, which He alwaies walked in, were the less obvious to *Common footsteps*, as they were confirmed to choicer *Limits*: Being almost an example to *Himself*, and *Inimitable* of all; for in *His* way, few went, before *Him*.

And thus resolved, whilst *Queen Elizabeths* age and weakness increased, He wanted not *Parasites* of Her own *Court*, that constantly offered their *Intelligence* of all Her *Actions* and weak condition, which gave him timely occasion to consider the settlement of his affairs at home in reference to his *Inheritance* of *England*. His first was for *Religion*, and to judg with what affection the *Kirk* of *Scotland* had faction, with *Calvins* documents; very averse from *Papistris*, but subject to the *Infection* of *Neighbour schisms*; And how to ballance them, was his work to wade through.

It was no boot heretofore to strive against this stream at home, and therefore he suffered the violence to run into the usual *Chanel*, for that time; Wisely weighing, the perverse peevishness of the *Ministry*; And with what constitutions they had linckt themselves, with the publick affections of the *People*, and withall got a mixt power in the affairs of *State*; And it was not, for him, to break through that *Custom*, which yet he foresaw must afterwards quarrel with the *Customes* of his successive *Inheritance*, where *Episcopacie* had fixed such firm footing.

But, laying the foundation of his adventure on His own *Penn*; in his *Instructions* to his son *Prince Henry*, stated to him, the estate of that *Kirk*.

And indeed, their *Reformation* from *Popery*, as it was extraordinary, by *God*, so was it done *Inordinately*, by popular *Tumult* and *Rebellion*; of such, as did the work; clog'd with passion, and particular respects (as in other *Neighbouring Nations*;) fiery *Spirits* of the *Ministry*, got such a guiding of the people, in their times of confusion, partly in the *Governments*

The King
settles affairs
in Scotland
in Religion.

Bacilicon do-
ron.

Anno
1602.

ments of his *Grand-mother* and his *Mother* (as hath been related) and afterwards, usurping larger liberty under four Regents in His Long *Minority*; and by these occasions, settled themselves, in hope, to lead the people by the Nose, and so in all factions, then, (and for many years before, and sythence) to spouse any quarrel, as their own; evermore esteeming *Him*, the highest evil, not by any Vice, but only, to be a King.

And because, some of the Ministry, the more grave and learned, were asham'd to side with them, therefore the other sort, preached themselves, a Parity in the Church; *the Mother of Confusion, and enemy to unity.*

By which means, great disorder was likely to follow, which the *King* sought by several waies to prevent, or countermine their subtlety, with His wisdom. The professed *Puritan* being a *Sect*, whom no deserts could oblige, nor their own Oaths, or promises bind; and whose consciences, had not more of credit, than their own conceits.

And therefore, the *Kings* preservative, against such, was to advance learning in their Ministers. In whom truly, til His time, (who was able to try Men) it was very defective, (taking a pride in their pretended zeal, to shadow their great ignorance in divine knowledg, making their shop dark, thereby to vent false wares to the people) And so, to keep ballance in their different conditions, with those of the *Episcopacie*. And to avoid extreams, to repress the Vanity of the *Precisian*, so not to suffer the excess of a *Bishop*, and to chain them both, with such bonds and ligaments, as did preserve that *Estate*, from creeping into very great Corruption; Even in the period of time when their Doctrines had amplified into Heads of very dangerous Consequence. Errors grow fastest in hot brains, but their Obstinacie therein is that dead flesh, which makes the green wound of an Error fester by degrees into the old sore of an Heresie.

And for his Nobility, as they were antient, so, and oft-times in former feuds, had suckt in with their nursing, a very proud conceit of their greatness and power, (such as it was) among their parties of *Kindred*, or otherwise allied, or won by kindness to their *Tenants*, which evermore had a mixture of some cunning, not less to be considered than in other *Peers* of neighbouring *Nations*, I mean, the *English* and *French*, with whom that *Nation* had great interest.

To keep those (I say) his own *Peers* in Peace, out of the sad experience of former *Times*, intestine Divisions, (not occasioned as in some other Dominions, from their several changes and quarrels to *Sovereignty*, or *Title* to a *Crown*) but always from private faction of their own; to which, either party pretended the

And ordering his Nobility.

the Sovereigns safety; to settle and secure their own pretensions, by possessing of the *Regents*, for so heretofore they hurried his *Parents*, his *Protectors* and *Him*, from Post to Pillar.

And therefore he preferred such as had been faithfull to his Predecessours, and to the safety of him, in his minority (a Rule of direction herein he markt out to his Son) keeping such, (notwithstanding) under his elbow, with places of Judicature or Offices of honor, so to divert them and their interest abroad.

And having for some years thus settled his Kingdom, he began more particular to look upon himself, and to consider his near relation to the *Crown of England*, which he long lookt for, and warily expected, well knowing (through his undoubted right) the jealousie of *Princes*, upon their Successours, they too hastily coveting that, which long delay might breed to impatience: and it fell upon *Him*, with as much fear, as upon any *Heir* that our *Histories* can parallel, in all the Factions and Interests of neighbour Princes, wisely how to guide himself, as an accountant to the Kingdom of *England*.

For *Q. Elizabeth*, after her settlement here, held it a Maxime of policy, not to publish her own Pedegree, which must draw down the *Scots* Line to the absolute necessity of succeeding: and yet to ballance the *French*, and to keep up her power over the *Scots*, she took upon her to meddle in all *their* affairs, and so to tamper with their Factions, as not to suffer the *Scots Queens* and others *Regents* there, to get to great power, which the *French* endeavoured mightily to promote: and therefore *Maries* head was the sooner strook off, to remove the dangers, and make *Queen Elizabeth* of more absolute authority in that *Nation*, which she was not over-nice to take upon her.

But to amuze them and the world besides, she was ever busie with Suters, to make all men believe, she meant to marry; which had the *King* opposed by any cunning whatsoever, (if understood by *Her*) he might not so easily have come to this *Crown*.

And truly, whether his virtue and goodness (more remark in *Him* than usual in *Princes*) guided him in that, to depend one-ly upon the providence of *God*, for his Birth-right, or that his policy, under hand, wrought him any advantage; certainly, the Success must crown the Work, to admiration.

For, though he might not despise honest and honourable advice in such correspondence as was necessary under hand, with the Counsellours of *Queen Elizabeth*, to secure himself, for the time to come; yet, we reade not of any that came to light, or so much (in her days) as private suspicion.

Anno

1602.

He preferred
faithfull ser-
vants near his
person.
Bazilicon
Doron,

and disposing
himself for
his Successi-
on.

Q. Elizabeth
not willing to
publish her
Successor.

Anno

1602.



The Reign and Death

OF

KING JAMES,

OF

Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the First, &c.

Q. Elizabeth
dies.



So then, in a seasonable conjunction of things and time, he succeeded Queen *Elizabeth*, who departed this life on *Thursday* the 24th of *March*, 1602. at her Manour-house of *Richmond*, early in the morning, that day being fatal to *Henry 8.* and to all his Children, dying on *Thursdays*: and her Funerals sumptuously solemnized with all speed in *April* following.

King James
proclaimed,

The same day the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* assembled, and having proclaimed her Death, and the Right and Title of King *James* to succeed her, being lineally expressed from *Margaret eldest Daughter* to *Henry 7th.* and *Elizabeth his Wife*, who was *eldest Daughter* to *Edward 4th.* and married to *James 4th.* King of *Scotland*, in the year 1503. (just a hundred years since) who had issue *James 5th.* Father to *Mary the First*, and Mother to this King *James the Sixth*, now 36. years of age, and so long King of *Scotland*.

and Letters
sent to him.

Then they poast Letters to the King by the hands of *Sir Charles Percy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas Somerset* Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, signifying the Death of their late Sovereign betwixt two and three of the clock that morning. And knowing his Right of Succession, they have made Proclamation thereof at *Westminster*, *White-hall*, and *Cheapside Cross*: and seeing they remain a Body without a Head, they humbly desire his Majesty to hasten, how soon, and in what manner he pleaseth.

And therein complain (as in publick) that *Sir Robert Cary* poasted from hence towards your Majesty, contrary to their consent and command, thereby as much (as in him lay) to prevent and anticipate their duty and respect.

They

Anno
1603.

They acquaint the King of a fleet of ten ships royall, ready furnished for the Coast of Spain, under Command of Sir Richard Lawson, whose Commission now ceasing, by the Queens death, they desire his Majesties pleasure, whether they shall guard the Narrow Seas, or be called to the Coast of Scotland as a Convey, for the Kings use. Dated in London. And therefore Robert Leigh Maior signed first.

But as in this letter, so it goes in Common report, that *Carry* (let out by his father *Hunsdon* Lord Chamberlain) came first to the King upon his own score; But secretary *Cecills* secret Packquets went before him or these letters, or else he had little credit in his own Commands.

The King communicates these letters to his *Lords*, and returns them his acknowledgment of their dutifull affections. He confirms for the present all Offices Civil, & Martial, as at the Queens death, til his farther pleasure. Dated the 28. and 31. of March, which the *Lords* heer proclaim, the 5. of April after.

The King
returns them
thanks.

And though the King sets forth his interest, of succession commanding both Nations in unity of duty to him, and brotherly affection to each other, yet did the *Scots* Borderers make Inrodes into *England*, which was severely punished, and all for Example executed to death.

Borderers ex-
ecuted.

The King orders his Journey the 5. of April, the Queen to follow 20. dayes after, *Prince Henry*, *Duke Charles*, and *Princess Elizabeth*, at further pleasure.

Brings with him those of the greatest birth and most interest in the blood royall, who though farr enough off to follow after his Numerous issue, of a teeming fruitfull Consort, yet too neer to be trusted at home. And each one of them begat trouble and charge upon him, ever after, to reward, or to raise them up, beyond any desert; in both, he was wisely regarding.

The King
sets out for
England.

Those were *Lenox*, *Hamelton*, *Arguile*, *Mar*, *Kinloss*, and *Lord Hewm*, and a couple of Knights *Sir George Hewm* and *Sir John Ramsay*, of neer affection with the King. So it became his future security & advantage, to caress those, that ushered him in and had underhand merited somewhat, from former very late advise and Intelligence, how to correspond with his jealous Predecessor; we may conceive those then in being, (for most of the old Ones, out-liv'd not that their policie) were the *Howards*, and *Percies*, and *Cecils*.

With his
Lords.

The first of them of high birth and former merit, the Linage of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who suffered under the *Axe* for his affection to this Kings Mother, as aforesaid anno 1569. And his brother *Henry Howard* with the Lord *Cobham*, were the first of Eminencie, that met the King at *Barwick*.

Howards.

The last, of great wisdom, and experience, for the Kings urgent

Cecil.

Anno
1602.

At York met
by the Presi-
dent of the
North.

A Notable
Present.

The grand
Officers meet
the King.

Wiggen.

Theobalds.
Counsellors
sworn,

And Knights
made.

De moribus
Germanorum.

The dignity
of a Knight.

urgent affairs to make proper use of.

And at York, *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burghley*, President of the North, receives him, who comes on with his Train, and needed no other Guard, than the affections of the People that hurried him forward, with Excessive Acclamations; soon forgetting (as the manner of the Multitude) their late *Sovereign*, in the hope of a likelier change in a *King*, with which for many years, this Nation had been really unacquainted.

And so was He feasted by the way freely, at each Residence of his Person where he lodged, untill he came unto *Godmanchester*, in the County of *Northampton*, where they presented him with 70. Teem of Horses, fairly traced, unto as many new *Ploughs* in honor of *Tillage*; A Custome very antient, when their *Sovereigns* pass that Town, being his Tenants, and holding their land by that *Tenure*. The King told them, He liked their ayre so well, and took their gift so kindly, as (but for undoing such good people, in their bounty) to visit them often; which afterwards he performed (that Custome being but for the first time) to the comfort of that Town and County.

At *Broxborn* his next *Gest*, there met him the gravity of the greatest Officers; *Egerton* Lord *Chancellor*, *Buckhurst* Lord *Treasurer*, *Howard* Lord *Admiral*; with the most of the Council and Nobility; At *Ware* the King came to *Wiggen*, heretofore so base a Cottage, as begat a saying, If a Man would answer the Asker as in despair, *That it should be granted, when as the King comes to Wiggen*.

And at *Theobalds*, the seat of Sir *Robert Cecil*, Secretary of State, he staves for four dayes Entertainment, where were made of his Council these *Scotish* Lords, *Lenox*, *Mar*, *Hewm*, *Elphington*, and *Kinloss*.

And of *English*, *Henry Howard* and his Nephew *Thomas Howard*, brother and sonne to the late *Duke of Norfolk*; and 28. *Knights-Bachelors* dubbed.

The Name Knight is from *Knecht* a German word, an Institution of dignity, by that Noble and ancient Nation. *Tacitus* saies, the manner was not for any to take Arms, before the State allowed him sufficient; and then some one of the Princes, or the father of the young-man (termed *Knecht*) furnished him with a Shield and a Javeline, (as the Romans did *virili toga*) the first honor done to youth, and afterwards, members of the Common-weal. This being the first and simple manner of Creation, they were afterwards styled *Bachelour Knights*. *Baccalarius*, quia olim coronabantur lauro cum baccis. Vel potius, quia *Bedellus* ipsis aureum baculum exhibebat cum ad concilia irent. Vnde primus gradus in professione scientiarum est *Baccalauri*; secundus *Licentiati*; ultimus

Anno
1603.

ultimus doctores. *Indeed as he is; so Baccalaureus, or Batala-*
reus dicitur is Miles, qui jam semel prælio sive Bataliæ inter-
fuit, collatis signis, et manum cum hoste conferuit. And thus
for the Name.

Their dignity was from serving on Horse-back, so the Italian
call them Cavaileiri, the French chivalier, the Germanes Roisters,
all of riding, the Latines equites aurati; for properly being crea-
ted with sword and girdle, guilt spurs were added, for more neces-
sary Ornament. The original dignity was given to Marshall men;
but since, in all Nations, it is bestowed on men of peace and merit;
the better, (in civile policie) to level the service at home, with that
abroad. Tullie sayes, Parva sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium
domi. And of late, his dignity is called dubbed, because the man
kneels down, and the Sovereign lightly layes a sword upon his
shoulder, saying fois chevalier nome de dieu, and afterwards he
sayes Avances chevalier.

It seems to be done as it were upon the sodain, in the field; and
thereupon are called in our Law Miles, a militia. But the King may
do it by Patent; And though the first in Title by Institution, yet are
they the last in degree of honor, which dies with them.

There had been anciently another degree of Knight-hood made
by the General, under the Kings standard in the field, called Ban-
neret; but he was peacefull, and so none of them were made in his time.
See after Knights Baronets, and Knights of the Garter.

Being come to London, his first Reception was at the Charter-
house, the then Habitation of Thomas Howard (lately made Lord
Chamberlain) for four dayes, where 80. Gentlemen were Knight-
ed, from thence in private to White-Hall, and then by water to
the Tower of London the 11. of May 1603.

During his Journey hither, prisoners were set at liberty out
of the Tower, and amongst others, Accessories to Essex Trea-
son, was Henry Wriothsly the third Earl of Southampton, made
Barons by Henry the eighth, and Earls by Edward the sixth. And
this man, by King James made afterwards Knight of the Gar-
ter, a Privy Counsellor, and Captain of the Isle of Wight, Tho-
mas his son now Earl of Southampton 1654.

Heer at the Tower He creates divers Barons. Sir Robert Cæ-
cil Baron of Effenden, Sidney of Peshmarst, Lord Knowles of
Graves, Lord Wotton of Morley. And dubbes eleven Knights.

The King had knowledg of the death of James Beaton in
France, Arch-Bishop of Glascow; he had been consecrate Bishop
at Rome 1552. and not induring the reformation of the Church,
forsook Scotland, and conveyed with him to France, all the evi-
dences of that See of Glascow, the Ornaments and Reliques of
that Church, the Image of Christ in beaten gold, and of the
Apostles in silver (not over large you may believe.) And being
there

The King
comes to
Charter-
house in
London and
creates Ho-
nors

Barons crea-
ted.

Beaton
Arch-Bishop
of Glascow
dies in
France.

Anno
1603.

Queen Ann
sent for.

Her desire to
seize the
Prince See
1595. pa.
183.

The Garter
sent to the
King of
Denmark.

Sir Henry
Wootton sent
to Venice.

The Pope
and Senate at
Variance.

there Queen *Mary* settled her Lieger Ambassadour, when she returned to *Scotland*. And so continued, untill the Government of the *Regents* who deprived him, whom the King afterwards restores, and imployes him in Ambassies to *France*, being wise and faithfull to his *Mother*. He by Will leaves all to pious uses, for benefit of *Scotish-men Scholars*, and consigned the *Utensils* of *Glasgow* into the hands of the *Carthusians* of *Paris*, untill *Glasgow* becomes *Romish*.

John Spotswood at the Kings elbow, was soon preferred thither, and sent with the Lords to fetch the Queen. But she resolved to bring the Prince along with her self, and being refused by the friends of the Earl of *Mar*, til order from the King, incensed her into a sickness, and to recover her, the King humoured her willfulness, and sent home the Earl of *Mar* from *England*, to present her with her son; but continues her anger to be debarred her desire by such a subject, whom mortally she hated (as you have heard heretofore) and though the King sought to sweeten her with his letters, That he ascribed his peacable reception in *England* unto his wisdom and late Negotiation, The Queen in fury replied, That she had rather never see *England*, than be beholding to him.

Whether in Malice or other design, It was remarkable, Her studious intent, to seize the Prince to her self.

And so she set forward with him and the Princess *Elizabeth*, who by the way, was left to the Government of the Lord *Harrington*. But *Charles* Duke of *York* an Infant, and sickly, came not til next year after.

The Earl of *Rutland* was sent in Commission to the King of *Denmark*, to present him with the honor of the Garter, and to Baptize his first son.

And Sir *Henry Wootton* Lieger to *Venice*. He was called from his private travels at *Venice*; formerly known to the King, an Emissary from the Duke of *Tuscane* into *Scotland*, to forwarn him of a Treason against his Person. And was now sent again thither, *Leonardo Donato* being then Duke; with whom and the Pope *Paul* the first, hapened two Contests; For restraint of *Lay Persons donatives* unto *Church-men* of lands or goods without License; for so becoming *Ecclesiastick* they were exempt from taxes.

The other was, The imprisoning an unchast *Abbot* and a *Canon*, being conceived a diminution of the Papal Power, who therefore excommunicates the whole *Republick*. They fly to King *James* by their own Ambassadour here, and by Messengers and Letters; disputing their priviledges with the *Popes* power, which was thus weakened by exceeding it; and so they obtained Absolution, with much adoe, but not untill the report was, that the whole *Senate* would turn *Protestants*.

Wootton

Wootton continued at *Venice* near twenty years, with some *Returns* and *Messages* extraordinary: this *Donato* being the four-score and eleventh *Duke* of *Venice*, successively, from *Anno* 697. having been a *Republick* long before, and governed by *Tribunes*.

In *July* was solemnly performed the *Rites* of *St. George* at *Windsor*, where were installed these *Knights* of the *Garter*, the *Prince Henry*, *Duke* of *Lenox*, *Earl* of *Southampton*, *Earl* of *Mar*, *Earl* of *Pembroke*.

This most honourable *Order* of the *Garter* was instituted by *Edward* the third, after he had obtained many great *Victories*, (*K. John* of *France*, *K. James* of *Scotland*, being then *Prisoners* in the *Tower* of *London*, and *King Henry* of *Castile* the *Bastard* expelled, and *Don Pedro* restored by the *Prince* of *Wales*, (called *The black Prince*) did upon some weightier occasion, no doubt, than a *Ladies Garter*, erect this *Order*, *Anno* 1350. The *Emblems* are a *Blue Garter* to be worn daily, buckled on the left *Leg*, set with *Gold* or *Pearl* in these words, [*Honi soit qui mal y pense*,] *Shame take him that evil thinketh*. This *Order* is inferiour to none in the *World*, consisting of six and twenty *Martial* and *Heroical Nobles*, the *King* of *England* the chief, the rest are either *Nobles* of this *Nation*, or *Princes* of other *Countries*, *Friends* and *Confederates*. *Emperours* and *Kings* have desired and received that *Honour*. There are depending this *Order* six and twenty poor *Knights*, with sufficient maintenance. The *Officers* were, the *Prelate* of the *Garter*, (which is inherent to the *Bishop* of *Winchester*, for the time being) the *Chancellor*, the *Register*, (always the *Dean* of *Windsor*) the principal *King* at *Arms*, (called *Garter*) and the *Usher*, (called the *Black Rod*) The site of this *College* is the *Castle* of *Windsor*, with the *Chapel* of *St. George* erected by *Edward* the third, and the *Chapter-house* there also. The *Protector-Saint* (*olim tam nobilis*) is *St. George*, whose *Picture* on horse-back, killing the *Dragon*, doth always hang at a *Blue Silk Ribband*, about each *Knights* neck. And the outward *Vestment* or *Cloak* hath a *Star* embroidered in *Silver*, encompassing a *Shield* bearing the *Red Cross* of *England*, with the *Garter* about it. This I mention, lest it be forgotten to after ages.

Amongst sundry men of valour in antient days was *George*, born at *Coventry* in *England*, his *Mother* with childe of him, dreamed, that she conceived with a *Dragon*, which should be the cause of her death, but the *Wizards* (*Witches*) assured her to die in childe-bed of a *Son*, whose life and fortune shall be a mirrour to posterity; and therefore he was brought up with a *Person* of *Honour*, with great observance, which made him capable of mighty deeds in *Arms*: and being famous for several *Adven-*

Anno

1603.

St. George's
Feast at
Windsor.

Order of the
Garter.

Of
St. George's
Rory.

Anno
1603.

tures, travelled to a place infested with wilde beasts, chiefly a ravenous *Dragon*, whom the *Sorcerers* pretended so far to inchant, as to be for ever satisfied with a *virgin Salve*, fastened to a *Rock*, and fitted for *Sacrifice*.

In whose defence *George* fights on horse-back, with his *Lance* and *Sword*, and by his skill and force, kills him: this service done, he missed not the Merit of his Reward, Mariage with the *Maid*; instructed her in *Christianity*, with whom he lived honourably, and died fainted for his virtues and valiant acts; and by the Kings of *England* assumed for many Ages, in warlike Atchivements of Honour, to be their *Patron*.

This story not difficult for the Moral, which served those times to instruct the ignorant with such *Tales*, to be told to posterity; that the *Christian Souldier* in the warfare of the World, meets with *Satans* temptations, which by the grace of *God* sanctifying are overcome; and in particular rescues his own soul, bound under the chains of *sin*, to be devoured of the *Devil*, and which being redeemed by the merits of *Christ*, is married to *Him* in faith, and becomes an eternal *Saint* in *Heaven*.

Whether this *Saint* and his story (with others) were invented to coulen men, these *Tales* wrought much with valiant men at *Arms*; Valour swels, when set out by Examples of Extremes, and oft times goes beyond her self in her *atchivements*; conceit sometimes does things above conceit, especially when the imagination apprehends them founded in *Religion*.

It is said by *Matthew Paris*, in *Gulielmo secundo*, pag. 57. that *St. George* appeared in the air with an Army of white Horses, fighting for the *English* at *Antioch* against the *Turk*. But to say, there was no such *Saint*, and to change all literal sense into an *Allegory* of *Christ* and his *Church*; yet it may seem more improbable, that our *English Nation*, amongst so many *Saints* that were, would chuse one to be their *Patron* that was not at all, especially seeing the World in that Age had rather a glut than a famine of *Saints*.

The intent of those times was pious, to gain credit, and to convert to *Christianity*; but then, so to prosecute it, as the *Papists* still continue to do, must be condemned, thinking to grace the *Gospel* by such absurdities; for *Heaven* has a *Pillory* to punish *fraus pia* her self: and indeed, better to leave *Religion* to her native plainness, than to deck her with counterfeit dress.

And there were created at *Windsor* these *Earls*, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Montjoy* Earl of *Devonshire*; and of *Barons*, *Egerton* Baron *Elsmore*, *Russel* Baron *Thornhall*, *Danvers* Lord *Danvers*, *Grey* Baron *Grooby*, *Peters* Baron *Writtle*, *Harington* Baron *Eaton*, which so troubles an Historian, as a wonderfull weak-

Earls created
at Windsor.

Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 7.

Anno
1603.

weakness in a King, and concludes against his own Argument, [*Nothing more destruction* (says he) *to Monarchy than lessening the Nobility*] But he means, increase of number lessens their value; and hath not enlarged his reading, by knowledg of their condition in other Monarchies, Spain, France; and yet poor enough in those places where Anarchy as yet is not come in.

Originally within this Kingdom, Earldoms of Countreys (in the antient English-Saxon Government) were Dignities of Honour, and Offices of Justice; they had Officers under them, as Vice-comes or Sheriffs.

Of Earls
their dignity.

The Earls therefore received Sallary, the third penny of the profits of the County, of long time after the Conquest, and were inserted in their Patents of Creation, which afterwards were turned into Pensions.

Of the single Earls (not Palatine) there were two kindes, subdivided into several Branches, either take name of a place, or without place; those of a place, are of two kindes, either of a County, as the Earl of Devonshire, Cornwall, Kent, &c. or else of some place not being a County, as of a Town, Castle, Honour, &c. of which later sort, as antient as the Conquest, those of Richmond in Yorkshire, Clarence in Suffolk, Arundel in Suffex.

Earldoms without any place, are likewise of two kindes, either in respect of Office, as Earl Marshal of England; or by Birth, and so are all the Kings Sons; and therefore it is a mistake to say, They are born but Gentlemen.

Earls are adorned with a Cap of Honour and a Coronet, and the Body with a Robe, in resemblance of Counsellours, and are girt with a Sword, to defend their King and Countrey, Cook 17. Part. And are called by the King, his Cosins, and his Title is afterwards become parcel of his Name, and so they sign T. Suffolk.

Not to speak of Barons by Prescription or Tenure. These Barons were made by Patent, as others are by Writ to Parliament; and these by Writ were devised not before 49. Henry 3. for want of Peers, the most of them slain in the Barons Wars.

Barons their
dignity.

Those Barons by Patent began by Richard 2. John Beauchamp being the first, and is now limited in descent, according to the Habendum, for Life, or for term, of others, as Estates in Tail. They being thus entered into Nobility, have large Privileges as Peers of the Realm.

Note, that there be Lords in Reputation, onely by curtesie of Speech, not de jure, nor have privilege as Lords of Parliament, and these are the Son and Heir of a Duke, called an Earl, his eldest Son a Baron, but not in Pleadings; and so of Daughters, stiled Ladies, by curtesie onely.

On Saint James his day in July the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster in that fatal Chair of Sovereigns anoint-

The King &
Queen crown-
ed at West-
minster in
that fatal
Chair.

Anno
1603.

ing; in it remains a large blackish Stone, Jacob's Pillow, (say the Scots) in his Ladder Dream of the Messias from his Loins; and indeed so ceremonious he was then, that he sacrificed thereon, naming it *Domus Dei*; and in his Return from *Laban* forgot not thereon to pay his Vows; in which esteem, he conveyed it with his Relicks, in his general remove to *Egypt*; but from thence the *Israelites* flying in haste, and pursued, they (it seems) left this Monument behinde; and one *Gathelus* wedded to *Pharaoh's* Daughter (though a stranger, observant of the *Hebrews* Rites) transported it to *Galicia*, (of his name *Port-Gathelick*) thence by his Seed carried into *Ireland*, so by *Ferguard* sent to *Penthland*, (or *Scotland*) crowning their Kings thereon; And *Edward 3.* brought it from thence; Even then when grave Bards did sing that ancient Saw.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti hunc quocunque locatum
Inveniunt Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

*The Scots sall bruke that Ream as Naitiff Grund,
(Gif Wierds fail nocht) quhair eir this Chair is fund.*

Another very ancient.

*Post Jacobum, Jacobus, Jacobum, Jacobus quoque quintus,
At sextus Jacobus Regno regnabit utroque.*

*After a James sall be a James, a third James, and a fourth,
A fifth James also, but the sixth sall sway the Scepters both.*

Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 6.

Coronation
Oath.

These are no conceits, [commonly made up ere half-molded] for they were read many Ages before he or his abortive Book were born.

And with his Crown he taketh Oath, To keep and maintain the Right and Liberties of the Church; and shall keep all the Lands, Honours and Dignities, righteous and free of the Crown of England; and the Rights of the Crown decayed and lost, he shall call again (to his power) into the ancient Estate; shall keep the peace of the Church, of the Clergy and People, and do Equity and Justice with discretion and mercy; shall hold the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and the evil Laws put out, to establish peace to the People; and no Charter to grant but by Oath. Abridgment Henry 8. Statutes.

Knights of
the Bath their
manner of
creation.

This Ceremony ended, there were 24. Knights of the Bath invested, who were received into White-hall in the evening, and supped together in one Room, sitting by degrees, with their Escutcheons of their proper Arms placed above their Heads; they were lodged upon

Anno

1603.

upon Pallats on the floor under their Arms, after they had been bathed in several Baths provided in Chambers, the next morning they were apparelled in Hermits weeds, and marshalled into Saint James's Park, with loud Musick, and the Heralds going before, and so about the Courts of White-hall, and then into the Chapel, with their Reverence before the Altar-table, and the Cloath of Estate (as at St: Georges Feast) they take their places in stalls, theirs Arms above, and hear Service. Then each Knight with his two Esquires offered at the Altar Pieces of Gold, and so retired in the former manner to their Chambers, and then adorned themselves with Robes of Crimson Taffata, with Hats and white Feathers, and so were conducted to the King into the Presence-chamber, under the Cloath of State, who girt each of them with a Sword, and had gilt Spurs put on their Heels, dined together, and so to the Even-Song at the Chapel, where they offered their Swords.

The next day in Robes of Purple Sattin, with Doctors Hoods on their shoulders, Hats with white Feathers, and so feasted again, and lodged that night as before, and the next day departed.

They are dignified and distinguished from other Knights, by a Medall of three Crowns of Gold, which is hanging at a Red Ribband, which they should wear about their necks during their life. These Knights are commonly Youths of the Sons of Noblemen or Nobless.

So now the King is established with all the Rites of Confirmation in Honour and Love of his People, and may be ranked in competition with the most for the Western Monarchy, which had been hotly pursued by Henry 8. in opposition to France and Spain; about whose time the House of Austria settled into that Design.

And because we have left the King in joyfull solemnity, let us step aside out of the Court jollity, and seriously consider the cunning contrivances of neighbour Kings, heretofore for Imperial domination.

It was set on work, by union of Mariage in Charles the Grand-Child of Maximilian the Emperour, of the House of Austria, and of Ferdinand of Spain, who being heir to them both, inherited also the Netherland, Arragon, Castile, Scicile, and the Indies. 1503.

And because Lewis of France, as great in power, stood in Competition, the other therefore, sought to Master it, by cunning inter-marriage with Charles and his daughter Claud, which was no sooner contracted, but as sodainly crackt, and He affianced to Mary the Daughter of Henry the seventh of England, and to whose sonne Arthur Ferdinand had married Katherin his youngest daughter. 1506.

This double union with England, encourages the other to break

Digression
concerning
Imperial
Rule.

Emperour,

Spain,

France,

England.

Anno
1603.

break with *France*; but *Arthurs* death, and his father soon following, and they still afraid of *France*, clap up a fresh match with the widdow *Katherin* and *Henry* the eighth: and a Bull (subdated the *Popes* death) dispensed with it. 1510.

Henry the eighth left rich by his father, young and active, is put upon quarrels with *France*, that either Kingdoms might spend themselves in War, as they did in wonderfull designes; To whose assistance, the other interpose, with either party, and with inconstancy as the necessity of State-Interest intervened. But upon *Maximilians* death, the Imperial Crown falls in Competition of *France* and *Spain*.

Charles cunning.

Charles, now put to it, seeks to get in with *England*, and acknowledges the towl Inconstancies of his Predecessors towards *Henry* the eighth. In which he confesses, as he was involved, so his youth and duty then, tyed him more to Obedience than Truth, but now grown a Man and Himself, the mutual dangers of either, would give assurance for his part, where otherwise (he saith) single faith might mistrust.

Is made Emperour,

Henry the eighth thus censured into some kindness, both by his own power and purse, makes *Charles* Emperour, and the *French* King his Prisoner, 1519. And so his turn served, a peace is concluded with *France*, and the King of *England* (at whose charge all was effected) is left out, of any satisfaction. And to amuze him from revenge, intices *Desmond* to rebell in *Ireland*, and assisted *James* the fifth of *Scotland*, with amunition and mony to buyse *England* at home, 1526.

But to little effect.

And being in this height of Imagination, to have wrought wonders, in reducing the Election of the *Popes* from the Cardinals to the Emperour, set others to quarrel with the Pope also, who very hapily in the nick of time, confederates with the Italian Princes, with the *French*, and with *Henry* the eighth, as *Caput fæderis*, and so *Charles* is forc'd to descend: and at a Treaty at *Cambray*, obliged to render some Pieces to the *French*, and so to sit still from open violence. The General safety of *Christian Princes* necessarily being involved in the danger.

He tacks about with England.

But He begins again, and contracts to assist *Henry* the eighth for his Title to *France*; who no sooner entered into war, and recovered *Bullen*, but the Emperour concludes a perpetual peace with *France*, and joynt confederation for restoring the *Catholic Religion*, which was much declined of its lustre, by the protestation of *Luther* and others in *Germanie*; and soon after spread into all parts of *Christendom*.

Henry the eighth wearied with other mens designes, with vast expence of blood & treasure dies, and leaves all the glory of his good actions to this son *Edward* the sixth, who succeeds with no advantage by these, and with less money in his purse, whose wife

wife Counsel, meddles the less with *Spain*, or *France*; but contracts onely *Union* with the *German Princes*, and other *Allies* in confederation of *Religion*, that could best ballance the *Emperours* ambition.

His successor *Mary*, Imbarks her body in mariage with *Philip* of *Spain*, and her Estate in war with *France*, and lost *Calice* into the bargain. 1558.

Queen *Elizabeth* comes to the *Crown*, and at the Treaty of *Cambray*, King *Philip* pretends to assist her in recovery of *Calais*, but his own turn served, he leaves her in the lurch, to work out her own safety; but under a feigned pretence of Mariage, wrought a stay of the *Popes* declaration against the *Queen*, grounding this favour, (no doubt) from his own fears, lest that a *Union* of *France* with *Scotland*, in the person of *Mary* the Mother of this King *James*, should Unite these three Kingdomes against him.

How equall soever Queen *Elizabeth* had been for peace or war, in her own nature; and her people humble, to follow her will in either; yet her course, more ambitious in ballancing Neighbour *Princes* from overgrowing, than apt to conquer others, carried her all her life, in defensive actions at home, and abroad, and so to impoverish her Enemies, but not to enrich her self; for by those courses King *James* found her Treasure exhausted, and the Estate of the House of *Austria*, in this Condition, when he came hither.

As for the *French* King, his *Crown-demain* exhausted, which he endeavours to recover by *Impositions*; the people light enough, the Nobility prone to dismember upon every occasion, and so not easie to be governed, for the *Sovereigns* Designs or Interest; the Kingdom thereby the likelier to be cantonized by self-division, than to conquer others; yet their native wealth and variety of Objects preserve both King and people, to live secure from their mighty Enemy the *Spaniards*, even by the providence of chance. I speak as it was when King *James* came here.

He saw *Germany* upon an immoveable centre of self-greatness, governed with Bit and Bridle, by the Emperour, to do as he list with all the *Princes*; or they, by love or by fear, obeying.

And however the *Danish* King was so much of Kin, as to stick to his Brother King *James*'s friendship, the benefit of his *Sound*, and unexhausting profit, able to second with Ships and Money any active undertaking; yet no doubt, if to be trusted unto, with all these helps, the King might find him wary, lest by strengthening a Neighbour, himself become overmastered: And indeed too wise in common actions, to intangle his Estate, being also in those daies not so absolute,

Anno

1603.

Queen Mary.

Queen Elizabeth.

French interest and condition.

Empire.

Dane.

Anno
1603.

Swede,

Switzers.

Italy.

Muscovite.

Spain the
most Monar-
chall.

King James
Interest.

to do of Himself, without leave of his people; what he hath done very lately against this State, in favour of the *Dutch*; he feels the smart, I need not repeat it.

The *Swede* encompassed with dangers and Enemies; the *Pole* pretending *Title* to that *Kingdom*; and in Arms they were for the wager; and defended barely enough, by the distance of Sea and Land between them. Besides, the *Dane* upon his back in all Advantages, to quicken the quarrel, though Providence since hath done wonders.

The *Cantons* swoln big with pride and equality, divide themselves between two Monarches, *France* and *Spain*, that for each others ends, they are supported by them both, as their hired servants.

Italy distinguished into *Principalities*, yet bundled together by common caution, restrained of their freedoms, by force of *French* and *Spanish*; Multiply profit by strangers, and spare the pains to do it themselves; So by this narrow kind of wisdom, become all Merchants, and abused by the *Conclave* and *Spain*, as never to be *Monarchal*.

The *Muscovite*, from a *Duke*, grown big with a *Timpanie* of *Titles*, was kept under by the more huge and vast Enemy the *Tartar*, making *Inrodes* of barbarous Murther upon each other; without any Interest of *Christian Princes*, unless sometime, the *Pole* (at leisure) quarrels for the skirt of his Empire, as he did very lately, and prevailed.

Now whilst these Potentates lived, thus fettered within the narrowness of their *Estates* or *Humours*, *Spain* managing the *Pope-dom*, by his power in the *Conclave*, and pensions to the *Cardinals*, seemed to give law to the *Western* part of the *Christian* world; His Mines of gold effectual, not only to carry on any design, with Fleets and Armies, where he had will or interest; But also to make way, where he list, by corrupting the *Counsels* and *Actions* of any *King*, with temptation and underminings, either by his purse, or the pates of *Jesuits*. So that in a word, he was now grown hard to be pleased, and dangerous to be offended.

Through all these Considerations King *James* comes in, to choose his *Game*, and through all these distempers abroad, he was to secure himself, and his new Inheritance. His safest way to take breath for the present, was to make peace with *Spain* first of all, and after with the rest; (which indeed were done together) presuming that being in his power so to do then, it should depend on his pleasure, to break off after, or to conserve it to his death, which he did.

And being a wise and wary Prince, rather solid than formal, having been well seasoned at home with practice, and broken to

Anno

1603.

Of the consequences of War and Conquests.

to affairs abroad; therefore now freed from former Distempers, he began to search into the ground of his preceding miseries in *Scotland*: and well assured, where the *Sword* bears sway, *Virtue* and *Fortune* (the Guiders of the best of humane *Action*) do not always endure the lasting, no not of the memory of the *Actors*.

Here therefore He began to consider, what advance ambitious Princes lust after, for the present, when hazardous success hurls upon them miserable events.

He was not ignorant of the interests of *Christian Estates*; one with the other (as is said) and how it concerned them to care for his amity.

Amongst them all, whom to trust, he was not assured, and how to depend upon his new Inheritance without confederacy, might be the best *Counsel*, but the most difficult.

He therefore (to avoid difference with any) made *Peace* with all. And as a wise King lead them the way to do so, each with other, being the surest *Maxime* to himself, and to the foundation of greatness, upon popular love to his Subjects, to afford them ease and justice.

Peace and the effects.

This *Peace* ever after attended his Age and Hearse, to which he always intended to fashion his Son and Successour; but in future, fate followed the change, not without our over-hasty exception, to the Fathers settlement, mistaking it to be the consequence of evil event in the Sons succession.

But we ought to know, that *Events* are always seated in the inaccessible Light of Gods high Providence; and cannot be concluded but by supernatural Arguments, which must decide the miscarriages of pious Designs.

Of success in evil, and the consequence of good.

-----careat successibus opto,

Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putet.

We may learn his will, by the effect of his works, but not in the consequence of his proceedings; we may discern the handwriting of his Decree to be his Character, but not thereby his Sense; yet this we presume to run and read.

The Providence of God is often most violent to Reason, when yet in truth it runs in its proper chanel of equity to all. *His way is in the Sea*, not to be always traced by steps.

What confused conceits carry us on when a prevailing party succeeds in opposition to truth and justice? But he that looks thus askint hath an imperfect sight, not the eye of faith.

The Scales of Gods Providence are never at rest, always moving; now up, now down; to humble, and to exalt; to which we must submit, because we cannot comprehend.

And it is a Rule derivative from hence, *That where Religion is*

Anno

1603.

Swede,

Switzers.

Italy.

Muscovite.

Spain the
most Monar-
chall.King James
Interest.

to do of Himself, without leave of his people; what he hath done very lately against this State, in favour of the *Dutch*; he feels the smart, I need not repeat it.

The *Swede* encompassed with dangers and Enemies; the *Pole* pretending *Title* to that *Kingdom*; and in Arms they were for the wager; and defended barely enough, by the distance of Sea and Land between them. Besides, the *Dane* upon his back in all Advantages, to quicken the quarrel, though Providence since hath done wonders.

The *Cantons* swoln big with pride and equality, divide themselves between two Monarches, *France* and *Spain*, that for each others ends, they are supported by them both, as their hired servants.

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Anno
1603.

Preface to the
History of the
World.

Sir Walter
Raleigh's
Treason.

Court and
Character of
King James,
p. 31.
Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 4.

His birth and
breeding.

His Employ-
ments.

loosest, men sacrifice their best Reason to visible Success; and private fortune becomes their publick Profession: not remembering what *Isay*, says, In the path of Gods judgment we should patiently expect. We do not so by our daily censure.

David was in this storm, driven to the strongest Anchor of Hope; in the contemplation of the wicked, he was much trouble, to see them prosper, and the godly persecuted; untill he entered into the Sanctuary of Gods universal providence, the chain whereof meets in the centre of all.

Reade but the story of some Centuries of our *Christian* world, abbreviated in the Preface of *Sir Walter Raleigh's* History: How long was it, that wickedness had leave to lord it? With what strength of policy, the Tyrants of each time, sold themselves to settle the work of sin? And though in the period of that portion of time (compared with everlasting) and of our neighbour-affairs, (with the succeeds of the vast Universe) In these (*Isay*) he religiously observes (perchance in some) the most notorious impieties punished and revenged, yet he could not live to finde the effects of Gods justice in so perfect an Audit, summ'd up, but that he, and we, and others hereafter, shall still remain perplext.

And here in order and time, we come to consider the tempers of the Court Statists; those in favour with their former Sovereign, had a new game to play with this King; and such as were kept under heretofore, began now to raise their hopes and endeavours, for fresh preferment.

Amongst many of sundry conditions, we fall upon the Conspiracy of a few Discontents; and it is generally named *Sir Walter Raleigh's* Treason; so shadowed out to posterity by some late Relators, and huddled up in obscurity, as not many men in these days believe it for truth: to undeceive them, I shall give the world that story.

Sir Walter Raleigh was a Gentleman of good Alliance in the West of England, and very well descended; he began his Improvements by the University and Inns of Court; the later was always the place of esteem with *Queen Elizabeth*, which she would say, fitted youth for the future. But he staid not there; and as his fate would have him, of the Sword first, so destiny drew him on, to have a next Reputation with the Gown; for he was often called to counsel in her time, but never sworn.

He was twice in Expeditions of Land-service in Ireland, under General *Norris* and *Grey*, as also in the Low Countreys, and a Voyage at Sea, ere he was known at Court.

And such ways as these, were his introductions (the best hopes of his Risings) Some natural parts he had, a good wit and judgment, but his best Weapon was his Tongue, which gave him

him repute to be learned then, but after, he improved to more value in his future troubles, the best School to a wise man.

His quarrel with *Grey* in *Ireland* was there complain'd to a Council of War, but by Reference came over to *England*, to the Council-Table; *Grey* had the better cause, but *Raleigh* the advantage in pleading; which so took them, especially *Leicester*, that the *Queen* was told the Tale, and more of him; which begot esteem from her, and envy from others; however, he held up, being accounted a cunning Courtier, in that ticklish Trade, whereof, he that once breaks, seldom sets up again; but he got by those losses, and thriv'd best after such compounding.

Indeed, being still *under-wood*, cut, and yet growing, he became, *Silva cadua quæ succisa renascitur*, and so flourished oft times after, without absolute impute to his *Princes* pleasure. His Enemies of greater Rank kept him in and out, which made him then to decline himself out of the Court-rode; in Voyages to the *West Indies*, *Guiana*, *New Plantations*, *Virginia*; or else in some Expeditions against the *Spaniard*, which confirm'd him a grand Opposer of the general Peace which King *James* brought in, and that brought *Raleigh* to his ruine.

He rose no higher than Governour of *Fersey*, Lord Warden of the Stanneries of the *West*, and Captain of the *Queens Guard*; which last Place brought him to esteem at Court, but not in the State at all: and therefore most men of parts that want of their pride of Preferment, are tired with lingring expectation of change, from the settled way of Sovereignty; which in every shift of Princes gives fair hopes to many, neither so mean nor modest, but to please themselves with Objects of Advance: So this man, ambitious of his conceited merits, put himself forward, a little too soon.

Busie he had been heretofore, to speak his minde of the general affairs, and therein he pleased his late *Mistress*; for then, his inclination went with the humour of those times of War; but now, his counsel came out of season.

For, at the entrance of the *King*, he was presented by *Raleigh* with a Manuscript of his own making against the Peace with *Spain*: it was his Table-talk to beget more esteem, which took accordingly, and the way, to unbend him, was the work of the *Spanish Faction*; either to buy him out of that humour, or to abuse him into worse condition, which was effected by this way.

To mould him into *Treason*, there was a medley of divers conditions, but the Contrivers were two Priests, *Watson* and *Clark*, and Count *Arembergh* Ambassadour Extraordinary for the *Arch Duke*, who brought in the Lord *Cobham*, and he his Brother, and he *Parham*, and others, and they the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*: Then came in Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the wisest of them all,

Anno

1603.

Occasion of
his preferment.Envied in
Court.His Prefer-
ments

by the Queen.

His Conspira-
cy and
manner of
Treason.

Anno

1603.

Laurencie.

who dallied, like the Fly with the flame, till it consumed him. Willing he was (it seems) to know it, and thought by his wit, to over-reach the Confederates whom he knew well enough, though none but *Cobham*, (for a good while) dealt with him; and with him *Raleigh* play'd fast and loose, till himself was caught in the Gin.

There was one *Matthew de Laurencie* here at *London*, but a Merchant of *Antwerp*, with whom *Cobham* held intelligence, for many years before, and for some Reasons of *State*, connived at, by the late *Queen* and her *Council*. This man, was the property, which *Arembergh* used to *Cobham*, who was now much discontented.

These three made the first step to the Contrivements, and it hath been my jealousy, (for I laboured the truth) that *Laurencie* betray'd it; I being often present with Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his Imprisonment, when he privately discoursed hereof.

But such Designs, like wounds, if they take air corrupt, their Project could not be covertly carried, consisting afterwards of several persons of different tempers and unsuiting souls; and so, through the rifts and chinks of their several aims and ends, which could not be close jointed, the vigilancy of *Cecil* (perhaps) or other Counsellours of *State*, stole a glympse of their Design, apprehensive enough, to light a Candle, from the sparks of *Arembergh's* Discourse.

And being ripe, they were severally examined and restrained, not without watchfull eys on either, then to Imprisonment, and last to their Trials before the Lord *High Steward* and the *Peers*, at *Winchester*, whither the *Term* removed, out of this evermore *Pestilential City*.

And on the seventeenth of *November*, the Day of Arreignment for *Raleigh*, the *Fury* called to the *Bar*, against whose Persons he did not except, nor could, for they were his *Parés*, the most able sufficient of *Middlesex*, where the Fact had its Scene.

The *Indictment* was managed by the *Attourney General* Sir *Edward Cook*, *Serjeant Heal*, and *Serjeant Philips*, drawn from the ninth of *June*, 1603.

The *Accusation* double, against the *King*, and against the *State*; the *personal* had two parts, against his *life*, and to disable his *Title* to the *Crown*.

To the first was read *Brooks Confession*, that his Brother *Cobham* used these Speeches, *That it would never be well, till the King and his Cubs were taken away*; and said, *That he thought it proceeded from Raleigh*.

Raleigh answered, *That Brooks was his Enemy*; it was replied, *That Cobham was ever your Friend*; and it would seem a strange

His Arreignment at Winchester.

His Inditement.
June, 1603.

Two parts.

Brooks his confession.

a strange malice in Brooks, to ruine his Brother, to undo you.

To the second part, there was produced a Book (which I have read) *A Defence of the Queens Proceedings against Mary Queen of Scots*: The Title could defend it self, but the matter therein meddled too much in a dangerous consequence, to the Kings Succession, and treasonable enough.

Cobham had confessed, That Raleigh delivered to him that Book, and he to Brooks, and Brooks to Grey, upon Cobham's discontent. Raleigh acknowledged, that it contained matter of scandal to the Kings Title; and that he had leave of Sir Robert Cecil (after his Fathers death) to look into his Study, for Cosmographical Manuscripts of the West Indies, and so lighted on this Book.

Cobham's
confession.

Cecil then present upon the Bench, acknowledged this leave, and said, He would then, as really have trusted him, as any man, though since for some infirmities of Sir Walter, the bonds of affection were crackt; and yet, preserving his duty to the King, which may not be dispenced withall, he swore (By God) he loved him, and had a great conflict in himself, that so compleat a member had fallen from the State.

Cecil's speech.

And this passage needs no soothing to excuse Cecil either Father or Son; for I have heard Sir Robert Cecil when he was Salisbury to say publickly at his own Table, that he had intercepted and kept all the considerable Libells against the late Queen and this King; but though justifiable in them as Counsellours of State, yet was it a crime in Raleigh, who never was any. And this Book, as I remember, was of one Brag or Crag a Jesuit. But Sir Walter excused all, That there was nothing acted thereby, to the Kings prejudice, for that Book was burnt, and others are in print.

But to insist hereupon, Cobham had confessed, that Raleigh had agreed, that he should treat with Arembergh for six hundred thousand Crowns to advance the Title of the Lady Arabella to this Crown; that Cobham under pretence of travelling, should prosecute this Design in the Low Countreys, Flanders, France, and Spain; and to carry three Letters from Her to the Arch Duke, Duke of Savoy, and King of Spain; and to promise Toleration of Religion, and Her to be disposed of in Marriage; that at his Return, he should meet Raleigh at Jersey (the place of his command) and there to agree, how to dispose the money to Discontents; and Raleigh should have seven thousand Crowns from Arembergh to himself.

Cobham's
confessions.

And further confessed, That Raleigh had instigated him to all these Treasons.

And that Raleigh should say, That the best way to trouble England, was to cause Division in Scotland.

To this onely of Scotland, Raleigh answered, and confessed the

Anno

1603.

Laurencie's
confession.Raleigh desires
his Accusers
to be present.Raleigh at first
discovers
Laurencie.Cobham
singularis
testis.Cobham's
last Letter
condemned
Raleigh.

the words, and that he had so thought these twenty years. *It seems by the sequel since, in these our days, that he was not much mistaken.*

Laurencie confessed, To have delivered Letters from Arembergh to Raleigh, who presently with Cobham conferred thereof in private.

To all these, Raleigh craved, *That Cobham might appear to accuse him face to face.*

I may not omit this passage, that when the Confederates had suffered under some Examination, and restrained to their several Houses; and Raleigh well knowing that Laurencie was suspected, but not examined, then did Raleigh discover in a Letter to Sir Robert Cecil, where Laurencie was in secret with Cobham, and to advise to apprehend him, and so to intercept their intelligence, whilest matters were ripe.

What Raleigh's Design was herein, is not imagined, but this use was made of it, to Raleigh's ruine; for, after that Cobham had denied much of the former stuff, upon his first Examinations, this Letter was shewed to him, under Raleigh's hand; then Cobham in an extasie, railing against Raleigh, delivered his positive Accusation of him, as is before mentioned, and added, that after Raleigh's first Examination before the Lords, he writ to Cobham, *That although he had been examined of many matters, he had cleared Cobham of all: when (as the Lords protested) he had not been at all examined concerning Cobham: and thereby this was inferred (by the Council) to confirm Cobham, to deny all, when he should be examined.*

Sir Walter said, *That Cobham had not signed his Accusation, and that he was at the worst, but singularis Testis.*

To which the Lord chief Justice gave it for Law, that it was not necessary for either.

After much pleading, Raleigh urging Law and Scripture, for not admitting a single witness, to condemn, yet the Court was satisfied by the Judges, to the contrary.

Then said Raleigh, *Prove it by one witness, face to face, and I will confess my self guilty.*

But the Judges were of opinion, not to admit that neither; yet Raleigh insisted thereon with many stories and Presidents, which took up much time.

But being asked, *Will you be concluded, if Cobham should justify his Accusation, under his hand.*

To this it may be observed, that Raleigh made no Answer at all, knowing his guilt, but consented that the Jury should consult.

The Kings Council being to speak last, they produced Cobham's Letter, under his hand, writ but the day before. In effect thus:
That

That Sir Walter had writ a letter to him, wrapt in an Aple, and cast in at his window in the Tower, ten daies since, to intreat him for Gods sake to write to him under his own hand, that he had wronged him in his accusations; advising him to be constant in denials, rather than to appeal to the King.

And now (writes Cobham) It is no time to dissemble, and therefore protested, before God and his Angels, that all and every part of his accusation of Sir Walter Raleigh, was substantially true, and added that Raleigh had delt with him, since the Kings coming, to procure him a pension from Spain, for Intelligence.

Then Raleigh rayld at him, confessed that letter, and produced Cobhams Answer, desiring it might be read; which the Attorney Cook opposed, to whom Cecil replied, Sir, you are more peremptory than honest, come you hither to direct us? and so read it, which in effect was a Confession, That he had wronged Raleigh, and that he was Innocent. This bore date ten dayes before.

Raleigh desires his Answer to be read.

And here Raleigh confessed, that Cobham had offered to him a Pension from Spain, and that he had concealed it, as loth to ruine Cobham.

Then the Jury went out and returned in half an hour their verdict Guilty, So was sentence as in case of Treason, and he returned to the Tower, where he lay reprimed 12. years. And three years after that, was executed in October 1618.

Two dayes before Raleighs tryal, were sentenced these; Brook, who only excused his intentions, meerly to try faithfull Subjects, and said he had a Commission so to do, but produced none.

Tryalls of the rest.

Markham confessed the Inditement, pleaded discontent, and desired mercy. Watson confessed he had drawn in all the rest, holding the King to be no Sovereign, til he were crown'd, instancing in Saul, and Feroboam. Clark said the like.

1 Sam. 9.

Parham and Brooksby were acquitted by the Jury.

Watson, Clark, and Brook, executed.

Markham, Cobham, and Grey, brought severally upon the Scaffold to die, and at the instant on the Block had their particular executions remitted by a letter to the Sheriff under the Kings own hand, without the knowledg of any person, but Master Gibb of the Bed-Chamber, that brought it.

The warrant was directed to Titchburn high Sheriff of Hampshire, for staying execution of the late Lord Cobham, Lord Grey, and Sir Gr. Markham at Winchester. 1603.

The Kings Letter of Reprieve for three of them.

Although it be true that all well-governed and flourishing Kingdomes and Common-wealths are established by Justice, and that these two Noblemen by birth that are now upon the point of Execution, are for their treasonable practices condemned by the law, and adjudged

Anno
1603.

adjudget woorthy of Execution thairof to the Exemple and terror of o:heris; The one of thaim, having filthily practiced the overthrow of the quhole Kingdom, and the other for the surprize of our owin Person, yet in regaird that this is the first year of our raign in this Kingdom, and that never King was so far obleished to his people as we have been to this, by our entry here with so hairy and general an applause of all sorts; Among quhom all the Kinne friends and allies of the saidis condamed parsonis, vaire as fordurat and dnetifull as any other our good Subjectis, as also that at that very time of thair arraignment none did more freely and readily give thair assent to thair conviction, and to deliver thaim into the handis of Justice then so many of thair neerest Kinsmen and allies (as being Peeris) vaire upon thair Fury, as likevaire in regaird, that Justice hath in some sort gotten course already by the Execution of the two Priests and George Brook that vaire the principal plotteris and intisar is of all the rest, to the imbracing of the sadis treasonabill Machinations; ve thairfore (being resolved to mix Clemencie with Justice) aire contented, and by theise presentis command you our present shief of Hampshiere to superseid the Execution of the sadis two Noblemen, and take them back to thair prison again qwhile our further pleasure be knowin. And since ve wil not have our Lawis to have respect to personis, in sparing the great and strikking the meaner sort, It is our pleasure that the like course be also taken with Markham, being sory from our hairt, that such is not only the hainous Nature of the sadis codamned personis crime, but even the corruption is so great of thair natural disposition, as the care ve have for the safety and quiet of our state and good subjectis vil not permit us to use that clemencie towardis thaim quhich in our owin natural inclination ve might vary easely be perswadit unto.

James Rex.

However the King was mercifull, yet an evil fate followed them.

Grey died in the Tower, the last of his line.

Cobham, Markham and others, were afterwards releast imprisonment, but died miserable poor.

And Raleigh fifteen years after lost his life by the Axe for this Treason. See 1618.

I have been the more prolix against our Adversaries, that thereby the world may judg with the Jury, of his Guilt, or innocencie.

How could Wade, the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was alwaies esteemed honest, tamper with Cobham to write his Name to a Blanck, to which Wade framed an accusation against Raleigh, when it appears Cobham never signed at all to any, which therefore

Court and
Charact. p.
35. Hist.
Great B.it.
p. 4.
Observations
of the Tryall.

fore *Raleigh* insisted upon, for his advantage in the tryal.

But in truth, (besides the confessions) *His fatal evidence was Cobhams own voluntary last letter overnight, writ every whit with his own hand.*

The King commanded (as the Court was assured at his tryal) that no Examinant should be wrackt, which made Captain *Kemish* (the Emissary between them) to protest afterwards in my hearing, that in truth he was threatned with the wrack, which was shewed to him, and that had he tasted thereof, it should have inforced him, to tel an oddtale, *meaning of guilt.*

Sir *Walter* was admitted a chair, pen, Inck, paper, and truly he rather tired the Court and Jury with Impertinences, though he spoke well.

Not much to remind what we have said concerning the humours of the *Presbyterians*, so thoroughly canvased in all our *Scotish* discourse. Yet at this time, they renew their former wont, as in *Scotland*, and begin to perplex the King at his *Entrance*.

To pacifie such, He appoints a *Conference*, to be held with the *Episcopacie*, and *Them*, at *Hampton Court*. In the mean time to let them see what they should trust unto, he sets forth a Proclamation,

Against such as seditiously seek Reformation in Church Matters; And that the Constitution and doctrine here, is agreeable to Gods word, and near to the Condition of the primitive Church. And forewarnes them of publick invectives, gathering of Subscriptions to supplications for Reformation, favouring of Tumult, sedition, and violence; Protesting to preserve the Estate Ecclesiasticall as politick, in such form as he found it: Reforming abuses, if they be made apparent. 14 Octob. 1603.

But in truth these men were too hasty, and might well remember the King of such their behaviour in *Scotland*, which to prevent, he did for ever after advance the power of *Episcopacie* there, to even that *Discipline* with this in *England*, and to inlarge their Bishops into some Eminencie, heretofore clogged with *Envy* and *Malice*.

It was now time so to do, when the *Presbyterian Doctrines* had amplified into these *Heads*.

The Reformation of *Religion* belongs to the Cominaltie.

The punishment of such Crimes, as touching the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to *Kings* and chief *Rulers* only, but also to the *Body* of the *People*.

Princes, for just causes may be deposed.

If *Princes* be *Tyrants*, their subjects are freed from their Oath of *Obedience*.

Populo jus est, ut imperium cui velit, deferat.

R r

Penes

Presbyterians
perplez the
King.

Proclamation
against them.

Knox. to the
Cominaltie.
fol. 49.

Knox. apeal
fol. 30.

Knox. Hist.
pag. 372.
fol. 78.

Buch. de jure.
Regni. pa.
13.

Anno
1603.

pa. 25.

38.

40.

62.

70.

Buch de jure
Regni pa. 49.

Knox. apeal
fo. 26.

Buch. de ju-
re regni pa.
53.

pag. 57.

ibid. 57.

ibid. 57.

ibid. 57.

ibid. 50.
57.

*Potes populum est ut leges ferat, sunt Reges veluti Tabulario-
rum Custodes.*

The people have the same power over the King, as He hath over any Person.

It were good, that rewards were appointed by the people, for such as should kill Tyrants.

The People may arraign their Prince.

The Minister may excommunicate Him.

He that by excommunication is cast into Hell, is not worthy of Life upon Earth.

Objections to some of their Doctrines, with their
Answers.

Custom is against such dealing with Princes.

Ans. Nothing more dangerous to be followed than Cu-
stome.

Ob. We must obey Kings be they good or bad.

Ans. It is blasphemy to say so.

Ob. Jeremie commanded obedience to Nebuchodonozer.

Ans. The Example is but singular.

Ob. God placeth Tyrants sometimes for punishment of the Peo-
ple.

Ans. So doth he private men sometimes to kill them.

Ob. The Jewes dealt not so with their Kings.

Ans. Their Kings were not first elected by the People, but
Ours have nothing but from the People.

Ob. Shew an Example out of Scripture.

Ans. Sundry good laws in divers Countries, though no
Example in Scriptures.

Ob. Saint Paul commands us to pray for Princes. Tim. 2.

Ans. We may punish Thieves, and yet we ought to pray
for them.

Ob. Saint Paul commands us to be subject and obedient to Prin-
ces. Tit. 3.

Ans. Paul writ in the Infancie of the Church, the Christian
not ripe, nor rich for such a purpose; and if Paul were now
alive, he would leave Kings to be punished by their Subjects,
not to be accounted any longer King, &c.

These and many more such, not only held by Buchanan and
Knox, but by their whole Consistorians beyond seas, as Calvin,
Beza, Hitamor, Ursinius *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, Eusebius Shi-
ladephus, &c.

And now was their former proceedings in Scotland Exam-
ined according to their doctrines, for setting up their Consisto-
rian Discipline.

The Parliament in Scotland 1560. being dissolved, and their
Book of Discipline compiled by Knox and others, which their
favourites

favourites, notwithstanding termed but a *devout Imagination*, yet they threatned the chiefeſt Noblemen; if they ſhould re-
ject it: ſome refuſed, but at laſt it was forced upon all.

They appoint their Aſſemblies, particular and general.

They exerciſe Jurisdiction, and cart *Saunders* for Adultry.

And excommunicate the whole *Multitude* about a *May-pole*.

They burn divers places (pretending of ſuperſtition) Biſhops houſes, Proteſtants alſo at *Pasſey*, the Biſhop hardly eſcaping life.

The very calling of Biſhops, though *Proteſtants* became *Antichriſtian*, and command them (by their Authority) to leave their *Offices* and *Juriſdiction*.

That they ſhould have no voices in Parliament, and deſire that ſuch as themſelves ſhould ſend, might vote. Commanding the King and His Council, under pain of Excommunication, to appoint no *Biſhops* hereafter, becauſe the Brethren had concluded that eſtate unlawfull.

Beza, their Conſiſtorian *Patriarch* from *Geneva*, had aſſured them of well doing, and moves them, *Ne unquam, &c.* That they would never admit again that *Plague* (Biſhops) although it might allure them of keeping *Unity*.

The Biſhops being diſcharged, they agreed of Superintendents; but that device was laid aſide, and afterwards conclude, that Miniſters of the word, ſhould be equal; and then began the *Presbytery* to flouriſh.

For then they uſurped the whole *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, altering all lawes as they pleaſed,

They aſſembled the Kings Subjects, injoyning *Eccleſiaſtical* pains, unto them, make decrees, and execute them.

They Trayterouſly rail againſt the King in their Pulpits, and being queſtioned, utterly diſclaim his Authority, as an *Incompetent Judge*.

That the *Pulpit* matters, were exempt from the Judgment, or correction of Princes; They preſcribe lawes to the King and *State*. Appoint Faſts to the whole Kingdom, when their faction were to act any enterprize.

Anno 1582. The King to prevent the dangerous conſequence thereof, divers of them were ſilenced and imprifoned, but what was the Iſſue? They ſurprize the King at *Ruthen*, and declare it to be done, for reſiſting the preſent dangers to Gods true *Religion*, and for removing from the King the chief *Authors*,

The King being afterwards releaſed, that act was adjudged *Crimen leſæ Majeſtatis*, and ſome were hanged, others fled into *England*.

Yet afterwards 1585. They avow the ſame, and excommunicate ſuch as would not ſubſcribe to Them.

Anno

1603.

Kncx. Hiſt.

p1. 504.

Declar. B. 1.

2.

Knox hiſt. p.

523.

527.

Knox Inſtit.

534.

Declar. B.

2.

Epiſtol. 79.

Declar. B. 3.

B.

Act Parlia-
ment.

Cap. 4.

Cap. 2.

Declar. B. 3.

Declar. 1582.

Parl. 1584.

Ca. 7.

Declar. 1585.

Anno

1603.

Cap. 2.

3.

4.

8.

Knox Instit.

Knox Instit.

Knox Instit.

Knox Instit.

Knox Instit.

Knox Instit.

Knox Instit.

Knox Instit.

Conference at
Hampton-
Court.

Another treasonable Attempt they had against the King at Sterlin, Anno 1583.

So that in the Parliament, 1584. the Kings lawfull Authority Ecclesiastical was confirmed, the Bishops restored, and to be Treason for any man to procure diminution of the three Estates.

The Judgments, Senates, and Presbyterian Jurisdiction discharged.

An Act made for calling in Buchanan's treasonable Book, his Chronicle, and his *Fure Regni apud Scotos*.

That none shall preach, declame, confer, or utter scandalous words or slanders against the King or his Council, or to meddle in State-affairs, *Sub pœna, &c.*

And because they did advance their Modell, as the most agreeable to the best and most Reformed Churches against Episcopacy, it was examined the numbers that refuse their *Sanctum*, besides the Eastern and Western Reformers.

All in the Dutchy of Saxony, Brunswick, and Luxemburgh.

All those Churches in the Countreys of the Marquesites of Brandenburg and Badu.

The Churches in the Earldoms of Henebergh, Lemings, Marisfeilt, Stalburgh, Renestern, Swatrenburgh, Wertenburgh, Hannaw, Oeting, Glick, and Leonstine.

All in the Baronies of Lenefergh, Schenburgh, and Wildenfield.

All the Churches of at least thirty free Cities, Many of whose Territories are as ample as Geneva, and yet none of them have received the Presbyterian Discipline.

Add to these, the remainder of the Albigeneses and Waldenses in Piedmont in the parts adjoyning, or of the Taborites in Bohemia; the Lutheran Churches also in Poland, Denmark, and Swethland.

And indeed, Calvin and Beza both are sufficient Judges to prove, they were no Enemies to moderate Episcopacy, but onely against Romish Hierarchy. See Calvin *de necessitate reformatæ Ecclesiæ*, and Beza *de grad. Minister. Evangel.* 18. Sect. 3. Themselves well knowing that Episcopacy then did direct the guidance of grave and wise Over-seers, which otherwise would fall into Schisms, and after grow into Heresies.

These Items, and many more such, were put together, to set them forth in some measure, untill the Day advanced for the Conference at Hampton-court, in January.

Whether was summoned by Letters, the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winton, Worcester, St: Davids, Chichester, Carlile, and Peterborough; the Deans of the Chapel, Pauls, West-Chester, Salisbury, and Westminster.

On

Anno

1603.

See Confer.
at Hampton-
Court.

On the other part were these Doctors, Reynolds, and Sparks, Mr: Knewstubs, and Mr: Chaderton, Agents for the (Millenary Plaintiffs, says the Book) and these four were the fittest, that could be found amongst them all.

The King sent for the Bishops to come before him in private, and entered their Assemblying, with a grave and princely Declaration of this his general drift; By example of all Christian Princes, in commencements of their Reign, establishing the Doctrine and policy of the Church; Henry 8. did it toward the end of his Reign; Edward 6. altered more; Queen Mary reversed all; and Queen Elizabeth settled it as now it standeth. His happiness is to have no cause to alter, but to confirm what he findeth, and which so affects him, that he entered into a gratulation to Almighty God, for bringing him into the promised Land, where Religion was purely professed, and to sit amongst grave, learned and reverend men, not as before, elsewhere, a King without State, Honour, or Order, where beardless boys would yet beard him to his face; acknowledging now the Government Ecclesiastical to be approved by manifold blessings of God, increase of the Gospel, and a glorious Peace. But as nothing could be so ordered, but may have additions, and in any State, (as in the body of man) corruptions might insensibly grow, either through time or persons, of which some complaints have pretended Reformation: His purpose therefore was, to try the complaints and remove the occasions, if scandalous; or to cure them, if dangerous, or, if but frivolous, to take so much knowledg thereof, as to cast a Sop into Cerberus his mouth, never to bark more, to give factious spirits no occasion of boasting, and to redress what should appear fitting, without any visible alteration.

And in particular the King signified, he called them alone, about some points, to be satisfied himself concerning the Book of Common Prayer and Service.

The Kings
private De-
mands.

Excommunication in Ecclesiastical Courts.

Providing of able Ministers for Ireland.

First, in the Book, [confirming of Baptism] as if without it the Sacrament were invalid, then were it blasphemous.

Confirmati-
on.

Secondly, for the use; at first indeed upon occasion, that Infants being baptized and answering by their Patrini, it was necessary they should be examined at years of discretion, and confirmed by the Bishop with a Blessing and Prayer; but abhorred it as a Popish Sacrament and counteraction of Baptism.

About Absolution, that there being onely two kindes, General and Particular; all Prayers and Preaching import an Absolution; the other is to be applied to special parties, after a scandal and repentance are resolved.

Absolution.

Thirdly, Private Baptism; if private for peace, so did the Primitive Church; if for persons, none ought but a lawfull Minister;

Anno
1603.

Minister; and therefore was earnest against Women and Lay-icks.

Excommunication.

To consider the matter, whether executed in light causes and too often? In the persons; why Lay-men, Chancellours and Commissioners do it? why not the Bishops, with the Dean and Chapters, or Ministers, or Chaplains?

Ireland.

This for *Ireland* was referred to a consultation hereafter.

Confirmation.

The *Arch Bishop* shewed the Antiquity of *Confirmation* from the *Apostles*, till of late some particular Churches had rejected it: he declared the lawfull use thereof; and affirmed, that the Church of *England* did not hold Baptism imperfect without it, or added any thing to the virtue and strength thereof: this he manifested by the Rubricks in the *Communion Book* before *Con-*firmation.

The Bishop of *London* said, It did not depend onely upon Antiquity, as in *Cyprian*, *Ep.* 73. and *Hierom. adversus Luciferian.* but was one of the particular points of the *Apostles* Catechism in expresse words, *Heb.* 6. 2. and so did *Calvin* expound that very place, which was read and approved.

That we made it not a Sacrament or Corroboration; and yet the King was of opinion, it might rather be intituled *Examination* with a *Confirmation*.

Absolution.

It was cleared from all abuse or superstition, the Minister does but pronounce Absolution in general, after the Confession; that in the *Communion Book* there was another particular and personal Form of Absolution for the Visitation of the Sick; and that the Confessions of *Augusta*, *Boheme*, *Saxon*, which be there cited do retain and allow it, and so does *Calvin* approve such a kinde of Confession and Absolution.

Private Baptism.

That the Administration by Women and Layicks was not practised of the Church, but inquired of by Bishops in their Visitations and censured; and although the words in the *Book* might seem doubtfull, yet the Compilers did not so intend them, and yet propounded them ambiguously, (perhaps) that it might thereby pass in Parliament, and in case of necessity onely, and was so, agreeable to the practice of ancient Church, as *Acts* 2. where three thousand were baptized in one day; impossible for the *Apostles* to do themselves, or improbable, and besides them there were no Bishops or Priests; and *Tertullian* and Saint *Ambrose* in *Ephes.* 4. are plain in that point; laying open also the impious opinions, who think there is no necessity

of

Anno
1603.

of Baptism; not, as if without it God could not save the Childe; and the case being put as incertain, if not baptized; but, if baptized, an evident assurance, and so rather to ground upon Christ's promise, than by omission upon Gods secret judgments.

The King replied, *That the place Acts 2. was an act extraordinary, the Church then unsettled and ungrounded, now stablished and flourishing; that he maintained necessity of Baptism; as to the place of Saint John, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua, &c. was meant of Baptism; and that fourteen Moneths ago, he did argue in Scotland against his Divines there, for ascribing too little to that Sacrament; so that (said he) a pert Minister asked him, if it were so necessary, that being omitted, the Child should not be saved? He answered, No. But if you be called (though in private) to baptize him, and refuse, I think you shall be damned.*

But he concluded, *Necessity of Baptism to be necessary by lawfull Ministers, and none other, and yet utterly disliked Rebaptization, though after either Women or Laicks.*

Here the Bishop of Winton affirmed, that to deny baptizing by private persons in case of necessity, crossed all Antiquity; that the Minister is not of the essence of the Sacrament, yet is he of the essence of the right and lawfull Ministry thereof; the commission of Christ, *Matth. 28. 20. Go preach and baptize.*

Excommunication.

The King asked, *Whether the Name might not be changed, and yet the censure retained? or whether another coercion equivalent?*

He was answered, that it had been heretofore often considered, but Queen Elizabeth resolved to be *Semper eadem*, and not to alter what she had settled.

The King professing, *That though he lived some time as a Ward, under Puritans, yet since he was of his Sons age, (the Prince sitting by) he ever disliked their opinions; though he lived among them, he was not of them.*

Opus primæ diei.

The perfect Conference.

The Bishops, Deans, and Doctors, (and a Scottish Minister Patrick Galloway was admitted) and Reynolds, Sparks, Knewstubs, and Chaderton.

The King told them all the intent of the Conference, meet for every King at his entrance to the Crown; Not to innovate the established Government, which by long experience he found was accompanied with singular blessings five and forty years, as that no Church upon the face of the earth flourished more than this of England. But first to settle an uniform Order therein. Secondly, to plant

Anno
1603.

Opponents.

plant unity, for suppressing Papists and other Enemies to Religion. Thirdly, to amend abuses, being natural to bodies Politick, and to corrupt man, as the shadow to the body, which once being entered, have motion like a wheel set going; and because complaints had been made, he thought best to summon the gravest and most learned, to hear what could be said, and so wished the Opponents to object.

They four kneeled down, and Doctor Reynolds the fore-man, after a short Preamble gratulatory, signified his Majesties summons, by virtue whereof these appeared, reducing all matters disliked to these four Heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved pure, according to Gods Word.

2. That good Pastors might be planted to preach.

3. That the Church-government might be sincerely ministred according to Gods Word.

4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety.

Doctrine.

In the first, that the Book of Articles of Religion concluded 1562. might be explain'd where obscure, and enlarged where defective, viz. Acts 16. the words are these, *After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace*: which seem to be contrary to the Doctrine of Gods Predestination and Election in Article 17. both these words might be explained with this addition, yet neither totally, nor finally; and that the nine Assertions upon a conference heretofore at Lambeth, might be inserted into that Book.

Secondly, where it is said in Article 23. that none should preach or administer Sacraments in the Congregation without lawfull calling; he said, implied, a lawfulness for any man out of the Congregation to preach, &c. though he had no lawfull calling.

Thirdly, in Article 25. touching Confirmation, grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles, being opposite to those in the Collect of Confirmation in the Communion Book, Upon whom after the example of the Apostles; argue (saith he) a contrariety each to other; the first confessing Confirmation to be a depraved imitation of the Apostles; the second, grounding it on their example, Acts 8. 19. as if the Bishop in confirming children, did by imposing his hands, (as the Apostles do in those places) give the visible graces of the Holy Ghost, &c. therefore he desired that both the contradictions might be considered, and this ground of contradiction examined.

The Bishop of London first desired his Majesty, That the
ancient

antient Canon might be remembred, Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi.

Secondly, that if any of these parties were in the Number of the 1000. Ministers who had once subscribed, and yet petitioned against it, they might be removed, according to a very decree of an antient Counsel, *That no man should be admitted, to speak against what he had subscribed, and contrary to a statute, to speak against the Liturgie and discipline established, alleging what Master Cartwright had confirmed, that we ought rather to conform to Orders and Ceremonies to the fashion of the Turks, than to the Papists,*

Concerning *falling from Grace*, the said Bishop said, that very many Men neglecting holiness of Life, presumed of persisting in Grace, laying all their Religion on *Predestination*, if *I shall be saved, I shall be saved*, a desperate doctrine, wherein we should rather reason *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, Thus, *I live in Obedience to God, In love with my Neighbour, I follow my vocation, &c. I trust God hath elected me, and predestinated me to salvation*: But contrariwise they use this argument, *God hath predestinated and chosen me to life, and though I sin never so grievously, I shall not be damned, for whom he once loveth, he loveth eternally*. Whereupon he shewed what was the doctrine of the Church of England, briefly, *That we must receive Gods promises as they are set forth generally in Scripture, and do that will of God, which is expresly declared in Scripture.*

The King wished that the doctrine of Predestination be tenderly handled, lest on the one side Gods Omnipotencie might be questioned, by impeaching the doctrine of Predestination, or on the other, a desperate presumption might be averred, by inferring the necessary certainty of standing and persisting in grace.

To the second it was answered, none but a Licensed Minister might preach, nor administer the Eucharist or the Lords supper, and for private Baptism (the King said) he had ordered already.

The third point was observed, to be of Curiosity or Malice, because the Article (there read) *These five commonly called Sacraments, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, &c. are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles, &c.* Insinuateth, that the making of Confirmation to be a sacrament, is a corrupt imitation: But the Communion-Book makes it to be according to the Apostles example, which being read, the King concluded it to be but a Libel. Now for the ground thereof, it was not so much founded on the places in the Acts, but upon Heb. 6. 2. where it is made a part of the Apostles Catechism, which was

Anno

1603.

Answer.

1. Elizabeth.

Falling from
grace.Licensed Mi-
nisters.Confirmati-
on.

Anno
1603.

Opponent.

Answer.

Opponent.
Catechism.

Answer.

Opponent.
Translation
of the Bible.

the opinion of the fathers, and of *Calvin* and *Fulk*, the one upon *Hebrew* 6. 1. the other upon *Acts* 8. 27. where (with *Saint Austin*) he saith, We do not mislike that antient Ceremony (of imposing of hands for strengthning and confirming such as had been Baptised) being nothing else but a prayer over a Man to be strengthned and confirmed by the holy Ghost, or to receive the gifts of the holy Ghost, as *Saint Ambrose* saith; alluding to *Heb.* 6. 2, &c. Nor (saith he) is it their opinion, Confirmation to be unlawful, but rather because they have not the use of this in their own hands, every Pastor in his Parish to confirm, for then it would be accounted an Apostolical institution. And indeed *Doctor Reynolds* seemed to grant, replying, that some dioceses of a Bishop had 609, Parish-Churches (as London,) it was inconvenient to commit confirmation to him alone, as impossible to examine all them.

It was answered, that the Bishop usually appoints his Chaplins or Ministers to examine them, and none are otherwise confirmed but by testimony of the Parsons or Curats, where they are bred and born; and *Saint Ierome* says, that the Execution was indeed restrained to Bishops only, *ad honorem potius sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem. Ecclesiae salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non Exors quaedam, et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiis efficerentur schismata, quot sacerdotes.* It was used anciently, partly to examine children whether they had been baptized or no, for primitively baptism was administered in divers sorts. *In Nomine patris et filii, &c.* others *In Nomine patris Majoris, et filii Minoris*, as the *Arrians* did; some, *in nomine patris per filium, in Spiritu sancto*; others not in the name of the Trinity, but in the name of Christ, &c. Whereupon Catholick Bishops were constrained to examine them, who were baptized in *remotis*. The King concluded, as none should confirm, so none to preach without the Bishops License.

Doctor Reynolds complained, that the Catechism in the Common-prayer-Book was too brief, and *Nowells* was too long, requested one uniform, and none other. It was thought reasonable, the King saying, That in Scotland every one well affected, or thought to the sonne of a good man, set out a Catechism, and what was received in one Congregation, was never accepted Orthodoxall in another, adding this gromical Canon conclusion, First, that old intricate questions might be avoyded in the fundamental Instructions of the people; Secondly not to be such a departure from the Papists in all things, as to be therefore in error, because we agree in some.

Then *Doctor Reynolds* moved for a new Translation of the Bible, the old ones of *Henry* the eighth, and *Edward* the sixth, being corrupt; Instanced in *Galathians* 4. 25. *Psal.* 101. 28. They were not obedient, For not disobedient. *Psal.* 106. 30, &c.

The

Anno
1603.

The King complained thereof, and the worst to be Geneva, the Marginal notes thereof were partial, untrue, seditious, and trayterous, as Exod. 1. 19. the note alloweth disobedience to Kings, And 2. Chron. 15. 16. The note taxeth Asa for deposing the Mother and not killing her. That errors in matters of faith may be rectified, that matters indifferent might rather be interpreted and a gloss added, concluding rather a Church with some faults than an Innovation; and surely saies he, if these be the greatest matters, I needed not your complaints.

Doctor Reynolds complained against publishing some Books unlawfull, instance that, *De jure Magistratus in subditos*, published of late by *Ficlerus* a Papist, and applyed against Queen Elizabeth, for the Pope.

Opponent.

Bishop of London said, That the Author *de Jure* was a great disciplinarian, whereby it appears what advantage these Sects afforded to the Papists, who *mutatis personis*, could apply their own arguments, against Protestant Princes.

Answer.

That for other Books lately admitted, viz: *Disputes between Secular Priests, and Jesuites*, the King told Doctor Reynolds, He was a better Colledg-man, than a States-man, and willed him and His associates to know, they were permitted by order of Counsel Table, whereby their schisme and his Majesties title handled, and the title of Spain confuted; and wherein this State was cleered of putting Papists to death, not for Religion, but Treason. And thus much concerning purity of Doctrine.

The second generall point. Pastors to be Resident and Learned.

Opponent.

The King had ordered the Bishops to be carefull herein, but as *subita evacuatio was periculosa, so subita Mutatio*. That there were more sufficient divines, than Maintenance, which must be first provided; young ignorant Ministers to be removed, if old, death must make void for better; Jerusalem could not be built in a day.

Answered.

It was conceived, that Lay-Patroness presented such, as liked their humour and faction, the Law admitting any mean Clerk, and if the Bishop opposed, a *quare impedit* is sent against him.

Some moved to settle a praying Ministry another while, for there are many excellent duties in the Ministers, Absolving the Penitent, Praying for and Blessing the People, Administring the Sacraments; but now it is concluded into one onely duty, preaching, oft time indiscreetly to the prejudice of divine service, being usual rather to walk in the Church-yard, than be at the service.

The King said it was most necessary to plant by preaching, but in a Church so long established in faith, onely the Hypocrite placed all his Religion in the Ear, as an easie passage, but Prayer expressed the hearts affections, and the true devotions of the mind, puts us to

Anno

1603.

over-much trouble. There ought to concur in prayer, an impartial consideration of our own estates, a due examination to whom we pray, an humble confession of our sins, hearty sorrow, and repentance not severed from faith. In the mean time that Homilies might be read; every Man that can pronounce well, cannot perhaps indite well; to which the Adversaries confessed. They were told of the Pulpits, made by them Pasquils, a lude custome to traduce.

Thrird and fourth general heads mingled together.

Subscription.

Here indeed Doctor Reynolds skipt over the third point into it, urging Subscription as an Impeachment to a learned Ministry, and desired not to be exacted; their reason, The books Apocryphal, enjoyned in the Common prayer-book to be read, were in part erroneous. Instanced *Ecclus.* 48. 10. That *Elias* was to come before Christ, and so Christ not to be come, because (saith he) *Ecclus.* useth the very words of *Elias* in Person, which *Malachi* Chap. 4. doth apply to *Elias* in resemblance, which both an Angell, *Luke* 1. 17. and our Saviour, *Matth.* 11. did interpret to be *John Baptist*.

He was answered with Sir *Feromes* distinction, *Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem*. The King desired an even Order. Not all Canonical books to be read in the Church, unless to be interpreted, nor any *Apocrypha* at all, where any error, but such as were clear with the scriptures, else why printed? As the *Maccabees*, excellent to make up the story of the Jews persecution, but not to teach a man to sacrifice for the dead, or to kill himself.

But the King finding them to insist so hotly against *Ecclesiasticus*, the place being read, he shewed who the Author was, then the cause why he did write it, next Analyzed that Chapter, shewing the precedents and consequents thereof, lastly, exactly and divinely unfolded the sum of that place, arguing and demonstrating, that whatsoever *Ben Sirach* had said there of *Elias*, *Elias* had in his own person while he lived performed and accomplished; So that the *Susurrus* at the first mention, was not so great, as the astonishment was now at the Kings sodain sound and admirable interpretation, concluding, that the opposers did ill, to impose upon a Man that was dead, a contrary sence; and (smyling) told the Lords, what, trow yee, makes these men so angry with *Ecclesiasticus*, without doubt, they take him for a Bishop?

2. The next objection was that old *Crambe bis posita*. Jesus said to his Disciples, when by the Original, he spake to the Pharises; but bearing a double sence, Disciples was to be left out, or in a different letter.

3. The

3. The third Objection against Subscription were *Interrogatories* in *Baptism* propounded to Infants; that out of *Austin*, *Baptizare* was *credere*.

The King said, *Ego non intelligo*.

Bishop *Winton* aiming at his meaning, shewed the use thereof out of Saint *Austin*, and the reason, *Qui peccavit in altero, credat in altero*.

It was seconded by the King, *That the Question should be propounded to the party whom it principally concerned, as* (saith he) *by example of my self, to whom Interrogatories were propounded, when he was crowned in his infancy in Scotland.*

Then Mr. *Knewstubs* fell out with the Cross in Baptism; first, as the offence of weak Brethren, *Rom. 14. & 1 Cor. 8.* the consciences of the weak not to be offended.

It was answered, *Distingue tempora & concordabunt Scripturae*; then a Church not settled, ours long flourishing; asking them, How long they meant to be weak? Whether five and forty years were not sufficient? Then, who they were? For it is not now required *Subscription* of Laicks and Idiots, but Preachers and Ministers; that it was rather doubted, some of them were not to be fed with milk, being strong enough, if not headstrong, and thought themselves able to teach all the Bishops.

Their Objections were, whether the Church had power to institute an external significant sign?

Answered, It was used in Baptism onely as a Ceremony, and as by their own example, who make Imposition of hands in their Ordination of Pastors, to be a sign significant; all our actions in Prayer are ceremonies significant; the *Jews* to their *Moses* Passover have added signs and words, *Take and eat these in remembrance, &c. Drink this in remembrance, &c.* Upon which addition and tradition, our Saviour at his last Supper celebration used the same, as approving that fact of theirs, and generally that a Church may institute a sign significant.

Doctor *Reynolds* confessed the use of the Cross ever since the Apostles, but whether in Baptism, *Quare?* It was used in Baptism in the time of *Constantine*, who was no Papist.

Mr. *Knewstubs* said, Though the Church had power to add significant signs, yet not to add where *Christ* had ordained but one; as not to add a private Seal to the great Seal of *England*.

It was answered, that no sign or thing was added to the Sacrament, which was fully and perfectly finished, before any mention of the Cross is made.

Then it was opposed, how far such an Ordinance of the Church was binding, without impeaching Christian liberty.

The King told him, *He would not dispute that point, but argue as*

Opponent.

Answer.

Anno
1603.

Anno
1603.

as Kings speak in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera*; adding, that it smelt rank of Anabaptism, saying, *A beardless Boy* (John Black) in a conference I had with the Ministers in Scotland, vouchsafed to say, He would conform to my Ordinances for Doctrine; but for Ceremonies, they were left in Christian libertie to every man as he was more or less illuminated of Gods Spirit; even till they grow mad with their own light: but I will have one Doctrine, one Discipline, one Religion in substance and ceremony.

Opponent.

They urged the stamping the Brazen Serpent to powder by *Ezekias*, because the people abused it to idolatry, and so it was abused in time of Popery.

Answer.

Therefore said the King, *It shall continue, because you say, it was abused in Popery to superstition; it implies, it was well used before Popery, and so now.*

Here the King remembered, that he had lived long with such men as these, but never of them; they do so peremptorily disallow of all things, which had been any way used in Popery. The Papists object us with Novelties, which truly I cannot better answer, than to tell them, their abuses are new, but the good things which they abused we retain, and forsake the novel corruption; for by the same Argument we may renounce the Trinity, and all that is holy, because abused in Popery.

What resemblance is there between the Brazen Serpent, a visible thing, and the sign of a Cross made in the air? The Papists never ascribed any power or spiritual grace to the Cross in Baptism; the material Crosses are by us demolished, as you desire, which the Papists used to idolatry.

The third general Head Church-garment.

Surplice:
Opponent.
Answer.

Then they objected the Surplice to be a Garment used by the Priests of Isis.

The King smiled, *Is it now borrowed from the Heathen, which till now ye accounted a Rag of Popery? We are not in danger of Paganism though of Papism. Antiquity always used different habits in divine Service, principally white Linnen; and he always desired not further to separate from the Church of Rome in Doctrine or Ceremony, than she had departed from her self and her Head Christ Jesus.*

The fourth general Head Common Prayer.

Of Matrimo-
ny.
Opponent.

Doctor Reynolds would not have these words, *With my body I thee worship*. They told me it was divine worship.

The King said, *It was an usual English word, of Reverence, not to idolatry. But Doctor, if you have a good Wife, do her to worship, and more too.*

That nothing was more meant thereby, than as Saint Paul
I Cor.

1 Cor. 7. 4. that to worship the Wife, is for the Man to appropriate his body to her alone; and as 1 Pet. 3. 7. To give honour to the Wife as to the weaker vessel. So to please them was added honour to the word worship.

The Ring they did not except.

As for Churching of Women, called *Purification*, the King would not alter that decent manner in matter or words, saying, *Women of themselves are loth enough to come to Church, therefore all good ways to invite them.*

Fourth general Head.

Doctor Reynolds excepted against committing Ecclesiastical Censures to Lay Chancellours, seeing their Authority in Hen. 8. time was abrogated in Queen Mary's, and not revived, and abridged by Bishops themselves, Anno 1571. ordering, that Lay-Chancellours should not excommunicate in matters of correction; and Anno 1584, & 1589. not in matters of instance.

The King told them, *He had conferred therein, and would consider.*

D. Reynolds desired to have Provincial Constitutions, as the Clergy to meet once in three Weeks; first in rural Deanaries, and therein to have Prophecyng. Secondly, and if not there resolved, then to be referred to an Arch Deacons Visitation: and so thirdly, to Episcopal Synod, where the Bishop with his Prebytery might determine.

The King started at the word, saying, *They aimed at the Scottish Presbytery; which (said he) agrees with Monarchy as God and the Devil; then Jack, and Tom, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my Council, and all our Proceedings. Stay, if once that Government be up, we shall have work enough.*

Sir, said the King to Reynolds, *you have spoken for my Supremacy, and you did well; know you of any that like of the present Ecclesiastical Government, dislike my Supremacy?*

He answered, No.

I will tell you a Tale, After Queen Mary had overthrown Edward 6. his settlement of Religion, whereupon Mas. Knox in England writes to the Queen Regent my Grand-mother, a virtuous and moderate Princess, telling her, She was Supreme Head of the Church, charging her in Gods Name to take care of Christ's Evangil, and suppress the Prelates. But how long trow ye, held this? Even till he and his Adherents were shuffed in, and understood matters of Reformation, declined her Authority, assuming all Ecclesiastick into their own hands, and according to more light wherewith they pretended illumination, made further Reformation. How they dealt with my good Mother, not allowing to her breeding a poor Chapel; but her Supremacy was not sufficient Authority: and how with me in my minority, these times remember.

Discipline.
Opponent.

Answer.

1 Cor. 14.

Acts 21.

Answer.

Anno
1603.

My Lords Bishops, I thank you that these men plead for my Supremacy now; they think you too hard for them, but by appealing unto it, as if you were not well affected; but I say, [No Bishop, no King] I speak not at Random; for I have observed some of their Gang, to pray for my Person as King of England, &c. but for Supremacy over all persons, they pass that over. If this be all you can say, Ile make you subscribe, or hurry you out of England.

Finis secundi Diei.

The next day of Conference, appeared all the before-named, and also were admitted the Doctors of the Civil Law, Sir Daniel Dunn, Sir Thomas Crompton, Sir Richard Swale, Sir John Bennet, and Doctor Drury.

The Arch-Bishop presented the King with a note of those points referred to consideration, the alteration or rather explanation of them in our Liturgy.

1. Absolution or Remission of sins, in the Rubrick of Absolution.
2. In private Baptism, the lawfull Minister present.
3. Examination with Confirmation of Children.
4. Jesus said to them, in the Dominical Gospel, in stead of Jesus said to his Disciples.

The King reading the Common-Prayer-Book of Private Baptism; [They baptize not Children] it shall be altered, They cause not Children to be baptized; and where it is said, [Then they minister it] it shall be, The Curate and lawfull Minister present. Concluding, that he aimed at three things:

1. Words fit and convenient.
 2. How things might be best done without appearance of alteration.
 3. To be practised, that each man may do his duty in his place.
- The King said, 1. The parties named in the High Commission were too many and too mean.
2. The matters too base.
 3. That the branches granted out to the Bishops were too frequent and large.

The Arch-Bishop answered, 1. That albeit the Privy Council were in, all the Bishops, Judges of Law, and others, but their employment hindred their sitting, unless supplied by meaner men, Deans and Doctors.

2. The fault may be mean, that the Ordinary may censure; but often times the Delinquent might be so great and so wilfull, that the ordinary brand of the High Commission is needfull.

And for the third, It was to be referred to consultation.

The King was shewed the three Articles which are to be subscribed unto, viz. To the Kings Supremacy, the Articles of Religion,

High Commission.

Subscription.

ligion, and Common Prayer-Book. His Majesty said, *Subscription was necessary to prevent Tumults in the Church, 2ly. Because the Minister must answer for every Minister, for turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur Hospes, 3ly. As a good means to discern the parties affection, and to avoid confusion, and he that would be refractory deserved to be hanged, præstat ut pereat unus quam unitas.*

Anno
1603.

Touching the Oath *ex officio*, the King prevented that old Allegation, *Nemo cogitur detegere suam turpitudinem*, said that civil proceedings only punished facts, but Ecclesiastical Courts looked unto *Fame and Scandal*; that there was necessary the Oath Compurgator and *ex officio*, with moderation in *gravioribus criminibus*; 2ly. In such of publick *Fame*, and to be distinguished, as in *Scotland*, where lying with a wench, though but suspected; was made publick, to all the states and people, at the stool of repentance. And here the King described the Oath *ex officio*, the grounds thereof, the wisdom of the Law therein, the manner of proceeding thereby, and the necessary use thereof, In so compendious and absolute order, as the Auditors were amazed; the Arch-Bishop said he spake by Gods spirit.

Ex officio.

Then was committed to consultation;

1. For excommunication; the Name or censure to be altered.

2. For the high Commission; the quality of the Persons to be named, and the nature of the causes.

3. For Recusant Communicants; the weak to be informed, the wilfull punished.

The 4th thing consulted was, for sending Preachers into *Ireland*; He being (as he said) there but half a King, over their Bodies, but their soules seduced by Popery, no Religion, no Obedience; to send men of sincerity, Knowledge, and Courage.

The last was for maintenance for the Clergie.

Then Master *Chadderton* requested, that the surplis and Cross in Baptism, might not be urged upon godly Ministers in *Lancashire*, lest they revolt to Popery, instancing the Vicar of *Ratesdale*, a Man that doled the Communion bread at the Sacrament, out of a Basket, every man putting in his hand for himself. That letters should be writ to the Bishop there, but if they were turbulent spirits, they should be inforced to conformity, and a time limited.

Opponent,

Answer

Master *Knewstubs* desired the same favour for the Godly Ministers in *Suffolk* not to be forced against their Credits to the surplis and Cross. Sir, said the King, have we taken pains, and concluded of an unity and conformity, and you forsooth must prefer the credits of a few private men, before the publick peace of the Church. The *Scots* Argument; because they had been long of a contrary opinion.

Opponent.

Answer.

Anno
1603.

Somewhat was said against their *Ambuling Communion*, and Master *Chaterton*'s sitting Communion in *Emmanuel College*. But finally, they all promised conformity and obedience, and so parted that Meeting.

Chancellour *Egerton*, a wise and learned Counsellour, wondering at the Kings ready Disputes, expert and perfect in Divinity, said, That he had read, that *Rex est mixta persona cum Sacerdote*, and now he sees the truth thereof in him.

A marvel to some, (in these our last times) why no more able men to be found for them but four. I shall answer with a truth, and no marvel, That some years after, when the Roles were examined, that were deposed, they were found to be but nine and fourty in all *England*; when in *Scotland* they were reckoned above nine thousand; so great a stir could so few make here: or else they subscribed to keep their Livings; and no wonder; they were ever loth to lose all, and many of them knew how to turn.

Proclamation
for Uniformi-
ty.

And orderly afterwards the King put forth two Proclamations, the one, *To satisfie his Subjects for Uniformity in Religion, according to the established Laws*. And Doctor *Abbot* and others sent in Apostolical Embassie into *Scotland*, to settle the Church and spirits of the Clergy there, as he had done here, that every spirit led onely with piety, and not humour, might be therein satisfied.

Against
Jesuits.

The other Proclamation against *Jesuits* expresseth, *That a greater contagion to our Religion was eminent by sundry persons common Enemies to them both, namely, numbers of Priests, Seminaries, Jesuits, abounding here, of such as were before and since our coming, and with greater liberty than they durst have done; upon confidence of innovation in Religion, and general Pardon at our Coronation, do exercise their Professions, and saying Mass, and endeavouring to seduce the Subjects from their duty to us, and to reconcile them to Rome. To prevent infection with Superstition, pernicious to the soul, and corrupt against Alleageance, is to debar the People such Instruments of infection; and they are Priests of all sorts, ordained in forein parts, prohibited here by the Authority of the Laws of this Land. And therefore against such, they shall before the 19th. of March next depart out of this Realm and the Kings Dominions, and not to return hereafter upon penalty of the Laws in force to be inflicted without any favour. The Reasons and excuses for this seeming severity toward that sort of Subjects is enforced from the peril of his Person by late conspiracy of confusion, conceived by persons of that sort onely. And this may satisfie forein Princes, proceeds from providence, to prevent perils otherwise inevitable; considering their submission to forein Jurisdiction, seems to dispence at pleasure, with the power of their own Sovereign, or strictest bond of loyalty and love,*

love, between a King and his People. And though it is civilly considered personal respects to the now Bishop of Rome, (in state and condition of a secular Prince) yet observing the course and clame of that See, no Prince of our Religion and Profession can be assured of continuance, unless by assent of other Christian Princes to a general Council free and lawfull, to pluck up those Roots of dangers and jealousies arising about Religion, as well between Prince and Prince, as between them and their Subjects; and also to manifest that no State or Potentate either hath or can challenge power to dispose of earthly Kingdoms or Monarchies, or to dispence with Subjects obedience to their natural Sovereigns; in which charitable action no Prince shall more readily concur his power, not onely out of particular disposition to peace with all States, but by such union, an amity might be settled to resist the common Enemy. Febr. 22.

Jacobi 1.

This did something allay them, but not the Presbyters [who by pens and preaching (saies he) strook at the very root of Hierarchy, so that it was a hard question, which of them were the most odious.] Truly both of them, Neither Barrel better Herring, for the Papists wrought in private, and these that way also, besides their pittypull preaching.

And at this time died that learned Arch-Bishop Whitgift, a good and pious Man, whom Banckroft succeeded, no great friend to them, but to satisfie their violence he is intrusted with their directory, a Manuscript compiled as they gave out to startle the next Parliament, which they deliver to the Arch-Bishop, but he pretending to have lost it when it was called for, and they without any Copy, devised another so different from the former, as being afterwards compared, the Parliament concluded that every new motion would alter their Model *ad infinitum*, so unsetled they were then, and are to this day, as never to be satisfied with any, as to our trouble and late experience hath been evident. And which this most reverend Whitgift foretold on his death-bed, the miserable effects of their violence.

Et nunc domine (saied he) exaltata est Anima mea, quod in eo tempore succubui, quando malle Episcopatus mei deo reddere rationem quam inter homines exercere.

But indeed Presbyters had so bitten the King and his Kingdom, and now at his coming it behoved him to quiet them, for as all knew it lay in his power to be Head of the Protestant Professours, so upon this new access to these Crowns, it was conceived he might alter all ancient Forms, upon a new score, who having bit on the Bridle so long at home, it would concern him now, to keep the Reins free, having entailed Precepts upon his

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Anno

1603.

Presbyters
displeased.Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 10.Arch Bishop
Whitgift dies.

Anno
1603.

The Transla-
tion of the
Scriptures.

posterity to that end, Instructions, as frontlets and chains, real and lasting, and bequeathed to them as Legacies to after age, forewarning his Son in his *Basilicon Doron*, not to wrest the Word of God to self-appetite. So now therefore, he resolved, to frame his own and his peoples affections to follow that true Rule of Scripture, which suffered under several Interpretations: he therefore commended it to the choice, grave, and most learned of this Nation, and commanded them, as they would answer at Gods Tribunal, to be carefull therein, painfull and just. They did so, and we have that blessing amongst us as the most perfect Translation in *English* of all others; not without Exceptions in that also from our Adversaries the Papists and Sectarists.

The Scripture was writ in parts, the most ancient Language was *Hebrew*, the most copious the *Greek*, and *Latine* the finest; but as the *Hebrews* in their time accounted all Languages but their own, *Lognasim*, or barbarous: so then, that others might come to the waters of life, we must (as *Jacob*) role the stone from the Well, that the Sheep may drink of the waters of life; we could not reade the *Book*, for it was *sealed*. And indeed whilst the dew lay on *Gideon's* fleece, all the earth was dry: but near before the time of our blessed Reconciliation by our Saviour **CHRIST**, Not of the Jew onely, but of the *Greek* also, then God raised up the heart of a *Greek* Prince (by descent and Language) *Ptolomy Philadelph* King of *Egypt*, to procure the Translation of the *Old Testament* into *Greek* out of *Hebrew*, which we call the *Seventy Interpreters*. The *Greek* Tongue made familiar to most Inhabitants in *Asia*, by reason of their Conquests; and also understood in many places of *Europe* and *Africa*; but yet not so acceptable to some, no not of the *Jews*.

For not long after *Christ*, *Aquila*, *Theodosia*, *Symmachus*, and others translate it again, these with the *Seventy* made up the *Hexapla*, and all together were compiled by Saint *Origen*; yet as men they might have failings, which made the Apostles themselves to leave them, when they left the *Hebrew* letter.

A few hundred of years after *Christ*, the *Roman* Conquests having mastered many Nations, East, West, North and South, the *Old Testament* spake *Latine*, *Latini Interpretes nullo modo numerari possunt*, too many to be good, being all from the *Greek*; which moved Saint *Hierom*, the best Linguist and most learned of his age, to translate the *Old Testament* out of *Hebrew* into *Latine*, most admirable. Thus was it in *Greek* and *Latine*, before that the faith of *Christ* was generally embraced in the *Roman* Empire; but afterwards most Nations under Heaven followed their Conversions not by voice onely, but by the written Word. So then followed *Gothick*, *Arabick*, *Beda* into *Saxon*, *Vallus* into *French*,

French, and after two hundred years, *Charls* the Fifth, *Sur le nome Prudente*, and *John Trevisa* about *Richard 2.* his time, into *English*. The Gospels also by many, and afterwards we had it in *Henry 8.* his time in *English*; that all men may say, *As we have heard, so have we seen.*

Psalms 48.

The Church of *Rome* of long time would not admit them vulgar, in the Mother-tongue of any Nation, but onely in *Latine*, untill of late, permitted onely to some Professours of *Papistry* by licence of their Confessor, who must be sure to be soured with the Leven of their Superstition.

And would you think now at this time of Translation, that our own Brethren were better content with the ancient *English*, so long (say they) in use, without any more *Supervising*, alteration or quaint perusal.

To answer them it was said, That all ancient Translatours did review their former Works, and so got credit even with the *Jews*, as accurately done. So did *Origen*, joyned with the *Hebrew* Original, and the *Seventyes* Translation. And Saint *Austin* exhorted Saint *Hierom* to a *Palinodia* or Recantation. I am sure the Papists have least cause of offence from us: How oft have they altered their *Service-books*? Of late *Pius Quintus* did; so that every several Bishop had a different *Officium*.

These were the justifiable Reasons that moved King *James* to command this Translation of such men as might say of themselves with Saint *Hierom*, *Et Hebraeum sermonem ex parte didicimus & Latinum pene ab ipsis incunabilis*. Nor was it hastily huddled up, (as it is said, the *Seventy* did it in seventy days) but it was done over and over again, the pains of seventy times seventy days, out of Originals, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latine*; consulting with the Translators, Commentators, of *Chalde*, *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, *Greek*, *Latine*: nor neglecting the several Translations of all the Nations of *Europe*, untill now that it comes out most perfect.

The *Psalms* of *David* turned into Meeter, usually sung in our Churches, are the very same done into the Court *English* then of King *Edward 6.* days, by two or three godly men, but not learned, who took them from the *Latine* Translations commonly read in our *Liturgy*; these *Psalms* the King wished might then receive more proper Language, and more congruous with the Text.

Psalms translated.

Himself afterwards versified som, so did others very acute and learned (such particular *Psalms* proper to their affections) but the whole body was afterwards done by one, and the phrase not pleasing some peoples humours, (who were versed in the old, and mostly gotten by heart) they could never be admitted publick reception by command to be bound with the *Bible*.

If

Anno

1603.

Catechizing
commended.

If fame hath nor over-spoken our Hierarchy of his time, there were not other soils that yielded either so frequent flocks, or better fed, and went not on more happily in those high steps of true blessedness, to save themselves and others in the main helps of tender Pastures and still waters; by the one I mean an inuring of the people to the principles of Orthodox Doctrines, by the other an immunity from factions, and disturbance of the publick peace of the Church.

It was the Kings observation, *That partly the miscarriage of our People into Popery and other Errours, was their ungroundedness in the points of the Catechism.* How should such souls be other, than *turned about with every winde of Doctrine*, that are not well ballasted with solid informations? From whence it was that the King gave publick order for bestowing the later part of the Religious Day in familiar Catechizing.

It was the ignorance and evil disposedness of our Cavillers that taxed this course, as prejudicial to Preaching; yet in truth, the most usefull is Catechetical; this lays the Grounds, the other the Walls and Roof; this informs the judgment, that stirs up the affection; What use is there of those affections that run before the judgment? or of those Walls that want Foundation? And when that was in use, I have heard it confessed by some, that have spent the greater half of their aged life in the station of Gods holy service, they repent nothing so much, as not bestowing more hours in this Exercise of Catechism, and might justly quarrel their very Sermons, and wish the greater part of them had been thus exchanged for this speaking conference. Those other divine discourses enrich the brain, and the tongue at best; this settles the heart; these but the descant to the plain song. And if herein Ministers be too much curious to satisfie the roving appetite of the tickling ears of curious Auditors, their favour will be no better than injurious. So may you observe an indiscreet School-master, whilst he affects the thanks of an over-weening Parent, mar the progress of a forward childe, by raising him to an higher Form and Authour, ere he have well learned his first Rules. Heat of zeal to hear, is as natural heat to the body; there is no life of Religion without it; but as the kindest heat, if it be not tempered with a due equality, waists it self and the body too, so doth zeal, not moderated with discretion. It is hard to be too vehement in contending for main and evident truths, but litigious and immaterial verities may soon be over-striven, for needless seeking a scruple of truth, to spend a pound of peace.

The Church of *England*, in whose motherhood we had just cause to pride our selves, hath in much wisdom and piety delivered her judgment of all necessary points in so compleat a body

Anno
1603.

dy of Divinity, as all hearts might rest therein, not their truths onely, but their sufficiencies; the voice of God in holy Scriptures, the voice of the Church in her Articles.

As for her Rules, Forms and Dress, in Discipline, let it be examined whether the *Luminaria magna*, the Bishops were so severe, as to introduce antiquated Orders, or to impose novel Ceremonies, rather did they institute and discontinue some, though of use, yet superfluous, offensive to weak capacities, whose judgments could not concoct such fulsome matter, though palliated heretofore under lively names of Order and Decency.

And yet see what Sir *Walter Raleigh* said then, prophetically writing the effects after such Ceremonies should cease.

The reverend care (saith he) which Moses the Prophet and Servant of God had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnesseth well the inward and most humble zeal born towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, in every and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence thereof in provisions; the dutifull observance in laying up and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away by this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by Anabaptists, Brownists, and other Sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of Popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition; insomuch that time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turn'd out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into Fields and Mountains, and under Hedges; and the Officers of the Ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government left to newness of opinion, and mens fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kindes of Religions would spring up in Parish Churches within England; every contentious and ignorant person pleasing his fancy with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to it self, the faith of man will soon after die away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which Distraction gave a great Prince of Germany cause of this Answer to them that perswaded him to become Lutheran.

Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alis, si me aliis adjungo, a vobis condemnor. Quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo.

Hist. of the
World.
pag. 249.

The

Anno
1604.

Gowries anniversary day
celebrated.

See 1605. &
1608.

Hist. gr.
Br. pa. 12.

Comotion of
some Com-
moners.

Parliaments
beginnings.

The time was come the first *Anniversary* Celebration in *England* with religious Rites and sacred Ceremonies of the unfortunately fortunate Nones of *August*, noted in Red Letters in the *Calendar*, to represent the blood of many thousand *Martyrs* spilt of that day, by *Dioclesian* in *Rome*; but now to be distinguished with golden Letters in *ours*, in memory of two renowned *Kings* in these *Kingdoms*; the one receiving *life*, the other escaped *death*, on this day; the Nativity of King *Oswald*, who united the *Crowns* of *England* and *Scotland*, which were severed afterwards for many Ages, and who in the end died a *Christian Martyr*, and sealed it with his blood; the other King *James*, miraculously preserved from *Gowry's Conspiracy*, Anno 1600. and who now again unites these *Crowns*: and therefore we may change the old spell of the *Martyrs*, *Quintum fuge* into *Quintum cole*; if not for the *Genesis* of that one into *life*, yet for this others *Exodus* out of the *Chamber* of *death*.

And as this *King* never failed of the day *Tuesday*, weekly, to hear a *Sermon*, so neither of the *Annual* time unto his death, kept holy by him, and all his good *Subjects*: and the truth of the *Conspiracy* sufficiently recorded heretofore, and shall be hereafter confirmed, Anno 1608. Though our *Historian* died it seems of a contrary faith in that, himself being evenly conform to *Gowry's* loyalty, *Affectiones facile faciunt opiniones*; for he passes it over with this *Odiism*, *That Gowry assaulted him, or he Gowry*.

About this time a *Commotion* was stirred up by some *Commoners* against ingrossing their *Ground*; when the *King* chanced to be invited in his hunting Journey, to dine with Sir *Thomas F.* of *Barkshire*, and turning short at the corner of a *Common*, happened near to a *Countrey-man*, sitting by the heels in the *Stocks*, who cried *Hosanna* to his *Majesty*, which invited him to ask the reason of his *Restraint*; Sir *Thomas* said, It was for stealing a *Goose* from the *Common*. The Fellow replied, I beseech your *Majesty* be Judge, *Who is the greater Thief, I for stealing Geese from the Common, or his Worship for robbing the Common from the Geese?* By my Sale, Sir, (said the *King* to Sir *Thomas*) I'll not dine to day on your *Dishes*, till you restore the *Common* for the poor to feed their *Flocks*. Which was forthwith granted to them, and the witty Fellow set free, and care soon taken to quiet *Commotions*.

The *Plague* ceasing, which hitherto bounded all mens expectations and persons at a distance; the people now flock up to *London*, to take view how the *King* would settle *Laws* and *Constitutions* afresh for the people. A *Parliament* was expected, (the peoples *Idol* in those days) which the *King* considered, according to the power and interest of *Lords* and *Commons* therein; and which thus grew up into a *Body*.

After

Anno

1604.

After the period of the *Saxons* time in *England*, *Herald* one of the great men got power, and put himself absolute, the rest of the *Satrapas* call in *William* Duke of *Normandy*, (an active and fortunate Prince against the *French* King) the *Duke* leads over hither many the younger Sons of the best Families of *Normany*, *Picardy*, and *Flanders*: and getting this *Kingdom* by the *Sword*, he shared out his Purchase, retaining to himself a *Portion* in each *County*, and called *Demenia Regni*, ancient *De-means*, *Crown-lands*.

He assigns to others his *Adventurers*, suitable portions to their qualities, retains to himself *dependency of their personal Services*, and were stiled *Barones Regis*, *Free-holders*.

As the *King* to these, so they to their followers, subdivided part of their shares into *Knights fees*, and their *Tenants* were called *Barones Comitis*.

The *Kings* gifts extended to whole *Counties*, or *Hundreds* at the least; the *Earl* being Lord of the one, and a *Baron* of the inferiour *Donations*, to *Lords of Townships* or *Mannors*.

As the *Land* was thus divided, so was *Judicature*; each severally, from the *King* to the meanest *Lords*, had their *Court-Barons*, yet perhaps *Reddebant Fura* by twelve of the *Fury*, called *Free-holders Court*, who with the *Thame* or chief *Lords* were *Judges*.

The *Hundred* was next, whence *Hundredus* or *Aldermanus*, Lord of the *Hundred*, wherewith the chief Lord of each *Township* judged within their *Limits*.

The *County* or *Generale placitum* was next, *Ubi Curia Dominorum probantur defecisse pertinet ad Vice-comitem Provinciarum*.

The last was *Generale placitum apud London, universalis Synodus*, the *Parliament* of *England*, consisting of *King* and *Barons* onely, who ruled affairs of *State*, controuling all *Inferiours*.

So were there certain *Officers* of transcendent power for executing (not bounding) the *Kings will*, those were *Steward*, *Constable*, *Marshal*, heretofore fixed in *Fee* to Families; they (as *Tribunes*) grew too bold, and their power was lessened after the death of that daring *Earl of Leicester* slain at *Evesham*.

Henry 3. by hard experience of his *Father*, lessened their power, by examining their usurpations over *Regality*, being become *Tot homines tot Tyranni*.

Then began the favour of *Kings* to the *Commons* in *Parliament*, and they to joyn with the *Peers*, from whence it became the wisdom of *Princes*, how to mannage this *Government*, and to maintain this *Form*, *Lest some of this Body knit under one Head should swell and grow monstrous*.

And *Monarchy* may sooner groan under the weight of *Aristocracy*, as it often did, than under *Democracy*, which till now it

Jury were
Judges, so
Lilburn
pleaded.

Parliament of
King and Ba-
rons onely.

The Com-
mons taken
into Parlia-
ment.

Anno
1604.

Of the Parli-
ament of
England.

The writ to
summon the
Peers.

never felt nor feared. The Actions of which singly are inconsiderable, after many Conjunctions grow at last into one great perfecting power, or into *Destroying Factions*, like smaller Brooks falling into some Main River.

The *Parliament of England*, of long time, and at this present, was come to be a Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom, assembled by the King, of *Bishops, Peers, and Peoples Commissioners*. They sat in two Senate-Houses, or Chambers, named a *Higher* and a *Lower*.

The *Higher* (called also the *House of Peers*) the *Bishops* and *Peers*, viz. *Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Barons* sit together; with whom sit the Judges of the law, for their advice, not voice.

The *Lower House* (called also the *House of Commons*) is constituted of Knights of the Shire; two Elected of every Shire, and of Cities and Incorporations, one or more *Burgesses*. The day and place of Assembly is appointed by the King, and adjourned, removed elsewhere, and dissolved at his pleasure.

The *Lords* or *Peers* are called by writs transmitted to them under the Kings hand. The *Commons*, by the Kings writ out of *Chancery*.

The writ to the *Peers* runs thus, James by the Grace of God, &c. To the most reverend father in Christ (so he stiles the *Bishops*) Cousin, (if he speaks to the *Peers*) for as much as by the advice of our Council, upon some dissident and urgent affairs, us and the State, and defence of our Kingdom of England; and the Church of England concernant; We have ordained that our Parliament be held at, &c. there to consult and Treat with you and the rest of the Prelates, Nobles, and Heads, of our said Kingdom of England. We strictly charge and command you on your faith and love (if to the *Bishops*) by your fealty and Alleagance (if to the *Peers*) wherein you stand bound to us, that considering the difficulty of the said affairs, and the dangers imminent, laying aside whatsoever excuse, you be personally present on the said day and place with us, and the rest of the Prelates, Nobles, and Heads, to treat and give your advice, touching the said affairs; and this as you tender us and our Honour, and the safety of our said Kingdom and Holy-Church, and dispatch of the said affairs, may you in no wise omit (if he writes to the *Bishops*) to warn the Dean and Chapter of your Church; and the whole Clergie of your Diocess, that the same Dean and Arch-Deacons in their proper persons, and the said Chapter by one, and the same Clergie by two sufficient substitutes, having plenary and sufficient power from the said Chapter and Clergy, be personally present on the said day and place, to consent to these things, which then and there by the favor of the divine Clemencie, shall happen to be ordained by the Common advice of our Kingdom. Witness ourselves, &c.

The

The other writ to the *Sheriffs* and *Mayors* of the *Cities* and *Corporations*, is thus. *The King to the Sheriff Greeting. For as much by the advice and consent of our Council (and so goes on as above) and there to confer and treat with the Prelates, Peers, and Heads of our Kingdom. We strictly charge and command you, that by proclamation made in your Shire, upon the receipt of our writ, you cause two Knights, with swords by their sides, the most sufficient and discreet of the Shire, and of every City of that County two Citizens, and of every Borough two Burgeses of the most discreet and sufficient, to be freely and indifferently chosen by such as shall be present at the Proclamation, according to the form of the Statutes on that behalf set forth and provided; And the Names of the said Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, to be inserted in certain Indentures, to be drawn between you and them, that shall be present at such Elections, whether the persons so chosen be present or absent; And then to come at the same day and place, so that the said Knights have full and sufficient power for themselves and the Communalty of the said Shire, and the said Citizens and Burgeses for themselves and the Communities of the Cities & Boroughs respectively from the same, to do and consent to such things, as then and there shall happen by Gods assistance to be ordained by the commune advice of our Kingdom, concerning the affairs offered, so that by your neglect therein, the said affairs in any case remain not undone. Notwithstanding we will not that you or any other Sheriff of our Kingdom be chosen.*

At the day and place they meet at the Church first, then at the *Parliament-Houses*, orderly in their *Robes*, with solemn gate, such as might increase in the people, the authority of their sitting.

Then the King enters the *Upper-House*, and either in his own person, or by the mouth of his *Chancellor*, declares the weighty causes of their Assembling, in Contemplation whereof, he desires their advice, to communicate their *Counsels*, (in doubtful matters, most certain.)

That himself be present at these consultations, needs not, but only as oft as he sees good. There is no necessity after this, unless in the end of the Session, to add the strength and force of Laws, to their results.

The *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgeses* in the *Lower-House*, are Man by Man called forth by their Names, by some one delegated by the King, and each is made to take the *Oath of Allegiance*, heretofore was this. *I will keep true faith and Allegiance to James by the grace of God, &c. King, His Heirs and successors: Him and them I will defend, to my utmost strength, and with the hazard of my life and fortunes, against all conspiracies and attempts against his Person, Crown, and Dignity.*

And lest any should dream of a Consortship in Govern-
ment

Anno
1604.

The writ to
summon the
Knights and
Burgeses.

Oath of Al-
leageance.

Anno

1604.

Of Supremacy.

ment, there was superadded the Oath of Supremacy in these words.

I A. B. do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, that the Kings Highness is the onely Supreme Governour of this Realm, and all other his Highness Dominions and Countreys, as well in all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical things or causes, as Temporal; and that no forein Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all forein Jurisdctions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Alleageance to the Kings Highness, his Heirs and lawfull Successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdctions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities, granted or belonging to the Kings Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm.

Thus oblig'd to their duty they chuse a *Speaker*, whom they accompany to the King, whose Election they desire him to ratifie, whom the King usually is pleased with, which done, the *Speaker* in his own and the *House of Commons* name gives thanks, and beseeches, That the *Lower House* may use their Privileges and freedom of debating; That if any therein shall happen to be more earnest in his own opinion, his Majesty will vouchsafe not to take it ill, nor be angry, and that they may have access to the Kings Majesty or *Higher House*, as oft as matters require; which leave being granted, they are dismissed.

Both *Houses* have free liberty to debate of matters propounded by the King, or touching making or abrogating Laws, and to determine; to commit to writing what is to be transmitted to each other by Messenger; whereto if upon debate had, there ensue an assent by *Votes*, the consent is noted upon the top of the Bill in this form, amongst the Lords, *Les Seigneurs ont assentes*; among the Commons, *Les Communes ont assentes*: but if they differ, both *Houses* (not seldom) meet, or else principal persons chosen out of them, to confer together in a commodious place for their meeting in the *Painted Chamber*; there the Commons standing and uncovered, with great observance, receive the Lords, covered and sitting, and there they confer; if they discord, that business comes to nothing; but if they agree, they present it to the King, which if he allows, he writes, *Le Roy le veult*, and so, as by a Soul infused into a Body, it receives life, and becomes an effectual Law, forthwith to be promulgated to the People; but when the King refuses to approve it, he

writes

writes on the top of the Leaf, *Le Roy s'avisera*; sometimes he denies it *in terminis*, and thereupon are reputed dashed.

The sacred matters the King permits not to be handled by *Parliaments*, but *Synods*, unless (it may be) for the force of Laws from Parliamentary Authority, which they cannot so fully obtain from their divine verity. The *Deans*, *Arch-Deacons*, *Procurators* for the *Chapters*, as also for every *Arch-Deaconry*, the former being delegated by the Suffrages of the *Prebendaries*, these of the Ministers, meet in a place assigned to debate touching them, where having first chosen a *Prolocutor* in the name of the *Clergy*, they determine concerning *Heads of Religion*, *Ceremonies*, and other matters belonging to the *Church*; as also granting of *Subsidies* to the King; whose Results notwithstanding, are not obtruded on the *Seculars* to be observed with the Authority of *Laws*, untill (as above-said) they be allowed by assent of King and both *Houses*, being provided, *That Civil hands should not intermeddle in these affairs*.

Our *Chronicles* tell us, *That Queen Elizabeth expostulates with the Parliament, for that they had appointed a Fast without her advice, and were not restored to her favour, but upon obtaining of Pardon*.

Both *Houses* have respectively their peculiar Privileges.

To the *higher House*, not onely to give counsels and to assist in making *Laws*, but likewise to exercise the power of *Judicature*, and so of imposing *Oaths* in the more weighty causes, as corruption of *Judges* and *Magistrates*, and in last *Appeals*, which yet to bring back to *examen*, without the Kings permission and *Patent*, (the Lawyers say) is *prater-legal*, nor do they so, unless the Judges of Law sitting by.

Lords Privileges.

The *House of Commons* have Privileges of supplicating and craving *Right*, or else the *Accusers* part, never challenged to it self the Office of *Judg*, save within their own Walls, and on their proper Members; and that extended no farther than penalty of *Imprisonment*, or *Mulct*; never having any right of pressing an *Oath*; and therefore in a *Statute* the *House of Commons* say, *That seeing Parliamentary Judicature belongs to the King and Lords and not to the Commons, that they might not be obliged contrary to Custom to give Judgment*.

Lower House.

If any doubt touching the Election of their *Members*, it was heretofore determined by the *Lords House*, or by the *Judg* of the Kings *Chancery*.

If any of them had departed from the *Houses* without the Kings leave, and both *Houses* also, he was convened before the Kings Council-table, or Kings Bench, to undergo the penalty, and was not punished at the discretion of his own *House of Commons*.

But

Anno

1604.

Harmony of
all.

But they have Privilege first to debate and determine of levying money among the People.

This was the temperament of *King, Parliament, and People* in proper parts, not harming each other; for the *Kings* supreme Authority and Sword is as a sufficient power to vindicate the *Laws* from the Factions of the *Grands* and popular Tumults; whilst in the mean time, the *Lords* with that chief Authority wherewith they are vested of *Judicature* and *Legislation*, put a curb, on one hand to the *Kings Tyranny* (if he extravagates) on the other, to the tumultuating populace; and in semblable manner, the *People*, by that their power of accusing whom they please, and of granting or denying moneys, are in a sufficient capacity to retrench the licentiousness of the *Nobility*, and of the *Kings Counsellours*, and break the *Kings* impetuous incroaching on the publick.

The *Laws* have exceedingly provided, That the freedom of voting and debating be not hindered, through fear of insolent persons; therefore none may come into either of their *Houses*, with a Sword, or armed.

The *Members* and their *Servants* not to be arrested for Debt, or offences, though of a mean alloy, and if any so attached, he may not be free, but by a *Writ* out of the *Chancery*.

Seldom, and that upon weighty cause, would *Kings* create offence to so venerable an *Assembly*; however it hath so fallen out, that excellent *Princes* upon too great provocations have reprehended the *Senate*, and punished some Offenders, convening them before the Judges of the *Kingdom*, imprisoned, fined, and put to death sometimes.

Thus (by past) stood the state of *Parliaments*, when the *King* came in, and calls one in *March*; the *King, Queen, and Prince* some days before rode from the *Tower* to his *Palace of Whitehall*, in such Triumph as the several Pageants at each convenient place, with excellent Oratory, assured them the affections and duty of his *Subjects*, as they did some days afterwards when the like occasion presented them in state to this *Parliament*.

And as usual with all Sovereigns his Predecessours, themselves or *Chancellour*, sweetens the *Members* with some *Rhetorical Oration*, to the purpose of calling that *Assembly*; and this the *King* undertakes now, as best able of any Prince his Predecessours, or any other *Assistant*, for wit or wisdom to compare with him: and therein he lays open his heart to both *Houses*, in a very long *Speech*. But because it is in print, and bound with the *Volume* of his *Works*, I shall adventure to abbreviate here, for some light to the Reader, in this History which follows. But then, in this, as in other his most eloquent and gracefull *Speeches* hereafter, where you meet with any of his, to turn Martial his *Apostrophe* upon me.

Tu

King, Queen,
and Prince
ride in tri-
umph.First Session
of Parlia-
ment.

Tu male jam recitas, incipit esse tuus.

Anno

1604.

The Kings
speech in Par-
liament
abbreviated.

2, 3.

Peace and U-
nity in Reli-
gion and
Manners.

And first, he discovers his real constitution and thankfulness in three *Forms* and *Reasons* of his Convention of them.

In the first he renders to them (the *Representatives* of his *People*) his Princely thanks, for their affection in receiving him in his Right to the *Crown*.

The other two, he describes by the effect of his *Actions*, and shews them the blessing of his Person, in their outward Peace with his Neighbours, with whom he found this *State* imbroiled.

Secondly, Peace within, issuing not onely by his lineal descent from *Henry 7.* in the union of the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, but also the union of these two *Kingdoms*, illustrated in the conformities of *Religion*, *Language* and *Manners*; in their security of salvation, encompassed with a *Wall of Water*, and therefore, *Quæ Deus conjunxit nemo separet*. And he being the Husband, Head, and Shepherd, advises them to a joyfull *Union*, by comparison of this blessing in the *Union* of the petty Principalities, heretofore of this *Nation*, into one *Kingdom*; as also the composure of divers *Duchies* in the entire *Monarchy* of *France*, those being happy though conjoynd by the Spear of *Bellona*; but we, the greater blessing, being bound up by the *Wedding-Ring* of *Astrea*, having an appearance of perpetuity in the blessing of his hopefull Issue, and his profession of true *Religion*, which he distinguishes from the *Catholick Papist*, and also from another *Sect* (rather than a *Religion*) which he calls a *Puritan Novellist*, differing from Truth in a confused Form of *policy* and *parity* insufferable.

He acknowledgeth the *Roman-Church* to be our *Mother-Church*, defiled with some *Infirmities*, as the *Jews Church* before *Christ Crucified*; But as not wishing a sick man dead, but his body to be purged, Excusable in the *Laicks*, either as well minded subjects, inured thereto by birth and custom of Age, or young by evil Education, and therefore not to punish their *Bodies*, for the Errors of their *Mindes*.

As for their Clericks, their doctrine and practice insufferable; The Arrogancie of the Popes Supremacie in the One, and *Murthering Kings* in the other. Otherwise he doth reverence Antiquity, in the points of *Ecclesiasticall Policie*, and so cleers himself from *Heresie* in *Faith*, or *Schism* in *Government*. But with this Caution to all, as he is a friend to their *Persons*, so an Enemy to their *Errors*. Advising the Bishops, by their *Exemplary Life* to convince the others doctrine.

The third Reason of calling this Parliament, in the action of

Anno

1604.

of his thankfullness is, first, in making *Some Laws*, by preserving the weal of the Kingdom, and in discretion, of not making too many, because *In corruptissima Republica plurimæ Leges*; Secondly in execution of them, by the *Judges* and *Magistrates*; whom he advises not to utter their affections in that Office, of *Hate* to a *Foe*, or *Love* to a *Friend*, fear to offend the Great, or pitty to the misery of the meaner, but to be blind in distinction of *Persons*, Handleless for bribes, and therefore describes them, three principall qualities, *Knowledge* to discern, *Courage* and *Sincerity* to execute.

And thus having told them the three causes, tending only to his thankfullness but in divers forms. The first by *Word*, the Other by *Actions*, he concludes himself to be *Inutilis servus*; His felicity consistng in their prosperity; and gives them his Apologie for three things, expected from him by so many; advancement of Honor, preferment of credit, and reward in Land. In all he hath been reasonable and honorable, for refreshing some persons that were Members of a Multitude, and if his infirmity hath exceeded, He blames the Importunity of Suters, which experience, time, and labour shall recover, to teach his Subjects not to crave, nor he to grant.

The Parliament unused to Princely Eloquence and Learning withall, contracted their dutyfull affections to his Eminent virtues, and willingly understood the Kings ayme, to unite also the two Kingdomes; which was soon put forward by proclamation of his Title of *Great Britain*, our coins, all Ensignes of honor quartering this Conjunction of crosses, Red cross for *England*, and Saint *Andrews* white for *Scotland*.

And the Parliament by act, Commissionate eight Lords and twenty Commons to treat with other Commissioners *Scotchmen*, for the honour and profit of both Nations.

The King thus far settled with his Parliament and people, not without wonder of all our Neighbour Nations, having lain at watch for conveniencie and honor, to piece with so potent a Prince, the advantages alike to either.

They came almost together, The Constable of *Castile* from *Spain*, and another from the Arch-Duke, *Rory Duke* of *Solia* from *France*, to treat of Peace, *Barnevelt* from the *Netherlands*. *Solia* was a gallant Man, an excellent Courtier as they are all. His business needed no other policy of State, but to congratulate the Kings peacable and happy Possession, for they had a Leiger in *Scotland*, that came in with the King. But the other two were Enemies, and were to treat for establishing a firm Peace, which was granted, and do doubt they might make up of their *Masters bounty to be so soon dispatcht*, for *France* mightily opposed, and with little cunning of our Counsel, the *Spaniards*

Union with
Scotland in-
tended.

Ambassadours
for Peace.

Co: and ch:
pa.

Anno

1604.

ards dealt their golden *Pistols* to hit the mark. And as they lay equally ready, to their desires for Convoy hither, came together and had order accordingly. Sir *Robert Mansell* Vice-Admiral for the Narrow-Seas attended at *Graveling* for the *Spaniard*. And his Vice-Admiral of the Fleet Sir *Ferom Turner* at *Calais* for the *French*, who coming first disputed the choice, and desired the *Admirals* ship, but being told that he was commanded by Commission for the Other; *Monsieur* in much disdain, put himself in the *French Passage-boat*, and in a brave, bore his flag on the Top. *Mansel* commands *Turner* to shoot a warning and after to hit, who took in his flag; but complained at Court, where his faction was powerfull: yet the Justice and honor of that old Custom and Authority, maintains his Act against them all, being in himself besides, a gallant brave Commander.

The Puritan was much troubled to be ranked with the Papist in the Kings Parliament Speech, and to be termed so: and somewhat they said too saucy, and therefore were to expect more cause to chaw the cud, for the King proclames all Conformity to the form of Gods Service, established in Doctrine and Discipline to Gods Word, and the Primitive Church; that the Conference of late at Hampton Court concluded no cause of alteration, notwithstanding the fiery pretended Zelots renewed the Question in Parliament, and had been satisfied by the Kings Speeches and otherwise; that particular and personal abuses are remediable other ways than by general alteration. That all shall conform and have warning till the last of November next, or otherwise to dispose of themselves or Families, to other meet persons in their places, July 1604.

Proclamation
to conformity
in Church-
discipline.

These men were now stark mad, and intelligence hereof they send to their dear Brethren in Scotland, that they should be enforced also to conform to the utter destruction of their Sion there. To qualifie this News, another Proclamation comes out in September after, against such calumnious surmises. That the King will not alter that Form of Government, proper for their constitution, without Counsel there; and so refers mens expectation to the general Assembly to meet at Dundee in Scotland in July after.

It was usual with the Presbyters in Scotland to have a general Assembly once a year, and oftner, *pro re nata*, upon any urgent occasion. The last was a little before the Kings coming hither, 1602. And the next this appointed at *Aberdene* this year, and therefore then adjourns that Meeting, (unto which he especially had an eye, as mistrusting their ill humors) to this Summer, 1604. And now also prorogues it to a longer day by Proclamation in Scotland. Notwithstanding thirteen of them convene at *Aberdene*, and in spite of the Council Authority, they formallized their Judicature by constituting a Moderator, a Clerk, and other

Assembly of
the Church
in Scotland
in spite of the
King.

Anno

1604.

essential *Members*. The *Privy Council* there send a Messenger accompanied with a *Herald of Arms*, to discharge and dissolve their *Meeting*. These holy Fathers in this *Sanhedrim*, protested, *They would not, nor could, give way to the Kings sacrilegious power usurped, which properly belonged to the Church virtual the Assembly*, and so sat still till they pleased, and after appointed a day for the next Assembly. The King hears of this, and commands them to be cited and punished.

These men undanted, appear with a *Protestation*, a *Declination* from the Kings *Council*, and appeal to their own next *General Assembly*, as the sole and competent *Judge*; and were therefore pursued criminally before their Lord *Justice General* upon the *Act of Parliament*, 1584. for *Treason*.

Some of them acknowledged their fault, the rest (*Zelots*) were convicted *ad terrorem*, and banished, and after upon submission, were restored to better *Benefices*.

The excellent *Acts and Laws* in this *Session* prorogued to the fifth of *November*, I finde our voluminous *Historian* passes over, excepting against their number too tedious for his brevity, being unwilling to mention any thing of so much honour to the King, though he can waste time and paper to tell you, that the blessing of his *Initiation* Peace and Plenty, brought idle people to *Luxury*; *Roaring-boys*, *Bravadoes*, *Roisters*, and makes it a fault in the King, that he breeds his *People* no better.

The *Parliament* began the 19. of *March*, 1603. and continued untill the 7. of *July* 1604. and then prorogued unto the 7. of *February*.

In this *Parliament* they made a *Recognition* of the lawfull descending of the *Crown* to the King, his *Progeny* and *Posterity*.

Commissioners of *England* and *Scotland* for to treat of the *Union*.

That no *Bishop* should assure *Lands* to the King.

Former *Statutes* against *Recusants* to be executed.

Divers other *Statutes* concerning the *City* and several *Towns Corporate*, as also other *Statutes* for the good of the *Land*.

And conclude with a *Subsidy* of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* of *Wools*, &c.

The Kings second Son *Charls*, heretofore in *Scotland* created *Duke of Albany*, *Marquess of Ormond*, *Count Ross*, and *Lord of Ardmannoth*, is now this year created *Duke of York*, by the girding of the *Sword*, *Cap* and *Circlet* of *Gold* put upon his *Head*, and golden *Verge* into his *Hand*, to him and his *Heirs* males for ever, with the *Fee* of fourty pounds *per annum*, out of the issue and profits of that *County*. He is made by *Patent*, and witnessed by all the *Lords* of the *Privy Council* and other *Peers* of the *Realm* at *Westminster*, the 6. of *January*, 2. *Jac.* 1604.

King

Hist. Gr. Brit.
P. 27.

The Kings
second Son
Charls cre-
ated Duke of
York.

Anno
1604.

K. *Edw. 3.* by his Charter created *Edward* his eldest Son the *black Prince Duke of Cornwall cum feodo*, to him and his Heirs the first begotten Sons and Dukes of the same place; so that he that is hereditary Duke of *Cornwall* is *Dux natus, non creatus*; and the first day of his birth is in Law presumed to be of full age, and may sue out his Livery, as at one and twenty years; and this was the first Duke in *England*; the reason may be, because the *Norman* Kings themselves were Dukes of *Normandy*, for a long time they adorned none with this Honour of Duke.

The *Papists* had very evil success in all their Designs heretofore against *Queen Elizabeth* and her Religion, and were somewhat quieted, in hopes that the Kings reception hither, might prove troublesom, and so proper for them to work in such waters: but the Kings late Speech was desperately understood; for they being denied *Toleration*, plot his and the whole States destruction, by blowing up all in the *House of Parliament*; A story so horrid, and therefore so necessary to be communicated, to the memorial of our Childrens Children.

Pouder Treason.

The *Parliament* having been twice prorogued already, in regard of the Seasons of the year and the *Terms*; The time drawing near their *Sitting*, upon *Saturday* ten days before, about seven of the clock at night, a *Letter* sealed was delivered by an unknown Fellow unto a Foot-man of the Lord *Mounteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, charging him to give it to his Lords own hands, who opening the same, found it without Date or Subscription, and in Letters not easily legible, and the matter to him, less intelligible; but as God would have it, he in this doubt, repairs herewith to the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary of State, who also in some doubt of the construction, the King being absent, in his return from *Roiston*, they acquainted the Lord Chamberlain the Earl of *Suffolk* herewith, and after consultation they joyned the Lord Admiral, the Earls of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, but stayed all manner of proceeding, untill the Kings coming *Thursday* night next after.

Pouder Treason the story.

Salisbury shews it him. The Letter was.

MY Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your Life, to devise some Excuse, to shift off your attendance this Parliament, for God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire your self into your Countrey, where you may expect the event in safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them.

This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good,

X x 2

and

Anno
1605.

and can do you no harm, for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you.

The King conceived the Letter not to be contemned, the stile quick and pithy, not usual with *Libells*, and judged the words [*terrible Blow this Parliament, and not see who hurts them*] to be meant by *Gun-powder*, joyning thereto the other words [*For the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter*] to be meant sudden and quick danger, as the blaze of Paper by fire. This was the most happy construction of [*burning the Letter*] which in truth, was onely as the ordinary advice in Letters of secrecy, to burn them, lest they should tell Tales, or bring danger to the person receiving them.

However, at the next Meeting with the other Lords, it was determined to search and view the Rooms of the *Parliament-Houses*, by my Lord Chamberlain, to whose place it belongs, where the Vault under the Lords House was stult with Wood and Coals, hired by Master Thomas Piercy, Kinsman to the Earl of Northumberland, for his private use, lodging in the Keepers house, one Whineyard. Piercy was a violent Papist, and Mounteagles Friend, who presently made judgment, that the Letter might come from him: so that the care and further search was committed unto Sir Thomas Knevet, a Justice of the Peace for Westminster, who the night before the Parliament, at twelve of the clock with competent assistance, at the very entrance without the Door of the Lodgings, they seize in safety one Guido Fauks, calling himself John Johnson, and Piercie's man, booted and drest so late. Then searching the Vault, and removing some Billets, they found six and thirty Barrels of Powder, and after in Fauks his Pocket three Matches, a Dark Lanthorn, and other Implements, nay, the Watch, therewith to tell the Minutes for Execution. All which he soon confessed, and that had he been within, they should all together have found the effects of sudden destruction.

About four of the clock Knevet presently acquaints the former Lords, who arise and tell the King, that all was discovered, and one man in custody. Instantly the Council convene, examine Fauks, who of a Roman resolution, refuses to discover any Complices, owns the Plot himself, moved onely for Religion and Conscience, being a Papist, denying the King to be his lawfull Sovereign, but an Heretick.

But the next day carried to the Tower, and threatned with the Rack, his Roman guise visibly slackened, and by degrees he appeared, relenting, and so confessed all.

That a Practice in general against the King for relief of the

Ca-

Catholicks was propounded to him about *Easter* was Twelve-moneth beyond Sea, in *Flanders*, by *Thomas Winter*, and after in *England* was imparted to *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Piercy*, and *John Wright*, and *Catesby* designed the way to blow up the *Parliament*, because (he said) as *Religion* was suppressed there, *Justice* and *Punishment* should be there executed.

Piercy hires a House near the *Parliament House*, and began our Mine, *December 11. 1604.* The Work-men were these five, and after that another, *Christophor Wright*: the Mine wrought to the very Wall was so thick, that we took in another Labourer, *Robert Winter*; and whilest these work, *Fauks* watcht Sentinel, always with *Muskets* and *Arms*, rather to die than be taken.

But being half way through the thick Wall, they heard a noise on the other side, removing *Sea-coals* in the *Cellar* adjoyn-ing, which so pat for their purpose, *Piercy* hired *Coals* and *Cellar* for a Twelve-moneth, and so saved their other labor, and fitted the *Cellar* with *Wood* and *Powder*.

That about *Easter* the *Parliament* prorogued till *October*, they all dispersed, and *Fauks* retired to the *Low Countreys*, to acquaint *Owen* with the Plot, and returned about *September*, and with-drew into the *Countrey* till *October 30.*

That the same day of *Execution*, some other Confederates should have surprized the Princess *Elizabeth*, at the Lord *Harrington's* in *Warwickshire*, and proclaimed her *Queen*.

He confessed, that others were privy to this *Conspiracy*.
Sir *Everard Digby*, *Ambrose Rockwood*, *Francis Tresham*, *John Graunt*, and *Robert Keys*.

The next apprehended was *Thomas Winter*, who in some seeming compunction and sorrow, wrote his voluntary Confession.

That in the first year of King *James* to this *Crown*, 1603. I was sent for to come up to *London* to *John Wright* at *Lambeth*, (called *Faux Hall*) where he first informed me of this *Powder-Treason*, to blow up the *Parliament*, that the nature of the Disease required sharp Remedy, and so we agreed; and my Design was to go over to *Bergen-op-Zome*, to petition the *Constable* of *Castile*, ready there to come over *Ambassadour* for his *Catholick Majesty*, by whose means here the *Catholicks* might have favor; and there I met *Guido Fauks*, and brings him over to *Catesby* about *Easter Term*, and met also behinde *St. Clements Strand*, with *Piercy* and *Wright*, where we take *Oath* of secrecy, hear *Mass*, and receive the *Sacrament*, (and so forth, as *Fauks* hath confessed) onely we resolved to convey their *Powder* by degrees unto *Catesby's* house at *Lambeth*, and so to be brought over by Boat when the Mine was ready, and received one *Keys* as a trusty man, for our purpose.

Anno
1605.

Fauks his
Confession of
the Design.

Th. Winter's
Confession of
the Plot, dis-
covery and
success.

Anno
1605.

In the time of their *Mining*, they framed their *Plot* into some fashion, what to do for the *Duke* as next Heir, the *King* and Prince *Henry* blown up, *Piercy* undertakes with his Confederates to seize the *Duke* at *St. James*, whilst most of his Servants might be about *Westminster*, and with Horses ready at the *Court-gate*, to horse him away into the Countrey, whilst most men amazed at the *Blow*, the *Duke* might easily be mastered.

And for the Princess *Elizabeth*, in the Countrey, some Friends gathered together under colour of *Hunting*, near my Lord *Harrington's*, might seize her to *Catesby's* house, which was not far off, at *Ashby*, and he undertakes for that.

They provide for *Money* and *Horses*, and to save as many *Catholic* Lords, as could be advised to forbear the *Parliament*. Next, that forein Princes could not be enjoined secrecy, nor oblig'd by *Oath*, nor were they sure that such would approve their *Plot*; if they did, yet to prepare so long before, might beget suspicion: the same *Letter* that carried the *News* of the *Execution*, might intreat for assistance and aid.

That *Spain* his motion (like a large Body) was too slow, in his preparations in the first of Extremities.

France too near and dangerous, who with *Holland* shipping, they feared most.

And because the charge of the work hitherto, lay hard upon *Catesby*, they called in Sir *Everard Digby*, who frankly lent fifteen hundred pounds to the business, and Mr. *Francis Tresham* two thousand pounds, and *Piercy* promised all the Earl of *Northumberland's* Rents, which he would seize, near forty thousand pounds, and ten Horses.

And because they were informed that the *Prince* would be absent from the *Parliament*, they resolved of more company to seize him, and to horse him away on the other side of the *Thames*, and let the *Duke* alone.

Two days after this discourse, being *Sunday*, comes news to *Thomas Winter* of a *Letter* to *Mounteagle* to advise him to absent from the *Parliament*, which *Letter* was carried to the Earl of *Salisbury*; *Winter* tells this to *Catesby* and *Tresham*, whom they suspected: but all forswear the *Letter*, and resolve to see the issue, which they feared would fail of their purpose; but on *Munday*, *Catesby* resolves to go to *Ashby*, and *Piercy* to follow.

Tuesday early comes the younger *Wright*, and tells *Winter*, that he is going to call up the Earl of *Northumberland* at *Essex* house, where they both finde one *Lepton* got on horse-back at *Essex* gate, which was conceived to seek out *Piercy*; but *Winter* going to *White-hall*, findes the Gates shut, and the way to *Westminster* guarded; and being told that a *Treason* was discovered to blow up the *Parliament*, he hasts to his Horse and gallops down to

Catesby

Anno
1605.

Catesby to *Dunſchurch*, the place of Rendezvouz. On *Thursday* they meet there, ſeize Arms at the Lord *Windsors*, and that night to Maſter *Stephen Littleton's* houſe, one of their number; when news came that *Catesby* was burnt by accident of drying their *Powder*, *Littleton* adviſes *Winter* to fly, he would not, till he might ſee his Friends, *Catesby's* body, and bury it; but finding him reaſonable well, with *Piercy*, *Wright*, *Rockwood*, and *Grant*, they all reſolved to keep together, to fight and die; when the Countrey came in, both the *Wrights* killed, *Catesby* and *Piercy* with one Bullet, and *Winter* wounded and taken.

This was his *Confefſion* and true, but the whole ſtory was thus interwoven.

The News ſpread abroad of this Accident, being on *Tueſday* morning the fifth of *November*, and the firſt day of *Parliament*; *Winter* and the two brothers *Wrights* haſten out of Town; for *Catesby* and *Piercy* were gone the morning before, and all of them towards their Rendezvouz in *Warwickſhire*, towards *Coventre*; where the very next day (about the hour that *Faulk* was taken at *Weſtminſter*) *John Grant* with others his companions (all *Papiſts*) broke open *Benock's* Stable, (a *Rider* of great Horſes in that County) and carried away all, being eight of them; and ſo both this company, as alſo thoſe which fled out of *London*, met at *Dunchurch*, *Sir Everard Digby's* houſe, on *Tueſday* night, having appointed a Match of Hunting the next morning, according to their former plotting.

The ſtory put
together in
brief.

But finding their treachery prevented, and not prevailing by a private villany, they now reſolve to praſtiſe publick *Rebellion*, to make up their wickedneſs any way. And firſt, grounded their cauſe, *Religion*; with ſome provisions of *Ammunition*, *Army*, *Powder*, and *Horſes*, they roved up and down to gather company; by whoſe example it was poſſible, ſome other ſuch like in other Counties might joyn Forces conſiderable to raiſe a *Rebellion*: of themſelves, never in number above eighty Serving-men and Horſe-boys, who were watcht hourly for fear of quitting their Maſters quarrel; and ſo wandring through theſe Counties of *Warwick* and *Worceſter*, were by the Sheriff of *Worceſter*, taken, killed, or diſperſt about *Habbuch*, *Stephen Littleton's* houſe.

Strange were the Accidents which brought the Countrey upon them; for as yet, the Kings *Proclamations* had not reacht thither, nor was their *Treafon* diſcovered to them. But the *Riot* of *Grant* forcing the Houſe for the Horſes, was an inſolency purſued with *Hue and Cry* among the Commons, that the Countrey riſe to know the reaſon. *Sir Fulk Grevil* the elder, was then *Lieutenant* of *Warwickſhire*, whoſe wiſdom ſoon apprehended the danger to be the *Indices* of *Rebellion*; inſtantly ſeizes *Ammunition*

Anno
1605.

munition and Arms of all; about him either absent from home, or doubtfull, and with such further directions, that a poor *Smith* got hold on *Winter*, who was rescued by his company, and sixteen taken by the *Towns-men*, and by the Sheriff *Sir Richard Verney* sent Prisoners to *London*.

Sir Richard Walsh of *Worcestershire* pursues them to *Littleton's* house, as afore said, and there makes a stand, sends a *Trumpet* to command obedience to him, as his *Majesties* Minister and *Sheriff*, and not knowing more of their *Treason*, than was visible by the Tumult, promises to intercede with the *King*, to spare their punishment of Death. They as best witnesses to their own consciences and high demerit, return him in scorn, *That he must get more help, ere he be able to defend himself.*

And whilst thus at parley without, the principal of them within, drying two pound of *Powder*, far enough from the Chimney, yet a Spark flew out, and fell amongst it, blew up another Bag-full (but not fired) and so maimed and disabled *Catesby* himself, *Rockwood*, *Grant*, and others of greatest account, thereby made unable of forceable defence, and wonderfully amazed, with horror of conscience thus to be met with, by mischief of their own Mineral, (*In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*) as forthwith falling down on their knees, prayed to God for pardon of their sins, opened the Gates, and desperately seeking their own destruction; *Catesby* and *Piercy* back to back were killed with one shot, and both the Brothers *Wrights*, and others slain; *Winter*, *Tresham*, and the rest taken alive, were sent to the next *Gaol*, and so up to *London*, and were met with by such a concourse of people out of the *City*, as the like were never seen; wise and weak, women and children, wondring at these Monsters.

Tresham in the *Tower* died of a *Strangury*; the two *Winters*, *Grant*, *Rockwood*, *Digby*, *Fauks*, *Keys*, and *Bates*, were each of them at several times and places arraigned, condemned, and executed as in case of *Treason*.

To disjoyn them in their Designs.

These labored in the Mine.	These were afterwards engaged to them.
<i>Robert Catesby</i>	} Esquires.
<i>Robert Winter</i>	
<i>Thomas Piercy</i>	<i>Sir Everard Digby</i> , Knight.
<i>Thomas Winter</i>	} Esquires.
<i>John Wright</i>	
<i>Christop. Wright</i>	} Gentlemen.
<i>Guido Fauks</i>	
<i>Thomas Bates</i> , -- <i>Catesby's</i> Man.	<i>Ambrose Rockwood</i>
	<i>Francis Tresham</i>
	<i>John Grant</i> , Gentleman.
	<i>Robert Keys</i> .

The

The second Session of this Parliament prorogued till the 5. of *November*, and being on the fourth day met again, they enlarged other excellent Laws against *Papists*; wisely discerning, how that creeping Monarchy of *Rome*, by her Arch-Instruments the *Jesuits* had already planted five Schools, as fit bates in divers reformed states, intending so to tempt those well-believing people, with that old forbidden Tree of knowledg, as they might sinne desperately against their *Sovereign* before they knew it. But the Parliament enacted the *Anniversary* Commemoration of this day to be observed for ever, with thanksgiving to God for this delivery, of which a Man may hardly assure any long continuance; Are we bound more to obey it, than the statutes of God Almighty for solemnity of several Festivals, which all Christians observe, and we onely neglect? And ascribing the discovery of this Powder-plot to the divine spirit of the *King*, by his Interpreting the dark phrases of the Letter to *Mounteagle*, They gave to the King three intire subsidies and six fifteens together, with four subsidies of four shillings in the pound granted by the *Clergie*, amounting in all to four hundred fifty and three thousand pounds.

Three intire
subsidies and
six fifteens.

And *Cecil* for his good service was Created Earl of *Salisbury*.

Several Acts.

The Acts in this Session were these.

Certain Persons attainted of the Gun-Powder Treason and their Estates Confiscate.

An Act to prevent and avoid dangers of *Papists* Recusants.

To avoid the City and Court, unless Inhabitants here disabled from Offices, nor to practise Law, nor Physick. Penalty one hundred pounds, wonderfull strickt.

Act for free Trade of all Merchants to *Spain*, *Portingal* and *France* as well as others, that have Incorporate Charters.

Against Misdemeanors of Attornies and Solicitors of the Law.

Act for a New-River-water to be cut from *Chadwell*, and *Amwell* springs in *Hartfordshire* to *London*.

And the King grants the People a General Pardon, with the usual Exceptions.

And now also was framed a form of Oath, called an Oath of Alleageance for distinction of good Subjects in General from unfaithfull Traytors, but especially to make separation of the Popishly affected, yet with Natural duty unto Sovereignty.

And the Oath was thus in effect. *That King James is lawfull King of this Realm; That the Pope may not depose him, or dispose of his, Nor authorise any other Prince to invade him, or to discharge any of his Subjects their Alleageance; or to beare Arms against him: And that, notwithstanding any Act by the Pope, or*

The effect of
the Oath of
Alleageance.

Anno
1605.

Taken by Pa-
pists.

The Popes
Bull against
the Oath.

The Kings
Apologie and
Preface to
take the oath.

Justified by
forein Prin-
ces.

other authority, he will bear faith and alleageance to his Majesty, and will disclose all Treasons and Conspiracies against him, and doth abhor as impious, that any Prince deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murthered; That the Pope nor any other hath power to absolve this Oath, and renounces all pardon to the contrary, without any equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, so help him God, &c.

And accordingly sundry both Priests and Laiks did freely take the same, when suddenly comes over a Breve from Pope Paulus quintus Inhibiting utterly, all Papists from taking the same, rather to endure all Torments, nay, death it self, Rome, October 1606. And the next year another Breve confirming this, September 1607. And accompanied with a Letter of Cardinal Bellarmine unto George Blackwell the Arch-Priest of the English, being then in some bonds, whom therefore the Cardinal suspected, would take the same as he did.

To all these the King most learnedly gives answer, and in six days compiles and publishes in print, an Apologie for that Oath, and in a week lets out a Monitory Preface, to that Apologie, and solemnly presents it by Ambassy to the Emperour, and to every King and State in Christendom, as a peculiar concernment to all, and each of them in the due temporal Obedience of their Subjects. And herein the King instances Examples of several Emperours, requiring Obedience from Popes, Creation of Popes, ordaining their Seat and Dignities, and of all Bishops, with Anathema, against all such as disobeyed their Sentence, as also deposing of Popes.

Hereupon the Venetians maintained that doctrine in their writings, and put it in Execution. The Sorbons did the like in France. And those writers of their own that opposed it, were so over-lashed, as that they were corrected and castigated by Men of their Religion, Becanus his book corrected by the Cardinals of Rome; Bellarmines book burnt at Paris: Suares his answer, burnt also in France. Certainly, by this his Majesties premonition, Kings and Princes had a more perfect discovery into the injury offered to them by the Pope in the points of their temporal power, and it followed to be thoroughly disputed in Christendom by this occasion of the King.

This the King did for the present. But there was a swarm of busie-heads, that measured the mysteries of State, by the rule of their own conceited wisdomes, gave Arguments to suppress the Popish practises by Executing all their Priests. The reasons may be gleaned out of their rash opinions.

That a dead Man bites not, that mercies offered for a desperate Malefactor, do but enlarge his adventures against King and Countrey. That a hard hand suddainly remitted, is seldom by

Anno
1605.

by the rude people interpreted to the best sence. No hope of reformation, where there's no confession of the fault; and to banish them, may be supposed a meer shift to rid the Prisons of those, whom Conscience could not condemn of Crime: whilst Justice seems to sleep, the time serves to raise factions, for fearfull Spirits by sufferance grow insolent and cruel.

And to the Exceptions of their small Number it was argued, that Union in a prepared conspiracie, prevailes more than Number.

If that the *Oath of Supremacie* heretofore, choked not their presumptuous imagination, nor now can the temporal power of the King contained in the *Oath of Alleageance* preserve us, or deter them. A Popish Priest his Character is a *disloyal Renegado*. Delinquents in lesser degrees, may challenge easier punishments, and so be encouraged. The penalty to be executed on them, they scandall, by pretending the conversion from the Kings Exchequer to Our private purse. That being restrained will prove like *Bonner* and *Gardner* in the time of *Queen Mary*, seeing most men write good turns in *Sand*, and bad in the *Marble*.

That the Jesuits divide the *English* into four Sects. Themselves first; and assume a full fourth part to their property; and of that part, they subdivide into two portions, viz. The *rigid non-Conformists*, and the *Church-Papists*. The Second they allot to the Protestants, who detain say they, some of their Relicks. The third and largest was left to the *Puritans*. The last to the *Politician senza dio, & senza anima*. The first then being assuredly theirs, the last we will afford them also; and therefore the safest way to prevent Combination, is to make them hop headless.

The Presbyter indeed would hang them all; but this Counsel most unchristian.

To answer them it was urged. That although death be the end of Temporal misery, it is not the grave of memory: Justice may execute the person; but his opinion made publick, it is not subject to the sword: where poyson is diffused, through the veins of good and bad blood, Evacuation is better than Incision. Clemencie is divine, and works supernaturall effects, though they merit by suffering: and though *Bellarmino & Parsons*, provoke them to thrust their finger into the fire, by refusing the *Oath of Alleageance*; yet the wisest of them, had rather see others act, then themselves feel the smart.

That *Garnet* lamented, that he should not be inrolled as a *Martyr*, because no matter of *Religion* was objected; yet he would gladly have survived that *Glory*, if any such hopes had remained. The *English* exceed the *Romans* in zeal of Papistry,

Jesuits divide
the English
into four sects.Their opini-
on refuted.

Anno
1605.

See before
anno pa.
1542. pa. 9

And Imprisonment as
bad.

Best Counsel,
to convince
them by
Preaching.

and are naturally better fortified to indure death; If so that terror prevails not, Religion and Conscience less. *Vixne muliebri Consilium*, said *Livia* to *Augustus*; let severity sleep, and try, what the pardoning of *Cinna* will produce. That death of Priests, assures more to their Sect, then ever their words could perswade: and though such are but counterfeit *Martyrs*, yet will they be otherwise so reputed by those, that lay their *Soules* in pawn, unto their doctrine, with whom multitude of voices, cry down our contraries, for the Gate of their Church is wide, and many enter therein.

And as uncharitable are these, that would imprison them perpetually; and that the means to catch them, was to have good Intelligence beyond Sea and at home; Sir *Francis Walsingham*, had of his, so active, that an *English Seminary* could not stir out of *Rome*, *Spain*, or *Flanders* (their several Nurseries) without his privity; and so forewarn'd, they may be caught at our ports, and removed to prisons: and if they escape there and go disguised, yet they may be disclosed by many, if the punishment were not death, but only immuring in dead walls.

The penalty of Recusants in a stock, would pay the charges.

Perdat fiscus, ut capiat Christus.

Here we finde extremes in both Councils; certainly, there is a *medium*; neither Execution, nor civill destruction (for perpetual Imprisonment) renders a Man civilly dead, a better way may be, if we could hint it.

And why not thus. Let Preachers use the spirit against them, not as usual to waite an houre-glass, to skirmish against government and discipline. How can we draw others to our Church, without a foundation of our own, not like undiscereet Dogs to bark at all, but to distinguish; A child that sucks Popery from the breast, must needs speak the voice of Papists.

It was the Kings saying and distinction.

A great cause of continuance of *Papistry* in common people is, That being fuller of *Pagentry* than *Doctrine*, and the old sent of *Roman* perfume; The common obedience of coming to Church, more expected, than the instruction of private families, or by publick Catechising; The first Elements are to be learn'd at home, and were orderly contained in the Book of *Common-prayer*, by instruction first, and then Confirmation of the Bishops. This excellent foundation laid by the fathers of the Church, should not be despised by their children. In former times Ministers haunted the Houses of worthyest men; Countrey-Churches with the best of the Shire; Prayer, and preaching hand in hand together: then Papists smelled ranck; therefore for shame, they resorted to our Churches and Exercises.

This

This was the Counsel then, but start-ups with intemperate zeal and indiscretion fore-ran the authority of the Magistrate, censuring whatever agreed not with their conceits, and now a days we finde the effect.

The *King* removes to *Greenwich*, where amongst the ranting Riders at Court, one *Jo: Lepton* of *York* Esquire, and the Kings Servant, made Matches of Horsemanship with the most in Court, and to approve his skill and strength for a good Wager, rode five several days together between *London* and *York*, and so back again the next; for *May 20. Munday* he set out from *Aldersgate* at three of the clock in the morning, and came to *York* between five and six at night: the next morn sent him to *London*: at six and seven the next morn he set out to *York*, and came thither at eight; and so within half an hour the same time performed it: and the last day came also to *Greenwich* to the *King* by nine of the clock, as spritely and lusty as at the first day, to the wonder of all, till another do the like.

The *King* of *Denmark* out of singular affection to his Sister *Queen Anne* arrives in *England*, and anchors at *Gravesend*, where *King James* boards him unexpected, and brings him a Guest to *Greenwich*, for a Moneth, with such entertainment as Peace and Plenty could possibly afford: and so curious he was, to take a view of things within his Level about *London*, that disguised, sometimes he took that advantage: but most unwilling to visit the *Tower*, when he found it a *Prison*, though from thence he rode in triumph through *London*, presented with Pageants and costly complements, to shew him the wealth and love of this People.

He might be shy to shut up his Person, having by the Law of Nations, submitted his freedom, by entring the bounds of another *Prince* without leave. The *Earl* of *Flanders* found the effects, when in his return from thence, to possess his *Inheritance* of the *Kingdom* of *Spain*, and being by storm cast upon our Coast, *King Henry 7.* disputing some unkindnesses formerly received, (not usual with welcome Guests) the *Earl* suspecting the danger was fain to yield to all the Kings demands, which was hard in one point, being to deliver up the Countess of *Warwick*, and other Fugitives resident in *Flanders*, that took Sanctuary in his Countrey, and so had leave to depart. The other and worse success may be from *Mary Queen* of *Scots*, who forfeited her freedom by entring into *England*, and afterwards her life, by pretence of *Treason*, as you have heard before, though indeed she wrote to *Queen Elizabeth* for admittance, but hastily landed without leave.

The *Earl* of *Northumberland*, *Henry Lord Mordant*, and *Edward Lord Sturton*, not coming to *Parliament*, according to

Sum-

Anno

1606.

Leptons speed
to York and
back.

King of Den-
mark lands at
Graves-end.

Princes forfeit
their liberties
by coming in-
to another
Kingdom
without leave.

Anno
1606.

The Earls of Northumberland and other Lords confederates in the Powder Treason are committed.

Of the Star-Chamber beginning and ending.

Summons by Writ, were more than suspected of the *Powder Treason*, and were committed to the *Tower*: the *Barons* were fined in *Star-chamber*, and after some durance paid the money and were released. The *Earl* being deeply engaged, was fined there also thirty thousand pounds, and imprisonment during pleasure, (as all such Delinquents are) which severity of Fine towards him was thought more extreme than usually, since the erection of that Court, he continuing Prisoner till 1619. and then paid but eleven thousand pounds in all: the fate of that Family evermore false to the *Crown*, as Sir *Jocelin Piercy* was used to say, *Seldom Treason without a Piercy*.

Camera stellata belonging to the old *Palace* at *Westminster*, and the 28 *Henry 8.* called the *Starred Chamber*, then, as now, had one great *Star* affixed to the *Roof*, and one over the *Door*. The Court seems to have beginning from the *Statute* of 3 *Henry 7.* cap. 1. It is ordained, that the *Lord Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, *Privy Seal*, or two of them, calling to them a *Bishop* and a *Temporal Lord* of the *Kings Council*, and the two *Chief Justices* of the *Kings Bench* and *Common Pleas*, or other two *Justices* in their absence, should have power to punish *Routs*, *Riots*, *Forgeries*, *Maintenances*, *Embraceries*, *Perjuries*, and such like, not sufficiently provided for by the *Common Law*. But *Queen Elizabeth* enlarged the number of the *Judges*. And so now it was honoured with all the *Kings Privy Counsellours*. See *Powel's Att. Acad.* And though *Delinquents* were severely censured in *terrorem Populi*, yet there was usually a day after every *Term* where they met to mitigate the *Fines* and *Punishments* afterwards to a reasonable sum and *Penance*. This I put to memory, because that Court is suppressed for ever by the late long *Parliament*.

There was much ascribed to the *Kings* wisdom, in the discovery of this *Powder Treason*; but the *Jesuits* had a note of *Cecil's* name in their Register; not against them as a *Day-labourer*, that carried some few stones or sticks, but the *Master Workman* whose *forcin* and *domestick Engineers* wrought in this *Mine* of discovery. And therefore was he calumniated with many contumelious *Papers* and *Pasquils*, dispersed like *Job's Messengers*, one at the others heels.

He takes time to consider, whether to begin a warfare of words, against those with whom disputes are endless, because their end is clamor, untill it was fit to express himself in clear terms; lest any of these clouds which are unjustly cast upon him, might darken the brightness of his *Masters* royal minde, which hath been always watered with the mildest dew of *Mercy* and *Moderation*.

Amongst many he undertakes one directed to the *E. of Salisbury*.

1. Therein, they acknowledg the late *Design* most inhumane and

The Letter.

Anno
1606.

and barbarous, attempted by undertaking *Spirits*, more fiery and turbulent than zealous and dispassionate, to the general stain of the State of their catholick cause in the eye of corrupt judgments, not able to farm away the fault of the Professor, from the Profession it self, which abhors the fact, more than any Puritan does.

2. They accuse him the *Primus Motor*, to determine the rooting out all memory of their Religion, by Banishment, Massacre, Imprisonment, or some such insupportable pressures; or else, the next Parliament to decree more cruel and horrible Laws against them.

3. They threaten, that there are some good men for continuing their Religion, and for saving of many Souls, resolve to prevent it, though with assured Ruine; and admonish him, that five have severally undertaken his Death, by Vow upon the blessed Sacrament, if he continues his daily plotting against them.

That not any of them know the other, for preventing discovery; the first shall attempt by shot, and the rest follow, and all of them glory in their own sacrifice, to prevent the general calamities of Catholicks, which by his transcendent Authority with the King is more than expected.

They tell him, that for the easier digestion of the Danger, two of the Attempters are so weak, they cannot live three moneths; the other three so distressed, for being onely Catholicks, that their grief dulls any apprehension of death.

4. As for themselves that admonish, they know no other means to prevent it, he being the Match to give fire to his Majesty, to whom the worst they wish is, to be as great a Saint in Heaven, as he is a King on Earth. And conclude, Where once true spiritual resolution is, the weak may take sufficient revenge of the mighty.

A. B. C. D. &c.

His Answer.

1. That the Panegyricall Oration of Pope Sixtus Quintus, preferred the Murder of Henry 3. of France, before the act of Fidelity to Holofernes, by which Gods people were delivered; onely the Papists make ill interpretations where it fails in execution, (for otherwise, *Felix scelus virtus vocatur*) and many other Authors maintain deposing Kings. And wonders, that those who imploy such seditious Spirits, have not by definitive Sentence (wherein the Pope is supposed not to err) explained their assumed power over Princes, for security as well of those which acknowledged his Superiority, as of other which do not approve his Jurisdiction, that Subjects may know their distance of fidelity to either.

As for the former practice by Excommunication, it deprives onely from spiritual graces, without so gross an usurpation as to de-

Anno
1606.

destroy their being in nature. The *Writ* it self, *De Excommunicato capiendo*, and others such, proceed rather from the goodness of such *Christian Kings* to work better obedience to the Rules of the *Church*, than from the power of *Excommunication*. All *Censures* of the *Church* having left life untouched, *Sive Ethnicus, sive Publicanus*. Many *Heathens* teaching this Rule, *Bonos Imperatores Voto expetere oportet, quoscunque tolerare*. He marvels at those dark Writings published upon this Accident, against such as shall attempt against *Princes* by *private Authority*, but leaves it a tacit lawfulness by *publick Warrant*, like their gross *Equivocation* so extolled at *Rome*, though it sunders all humane conversation. Saint *Austin* refuses the *Priscilian* Hereticks in their *Equivocation*, *Corde creditur* (says he) *ad Justitiam, ore fit confessio ad salutem, &c.* breaking out into expostulation, *O fontes lacrymarum!* How shall we hide our selves from the displeased face of *Truth*.

2. That these Calumniationes are like *Adam's Fig-leaves*, unable to cover their shame; for as he sought a covering, *Non quia nudus, sed quia lapsus*; so is it their fault, not their fear, to cast imputations upon *Prince and State*, *Sed pereuntibus mille figura*. So *Nero* set *Rome* on fire, and after laid the blame on *Christians*. The pecedent Reigns of the two late *Sisters* of different *Religions*, more blood in five or six years of the first, than in five and forty of the second.

Hath this *King* shewed any print of bloody steps, rather qualified than added severe Laws? And appeals to their own consciences (judg and witness) whether the fury of this *Treason*, inflaming many against *Catholicks* (the nature of sudden peril) hardly admits just distinction) hath committed any one act of blood or cruelty, under colour of publick safety, *Nam crudelitas si a vindicta, justitia est; si a periculo, prudentia*. Nay, the *King* pronounced in open *Parliament* after, *Not to condemn the general for particulars*, as a *Prince of peace and mercy*, deferring execution, which *Theodosius*, wishing, *Se potuisse potius mortuos a morte revocare*.

As for the imaginary Power of the *Lords of the Council*, and himself of the *Quorum*, he takes it as an honour to receive not onely injury, but persecution in so noble a society, who know that *Counsellours* for *Kings* stand for thousands or hundreds, as he pleases to place them. Their greatness growing from humble endeavours, their merit from gracious acceptance; and though they borrow his name as the *Boutefeu* to make him the Mark of their malice; yet such as judg, the spirit of the *Pasquil* will hardly imagine, but that this Faction follows, onely the body of *Authority*, neither head nor members, but also the *Church* and *Common-wealth*, which like *Hippocrates* Twins, have long wept and laughed

Anno
1606.

laughed together. His greatness being onely in the eye of envy, of those, which ground their faith upon weak principles, if they imagine his distinction (a matter (he says) of so small consequence) can clear them free, from contriving higher practices.

3. To the *Protestation*, that the five *Assassins* having their feet so near the grave, their ghostly Father deserves less thanks to send them thither with *Hempen* Halters and in bloody Coffins, not the marks of *Rome*, *Heathen* nor *Christian*; for Victories were scorned, which were barbarously gotten, *Mixtis veneno fontibus*. And the Arms of the Primitive Church were Tears and Prayers. But such Recusants as do discover these pernicious spirits will discern the darkness and danger of that Religion lapped up in implicate obedience; the Conscience and Treason growing up as close together as the Husk and Corn in one Ear: to eat their God upon bargains of blood.

Those that are full of grief (as is said) *for being Recusants, Plus tristitia quam pœnitentia*, more that their Plot failed, than that it was intended.

Counsellours are *Sentinels* over the life of *Kings* and *States*.

The *Laws* which punish the Branches of all *Treason* are derived from *Parliaments* of two hundred years in force, and so are our *Laws* made, not by a few, much less by any one.

4. As for himself, *with whom they condition to leave off his Plotting against Recusants*; The Husband-man over-curious of Windes and Clouds, neither sows nor reaps in season. So that Servant that becomes awfull of his Sovereigns Enemies for power or envy, deserves not favour nor protection.

That the *King* hath not taken up wisdom of *Government* upon credit, but carrieth still the *Fethro* of order in his own bosom, disposing the mean causes to the Rulers over hundreds and fifties, reserving the greatest to the greatness of himself.

And freely professes, though he doth not participate with the follies of the *Fly*, upon the wheel of fortune: yet is he so far ambitious of his Masters favour, as to be not so much his creature by the undeserved Honours he holds from his Majesties grace and power, as in desire to be the shadow of his minde: towards whose royal Person, he glories more to be honest and humble, than to command in any other Calling.

And to say, *that men resolved to die are Masters over others lives*, such power hath the least Spider by permission; and if so, that the days of his life were in their hands, to take from him some moneths of joys; so, more years of sorrow: but he believes not, that the Mountains shake when the Moles do cast, nor thinks he, to purchase a span of time, as for the fear of any mortal power, *Aut Deo, aut Patrie, aut Patri Patrie deesse*. Magi-

Anno
1607.

The union
argued.

The Kings
Speech in an-
swer to their
Arguments.

strates who converse with variety of spirits, must undergo Tempests. And their Glasses being done, that glory which makes worthy men live for ever, their Heirs shall inherit after them. And therefore, *Suadeat loquentis vita, non oratio*. Besides, *Romes* powers are discovered, her Towers taken, and it is suspected, that she will play so long with the temporal powers of Kings, as their work will break down her walls; so therefore it ill becomes their servants to slacken, for fear of malice; the Evening and the Night shall come upon them naturally, one after another; their faith shall ascend before them, and their good fame shall follow after. *Et hic baculum fixit.*

This next Session of this Parliament, the Union was revived, by motion of the Kings Solicitor Sir Francis Bacon, to have the Scots naturalized by Act of Parliament: after many subtil Arguments on both sides *pro & con*, and to allay the heat, the King convenes both Houses before him at White-hall, where, with an excellent method, he recounts all their former controverted Arguments, and concludes with Reasons undeniable, for unanimous consent to admit of the Union. But to avoid their tedious Disputes; I shall onely abbreviate the Kings Speech, in answer to all.

He distinguishes his desires; the Union which he seeks is of Laws and Persons, such a Naturalizing, as may compound one Body of both Nations, *Unus Rex, unus Grex, & una Lex*. He unravels their intricate Arguments, and sweetens them with his intentions.

1. That all hostile Laws should cease, because the King of England cannot war with the King of Scotland.

That community of Commerce is necessary, He being no stranger, but descended of their ancient Kings; It were improper for him, to be their natural Sovereign, and the Nations strangers to one another, and being both under the same Allegiance, ought to have more freedom, and better respect, than Frenchmen and Spaniards.

2. They all agree, that they are no Aliens, then must they be allowed to be natural. That there was a difference, the Ante and Post-nati of either Kingdom, and therefore his Proclamations gave notice that the Post-nati were naturalized, by his accession; but he confessed, that Judges may err in that opinion, who told him so; so may Lawyers on their side, but bids them beware of abusing either, lest they endeavour to disgrace King and Laws, who have power when Parliaments are not, to try them for Lands and Lives.

3. That there were some flatterers, and would prefer the Ante-nati upon a jeering pretence, to have their merit preferred in his service. *Mel in ore, fel in corde*. But they shall know, his Prerogative

Anno
1607.

gative can prefer at his own pleasure, to any *Dignity*, though he is willing to restrain himself, for respects to the *English*. He urged it as a special mark of Prerogative, to endow *Aliens* with freedom; and where the *Law* is not therein clear, *Rex est Fundex*, he being *Lex loquens*, supplying the *Law* where it wants; thus he speaks as skiltull in the dues of Sovereignty, intends not the pressure upon their love, but with conveniency to both *Kingdoms*.

The inconveniences as from *Scotland*, are pretended to be;

1. An evil affection in them to the *Union*.

2. The *Union* to be incompatible.

3. The gain small or none.

Why then is there talk of *Union*?

They allege Reasons of the first, from the body of their *Act*, *To remain a free Monarchy, and not alter Fundamental Laws*: and yet it was urged heretofore, *The Scots greedy of this Union, to attain to the substance and end*. These are contradictions; but for their free *Monarchy*, he hopes they mean not that he should set *Garisons* over them, as the *Spaniards* do, over *Sicily* and *Naples*; He need not do so, who governs them by his *Pen* and his *Council-commands*; and his *Chancellor* there can govern their *Tongues* too, not to speak as ye do, what and as long as ye list, without contradiction?

1. He tells them the *Laws* of *Scotland*, those of *Tenures*, *Wards*, *Liveries*, *Signiories*, and *Lands*, are in effect drawn out of the *Chancery* of *England*, brought by *James* the first, (who lived here) and differ onely in terms.

2. The second, are *Statute-laws*, to which he wishes, they would be no strangers.

3. The *Civil Law*, brought out of *France* by *James* the fifth, to supply the defects of the *Municipal Laws*. In these respects the *Laws* alike, why not the *People*?

First, it is an Objection of yours, that the *King* in *Scotland* hath not a *Negative Voice* in *Parliament*; he tells them, that the *Form* of *Parliaments* there, inclines nothing to popularity: their manner is, by *Proclamation*, to bring in their *Bills* to the *Master* of the *Rolls*, by a prefixt day; then to the *King*, to be allowed by him, and then given to the *Chancellor*, to be propounded, and no other. If any man offers otherwise, the *Chancellor* corrects him, and being past the *King* confirms them, rasing out what he doth not approve, and if this be a *Negative Voice*, he hath one.

Secondly, that which seems so incompatible, is the *Union* of the *French* and *Scots*; He assures them, it was a *League* onely, between the *Kings*, not the *People*; the occasion was, that *England* and *France* at one time solicited a *League offensive and de-*

Anno
1607.

fenfive against each others *Enemies*. The reasons went for *England*, being our *Neighbours*, of one *Continent* strong and *Powerfull Nation*, and so more security the *Amity* with *England*, than *France*, far off beyond Seas, and hazarded to Accidents of relief.

Then, they who argued for *France*, alleaged that *England* ever sought to conquer *Scotland*, and therefore never can be *Friends*. The remoteness of *France* claimes no *Interest*, and therefore more *Constant* and *Faithfull*, and so it was concluded on their part. But then it was concluded meerly *Personall* from *King* to *King*, and to be renewed by their *Ambassies*; And so it was in his Mothers time, and without consent of *Parliament*, else it would seem a *League* of the *People*. And in his time when it came to be *Ratified*, least it should appear *In odium Tertii*, it was by *Him* left out, in respect of his *Title* to *England*.

3. Who is so ignorant as can not see the profit and commodity to *England* by this *Union*, is there not *Gain* by *Wales*, is not *Scotland* greater? *Lands*, *Seas* and *Persons* added to *Greatness*; certainly *Two* made *One*, makes them *Greater* and *Stronger*. He desires *Union* for the *Empire* of *England*, and for their security, to condescend to reasonable *Restrictions*, And he will never say, what he will not promise, nor promise what he will not swear, nor swear what he will not perform. And so dismisses them.

But, although the *Parliament* could not be drawn to it presently, yet not long after, it wrought upon the Judges of this *Kingdom*, that the chief Justice *Coke* confirmed the *Post-Nati* in *Calvins Case* and *Title*; And adjudged for him also, by that reverend States-man *Chancelor Elsmere*, and all the *Judges* likewise in the *Exchequer Chamber*, whose opinions do much confound our Adversary, bewailing the Cause.

[That of such stuffe Judges are made, who can modell their *Precedents* to any shape.]

And yet all that this *Session* could be drawn to do, was to repeal the *Laws* of *Hestility* between both Nations, and so confirmed in *Scotland*, from the fourth of *Henry 5.* of *England*, and from *1 James 1.* of *Scotland*. Some excellent *Acts* were concluded this *Session*, which I refer to the statutes in print.

But because the Judges in that time are complained of, as too partiall for the Kings commands; Let me aternize the memory of Judge *Nichols* of the common pleas. His Predecessor in his Circuite *Assize* for the County of *Northampton* had reprieved a *Felon*, indicted before him, and found guilty by the Jury and condemned, but reprieved by him upon some observation of the weakness of the *Evidence*. This *Judge* dying, *Nichols* appointed for that Circuite, continues the Prisoners reprieve. And the complaint came to the King, who urgeth the *Judge* by letters for

Post-nati confirmed.

H. G. Br.
pag: 41.

Judg Nichols
his true justice.

for Execution, which yet he refused. His just excuse was, That if his Predecessor who heard the Evidence, thought good in Justice to grant his reprieve, It became not his Conscience now, to condemn him; seeing he never heard the Evidence at all. And that it was part of his Oath, to do right, notwithstanding the Kings letters: 18. Edward 3. This man therefore the King owned to be a wise, learned, and just Judge, for though he might (perhaps) have given just Judgment, it could not be true Justice.

Licet equum statuerit, haud equum fuerit.

Heretofore Proclamations had been by Queen Elizabeth and King James against the excessive repair of persons of quality out of the Country to London, by neglecting their duties at home, in their respective service to the Common weal, the decay of Hospitable Neighborhood and relief of the poor. Besides, the more room made for them, crowded the Mechanick and Trades-men, into narrow habitations, and dear rents, pestering most houses with Inmates, Infections and sickness, the Country, Towns, and Burroughs unpeopled, trade decayed.

But these commands not obeyed, The wisdom of State was assured, that the cause taken away, the effects would follow.

The restraint of New-buildings might necessitate the Gentry, to keep to the Country, for want of lodgings, at easie rates in London. And such as should be, were prescribed heretofore, a form of Brick upright, to save Timber, so much wanting, and to beautifie the streets, incroached upon with bay windows, and eaves hanging over, that even joyned with the opposite Neighbour, upon old or new foundations, a Custome of freedom in after times of loose liberty, which destroys the beauty of buildings.

And now necessity enforcing a farther Obedience, this proclamation hath these Limitations; No new buildings in London, or two miles about, but upon old foundations; And such as have been erected, within five years last past, contrary to former Proclamations (which were to be pulled down) shall nevertheless be disposed (by Officers appointed) for tenements to the poor, or for their benefit, and hereafter offending to be pull'd down; No House to be divided hereafter, into several Tenements, nor any Inmates received, to make another family.

These prohibitions, were referred to the Aldermen and Justices of Peace, and this was in October 1607. When the plague ceased, and the fresh gang of the Countrey came huddling, to keep Christmase at London.

Our Caluminator that swells his Book with malicious observations

Anno
1607.

Gentry flock
to London.

Proclamation
in restraint of
new buildings
unless of
Brick.

Anno
1608.

Hist. Gr. Brit.
P. 49.

L: Treasurer
Dorset dies.

George Sprot
a Conspirator
with Gowry,
his story and
execution.

His Confessi-
ons.

vations and false quotations, refers this to 7. Jac. 1609. and belyes the restriction, to be pulled down [though (says he) not taken notice of in seven years after] for this Proclamation commands the Aldermen and Justices in their diligent view, perambulation, and inquiry, to certifie the Kings Council every Term, or their neglect to be censured, punished and removed from the Peace, as unworthy.

[Whereby (says he) many not heeding the Proclamation, laid out their whole Estates upon little Hovels, and building fair houses upon new foundations must either purchase them anew, or pull them down, and both to their ruine.]

Name me one that was repurchased; Indeed, such as offended in this last were to be fined or pulled down. And truly the commands were so necessary, so wholesome, so beautifull, and so exemplarily publick, that very few offended, and such as did, deserved due punishment, yet this is scored upon the King, as a Crime in State, which he foresaw would come to pass, as now in these days we finde the effects to be pitied, the very ruine of this City and Suburbs.

The Lord Treasurer Dorset died suddenly at the Council-table, his Disease an Apoplexy, (which gave way to Cecil Earl of Salisbury to succeed him Treasurer) this Dorset was Thomas Sackville, Son and Heir of Sir Richard Sackville of Buckhurst, who came from the Temple a Barrester, and was created Baron Buckhurst by Queen Elizabeth, and by King James Earl of Dorset, 1605. and Knight of the Garter.

About this time a further discovery was made in Scotland, concerning the truth of Gowry's Treason by Attainder of another of the Conspiratours. The Treason was attempted the fourth of August, 1600. (as before remembered) and though there followed sundry Suspitions, and Examinations of several persons supposed Abettors and Contrivers then, yet it lay undiscovered, *tanquam e postliminio*, untill this time, eight years after, by the circumspection principally of the Earl of Dunbar, (a man of as great wisdom as those times and that Nation could boast of) upon the person of one George Sprot, Notary publick at Aymouth in Scotland, from some words of his, sparingly and unawares expressed, and some Papers found in his house, whereof being examined, with little ado, he confessed, and was condemned and executed at Edenburgh, 12. August, 1608.

A Relation I conceive, not common, but in my hands to be produced, and written by that learned Gentleman Sir William Hart, then Lord chief Justice in Scotland, and principal in all the Acts of Judicature herein.

And first Sprot confesseth, that Robert Logane late of Restalrig, was privy and foreknowing of John, late Earl of Gowry's treasonable

Anno
1608.

sonable conspiracy. That divers *Letters* were interchanged betwixt them therein, *July* 1600. which *Letter James Bour*, called *Laird Bour*, Servitour to *Restalrig*, (imployed by them and privy to all) had in keeping, and shewed them to *Sprot* in *Fast-castle*. That *Sprot* was present when *Bour* after five days absence, returned with answers by *Letters* from *Gowry*, and staid all night with *Restalrig* at *Gunnegreen*, and rode the next morn to *Lothian*, where he staid six days, then to *Fast-castle*, where he abode a short space.

That *Sprot* saw and heard *Restalrig* reade those *Letters* to *Bour*, and all their conference there annent, who said, *Though he should lose all in the world, yet he would pass through with Gowry; for that would as well content him as the Kingdom.*

That *Sprot* himself entered into conference with *Bour* therein, who feared, that it would be dear to him, and prayed *Sprot* for *Gods sake* not to intermeddle; for he feared, within few days the *Laird* would be landless and liveless.

That he had these *Letters* of *Restalrig* and *Gowry*, which *Bour* had in keeping and were copied out by *Sprot*, and that the original *Letters* were in his Chest, when he was taken into Custody.

These and other depositions written by *James Primrose Clerk* of the *Kings Council*, and subscribed, *George Sprot*.

Present.

Earl Dunbar, *Earl Lothian*, *Bishop of Ross*, *Lord Schone*, *Lord Hallyrood-house*, *Lord Blantire*, *Sir William Hart*, *Lord chief Justice*, *John Hall*, *Patrick Galloway*, *Peter Hewet*, *Minister of Edinburgh*, and subscribed with all their hands.

Several other *Examinations* are attested under his hand with this *Protestation*, *That being resolved to die, and hopes to be participant of Heaven upon Salvation or Damnation of his Soul, that all that he had deposed were true in every point and circumstance, and no untruth in them.*

August 12. *Sprot* was presented in *Judgment* upon *Pannel* in the *Talboth* of *Edinburgh*, before *Sir William Hart* *Lord chief Justice*, assisted with these persons.

His Trial.

Alexander Earl of Dunferling *Lord Chancellour*, *George Earl of Dunbar* *Lord Treasurer*, *John Arch-Bishop of Glasgo*, *David Bishop of Ross*, *Bishop of Galloway*, *Bishop of Brechin*, *Earl of Crawford*, *Earl of Lotharine*, *Lord Abernethe*, *Lord Balmerinoth*, *Lord Blantire*, *Lord Burly*, *Sir Richard Cowburn*, *John Preston* *Colonel General*, *Sir John Skew Register*.

He was pursued by *Sir Thomas Hamilton Knight*, *Advocate to the King*, for *Enteries* of the *Crimes* contained in his *Indictments*, as followeth.

George Sprot *Notary in Aymouth*, You are indicted and accused; for as much as *John* sometime *Earl of Gowry*, having most trea-

Anno
1608.

treasonably conspired in the moneth of *July*, 1600. to murder our gracious *Sovereign*, the *Kings* most Excellent Majesty; and having imparted that devilish purpose to *Robert Logame* of *Restalrig*, who allowed of the same, and most willingly to be partaker thereof: the same coming to your knowledg at the times and in the manner particularly after mentioned, you most maliciously and treasonably concealed the same, and was art and part thereof.

And first, in the moneth of *July* 1600. after you had perceived and known, that divers *Letters* and *Messages* had past betwixt the said *John Earl Gowry* and the said *Robert Logame* of *Restalrig*, you being in the house of *Fast-castle*, you saw and read a *Letter* written by the said *Restalrig* with his own hand to the said *Earl Gowry*.

Restalrig's
Letter to
Gowry,

MY Lord, &c. At the receipt of your *Letter*, I am so confuted, that I can neither utter my joy, nor finde my self able to requite your Lordship with due thanks: and be your Lordship assured, that in that matter, I shall be as forward for your Honour, as if it were my own cause: and I think there is no Christian, that would not revenge that Machiavilian Massacring of our dear Friends, though with hazard of Life, and Lands, and all. My heart can binde me, to take part in that matter, as your Lordship shall finde proof. But one thing your Lordship must be circumspect and earnest with your Brother, that he be not rash in any Speeches, touching the purpose of *Padua*.

and after the
Treason.

And a certain space after the execution of the said *Treason*, the said *Logame* having desired the *Laird of Bour* to deliver to him the said *Letter*, or else to burn it, and *Bour* having delivered to you all *Tickets* and *Letters*, which he then had either concerning *Restalrig* or others to sue them, (because he could not reade) you abstracted them, and retain'd the said *Writings* in your own hands, and divers times read them, containing further, viz.

Other Let-
ters to Gow-
ry.

MY Lord, you may easily understand, that such a purpose cannot be done (as your Lordship intendeth) rashly, but with deliberation.

And for my self, it were meet to have the men your Lordship spake of ready in a Boat or Bark, and address them, as if they were taking pleasure on the Sea, in such fair Summer time.

And for your Lordship, either to come to my house *Fast-castle* by Sea, or to send your Brother. I shall have the House very quiet, and well provided, after your Lordships advertisement, and none shall have access to haunt the place, during your abode here. And if your
Lordship

Anno
1608.

Lordship doubt of safe landing, I shall provide all such necessities as may serve for your arrival, within a flight-shoot of the House; and perswade your self, to be as quiet here, while we have settled our Plot, as if in your Chamber: for I trust, and am assured, we shall have word from them your Lordship knows of, within few days, for I have a care to see what Ships come by.

Your Lordship knows, I have kept up Lord Bothwell in my house quietly, in his greatest extremities, in spite of King and Council. I hope if all things come to pass, (as I trust they shall) to have both your Lordships at a good Dinner ere I die. Hæc jocosè.

To animate your Lordship, I doubt not, all will be well, for I am resolved thereof, doubt nothing on my part; Peril of Life, Lands, Honour and Goods, yea the hazard of Hell, shall not affray me from that, yea though the Scaffold were already set up.

The sooner the matter were done the better, for the Kings Buck-hunting will be shortly; and I hope it will prepare some dainty chear for us, to live the next year. I remember well, that merry sport, which your Lordships Brother told me, of a Noble-man at Padua, for I think that, a Parasceue to this purpose.

My Lord, think nothing that I commit that secret hereof to this Bearer; for I dare not onely venture my Life, Lands, Honour, and all upon his credit; but I durst hazard my Soul, in his keeping. I am so perswaded of his fidelity; And I trow, (ask him if it be not true) he will go to Hell gates for me, and he is not beguiled on my part to him; and therefore I am perswaded, this will give him trust with your Lordship in this matter, as to my self. But I pray you, hasten him home with all speed, and charge him not to take a wink of sleep till he see me again, after he returns from you. And as your Lordship desireth in your Letters to me, so say I to you, either rive or burn this Letter, or return it back again to me, with the Bearer, for so is the fashion, I grant.

Restalrig.

And albeit by the Letter (all his own hand) you knew the truth of the said treasonable Conspiracy, and Logain's fore-knowledg and guilt thereof, like as you were assured of divers Letters received by him from Gowry, and by his Answers to the same purpose, and by sundry Conferences, betwixt Logain and Bour in your presence and hearing, concerning the said Treason, as well in July preceding the Attempt thereof, as at divers other times shortly after; as likewise by Bour revealing the same to you, who was imployed ordinary Messenger by Logain to Gowry, whereby your knowledg and concealment and guilt was undeniable:

Yet for further manifestation thereof, about July 1602. Logain shewed unto you, that Bour had told him, that he had been

as also his
guilt two
years after.

Anno
1608.

somewhat rash to let you see a Letter, which came from *Gowry* to *Logain*, who then urged you to tell him what you understood by the same. You answered, that you took the meaning thereof to be, that he had been upon the counsel and purpose of *Gowry's* Conspiracy; and that he answered you, the worst he had done, was his own; but if you would swear to him, never to reveal any thing of that matter to any person, it should be the best fight that ever you saw; and in token of further recompence, he gave you twelve pounds of Silver.

Nevertheless albeit you knew perfectly the whole practice and progress of all the said *Treason*, from the beginning to the end; as also by your conference with *Bour* and *Logain*, who lived untill the year 1606. or thereabout, and so by the space of six years you concealed the same, and so was in art and part thereof, and ought to suffer under pain of high *Treason*. To the Token that you have not onely by your depositions subscribed by you, and solemnly made in presence of divers *Lords* of his *Majesties Privy Council*, and the *Ministers* of the *Borough* of *Edenburgh*, of the Dates of the fifth, fifteenth and sixteenth days of *July* last past, and tenth and thirteenth of *August* instant, confessed, every Point, Head, and Article of the *Indictment* abovesaid, but also by divers other Depositions subscribed by you, you have ratified the same, and to seal the same with your blood.

Confesseth
the Indict-
ment.

Jurors names.

Which *Indictment* being read openly, before *Sprot*, was put to the knowledg of the *Inquest*; he confessed the same in every point to be true; and therefore the *Indictment* was put to the *Inquest* of the honest, famous, and discreet persons, viz. *William Trumball* of *Ardre*, *William Fisher* Merchant and Burges of *Edenburgh*, *Robert Short* there; *Edmund Johnston* Merchant and Burges there, *Harb. Maxwell* of *Cavons*, *Ja. Terment* of *Lint-house*, *William Trumbill* Burges of *Edenburgh*, *George Brown* in *Gorgy Mill*, *Jo. Huchinson* and *Jo. Lewes* Merchants and Burgesies of *Edenburgh*, *Ja. Somervil* and *William Swinton* there, *Jo. Cruneson* of *Darltion*, *Thomas Smith* and *Jo. Cowtis* Burgeses of *Edenburgh*.

Which persons of *Inquest*, sworn and admitted, and reading over the same *Indictment* again, in his and their presence, the said *George Sprot* confessed the same to be true.

Whereupon the said *Sir Thomas Hamilton* Advocate asked *Act* and *Instrument*. And therefore the *Inquest* removed to the *Inquest-house*, and elected *Herbert Maxwell* to be their *Chancelour* or fore-man. And after mature deliberation they all re-entered again in *Court* where the said *Fore-man* declared the said *George Sprot* to be guilty, filed, and convict of *Art* and part of the said *Treason*, for which the said *Justice* by the mouth of the

Verdict.

Sentenced as
a Traitor.

Demster

Demster of Court, by Sentence and Doom ordained the said *George Sprot* to be taken to the Market-Cross of *Edenburgh*, and there to be hanged upon a *Gibbet*, till he be dead, and thereafter his *head* to be stricken off, and his *body* to be quartered and demeaned as a *Traitor*, and his *head* to be set up upon a prick of *Iron* upon the highest part of the *Tolboth* of *Edenburgh*, where the *Traitor Gowry* and other *Conspirators* heads stand, and his *Lands* and *Goods* forfeited, and escheated to our *Sovereign Lord* the *Kings* use.

Extractum de Libro Actorum Adjornalis S. D. N. Regis per me D. Johannem Coburn de Ormeston Mil. Clericum Justiciarii ejusdem generalem, sub meis signo & subscriptione Manualibus.

And so was *Sprot* conveyed to a private house, remaining at his meditations, and afterwards conferred with the *Ministers*, confessing all aforesaid, with extreme humiliation and prayer.

Afterwards ganging up the *Ladder*, with his hands loose and untied, he was again put in minde of his *Confessions*, and for the greater assurance thereof performed an act marvellous, promising by *Gods* assistance to give them an evident token before the yielding up of his spirit, which was, when he had hung a very good while, he lift up both his hands a good height, and clapped them together three several times, to the wonder of thousands *Spectators*.

And for the more confirmation, *George Abbot* Doctor in *Divinity* and *Dean* of *Winchester*, after *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*, was present, both at his *Examination* and *Execution*, and hath published in print the same *Writings*, observation and particulars, *verbatim*, as aforesaid, which I can produce also.

I was obliged in honor of the truth to be thus particular, to take off the horrid crime with which our *Adversaries* load the memory of *King James*; and if as yet not satisfactory, I may conclude with *Saint John's Apocalyps*, *Qui sordescit, sordescat adhuc*.

And yet I am enforced to complain against a late *Historian*, who says,

Sprot's Depositions seem a very fiction, a meer invention of his own brain.

And why? Because (says he) *Sprot* did not shew the Letter.

How came it then to be recorded, as aforesaid? And concludes against himself.

However (says he) *Sprot* remained constant in his *Confession*, and at his dying when he was to be cast off the *Ladder*, promised to give the beholders a sign for confirming them in the truth of what he had spoken, which also he performed by clapping his hands three several times after he was cast off by the *Executioner*.

Anno
1608.

Executed.

A marvellous
sign of guilt.

Abbot Bishop
of Canterbury
being present.

History of
the Church
of Scotland,
p. 509.

Anno

1608.

The Kings
disbursements
already.

60000 l.

19000.

17428.

11000.

107428.

The Scottish
Secretary Bal-
merino's trea-
cherous Letter
to the Pope.
The occasion.

What can be more to convince for the truth, that he was guilty?

In this fourth Session, the King intends the Creation of his sonne *Henry Prince of Wales*, and for that and other occasions craves supply of his wants, proceeding from his great disbursements, discounting with them his receipts of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds subsidies due to his Predecessor, with his redeeming the Crown lands morgaged in the year 1598. by her, to the City of *London* for sixty thousand pounds. His expence also of nineteen thousand pounds to the Souldiers in *Ireland*, the late *Queens* funeral charges seventeen thousand four hundred twenty and eight pounds. His and his *Queens* Journy hither 11000 l. Besides the King of *Denmarks* reception, entertainments of Ambassadors hither, and sending others abroad. These were reasons just and Noble to work into the hearts of obedient, and obliged people; but wrought not with them.

The Secretary of State for *Scotland*, Sir *James Lethington*, Lord *Balmerino*, being now sent hither with letters from that Council, was sodainly surprized with some Questions from the King. Cardinal *Bellarmino* had not long before published an answer to the *Kings Apologie*, Charging him with inconstancie, and objecting a Letter that he had sent to Pope Clement the eighth from *Scotland*, wherein he recommended to his Holyness, the Bishop of *Vaison* for obtaining the dignity of a Cardinal, that so he might be better able to advance his affairs in the Court of Rome.

The King meeting with this passage in *Bellarmines-Book*, presently apprehended his Secretary somewhat Popish, to shuffle such a Letter to the Pope, and the King signing it amongst others which he usually sent to the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Florence*. The Secretary now come and sodainly demanded if ever he had written any Letter to the Pope, he answered, he had by his Majesties Command. At which the King bending the brow of Anger, the Secretary fell down and craved Mercy, Professing that his meaning was by that Letter, to purchase the Popes favour in advance of his Majesties title to *England*.

Then the King remembered the challenge made by Queen *Elizabeth* 1599. unto the Secretary of such a letter, which said he you then denied, and procured Sir *Edward Drummond* (who was accused for carrying that Letter) to come into *Scotland*, and abjure the same. The Secretary in great perplexity, made his excuse with his good meaning, and craved pardon of God and the King, for his and *Drummonds* perjury. He was instantly Committed to his Chamber, and so to the Council-Table, who urged his Crime as the ground of all conspiracies since the Kings coming into *England*, that of the powder Treason and puritans Combinations. The Secretary in great humility answered.

Curæ

Anno
1608.

Curæ leves loquuntur, Ingentes Stupent. My Lords I can not find words to expresse my sorrow, for my offence against my gracious Sovereign, when I call to mind his Majesties favours, raising me from the dust to a fortune, by my Honorable preferment, and thus to fail of my duty, and fall into such a degree of falsity. Ah! peccavi in Cœlum & terram. My offence is insupportable and impardonable. Only his Majesties rare Piety, singular wisdom and sincerity, is sufficient to throw all possible guilt on me without any doubt of the Kings, Innocency; if nothing but my life, and all I am can expiate so great a Crime, fiat voluntas Dei & Regis. I humbly submit and take my death patiently.

The Chancellor Egerton declared, That it was the Kings pleasure to remit his Tryal to the Judges in Scotland, and to be conveyed thither a Prisoner, The Sheriffs attending him from Shire to Shire. In the mean time he did Pronounce him deprived of all places, Honors, Dignities, and every thing else that he possessed in England.

1609.
He is sent
prisoner to be
tryed in Scot-
land.

And thus conveyed to Scotland, he is committed to Faulk-land Castle, and so to his indictment. That in 1598. by instigation of his Cousen Sir Edward Drummond a Papist, he had stollen and surreptitiously purchased the Kings hand to a Letter written, and sent by Sir Edward, and directed to Pope Clement the eighth, in favour of the Bishop of Vaison, for his preferment to be a Cardinal, shuffling in this letter amongst others, that were to be signed, filling it up with Stiles and Titles to the Pope, and sealed it with his Majesties signet (which was intrusted to him as Secretary) to the endangering his Majesties Honor, Life, Crown, and Estate, and the subversion of true Religion, and the whole Professors thereof.

His indict-
ment.

He acknowledged that his offence admits no defence: for however he conceived that the keeping of Intelligence with the Pope, might advance his Majesties Succession to the crown of England, yet knowing his Majesties resolution never to use any crooked course, but to rest upon Gods providence and his own right; therefore he intreated all that were present, to bear witness of his confession and true remorse for his offence. Only he craved liberty to protest, That he never intended an alteration of Religion, nor Toleration of the contrary, but conceiving some good might have been wrought thereby at that time, and to promote his Majesties right, Concluding that not to make more trouble to the Judges, he had confessed the truth, and wished as God should be mercifull to his own soul, that the King was most falsely and wrongfully charged with the said Letter, &c.

His confessi-
on;

The Jury were Noblemen his Pares five Earls, four Lords, and six Knights, who gave Verdict of his guilt of Treason and of art and part of the whole treasonable Crimes contained in the

And sentence.

Anno
1609.

Is reprieved
and dies.

King James
a mercifull
Prince, and
restores his
son in blood.

And he a
traytor also to
King Charles
is also pardo-
ned.

And proves
an ungratefull
wretch to his
blessed Master.

The Bishops
in Scotland
inlarged their
power.

the Indictment. And ready for Execution he was reprieved by intercession of the Queen in *England*, and returned to *Faulkland* Prison, and afterwards licensed to his own house in *Balmerinoch*, where his sickness increased of grief, and there he dyed.

He was accounted a Person of abilities sufficient for his places in Session and Council, whose conscience stretched out to his gain, and possessing much of the Churches lands, was a constant Enemy under hand, to the Kings desire of restoring Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to the Bishops. And such end befalls false servants.

However this Man died repentant of his fact, and evermore acknowledging the Kings grace and mercy, which not only was thus fare xpressed in favour to him, that once had been trusted by the King, and who in truth seldom lessened his royal disposition to any of his Creatures, without great cause to the contrary, so not long after his son was restored in blood and honor with the like grace as formerly to his father. And he also afterwards a like ungrateful wretch, to his Sovereign King *Charles*, and for an infamous Libel which he framed and dispersed against his Majesty, was by his Peers in *Scotland*, condemned to dye as a Traytor, To whom this mercifull Prince the inheritor of his fathers glories afforded his Sovereign balm of mercies; this *Balmerino* also not only reprieved, but pardoned under the great seal of that Kingdom, which he received upon his knees at that Council-Table, with the highest magnifying the Kings mercy, the humblest acknowledging his and his fathers infinite obligations, by which they both stood for ever ingaged to the service of the Crown. In so much (the Records say) the whole Council recommended him, as a Person so highly resenting this grace of the King, that by his own protestation inducing their Confidence, He was become a Mark of the Kings mercy, and as new-molded and made fit for the future; No doubt an humble Subject for his Sovereigns choice Service. And yet this Man not long after, proved the Contriver and the most malicious Prosecutors of such conspiracies, as may be said to be the forerunners of that Kings miserable and final destruction. I cannot learn whether he be living in this sin, and so as yet spared for Gods mercy, or unrepentant dead to his Judgments sure and suddain.

But to our business in *Scotland*. In the next Assembly at *Glasgow*, the Bishops took upon them to enlarge their own authority in the Administration of all Church affairs, And yet not willing to make any change (though by the Kings command) without brotherly approbation of the Ministers, They assemble together and consent unto Articles of Government and power

Anno
1609.

power of the Bishops. In which Assembly the Popish Lords supplicate for absolution and to subscribe to the confession of faith. *Huntley* did so, and returned to his own County, *Arroll* went about it too, but suddainly fell into such confused terror, as offering violence upon his own person, he was spared by his intercession of tears and prayers, not to be forced against the reluctancy of his Conscience, who in truth of all that sect, shewed evermore much of tender minde, to endeavour satisfaction to himself, and so received more civility from the Church ever after. *Angus* was most averse and had leave to banish himself into *France*, where he died at *Paris* some years after.

There had been a good progress in *Scotland* for quieting the Clergie, and renewing the repute of the prelacie. And therefore the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, with the Bishops of *Brigen* and *Galloway*, having audience of the King in relation to the affairs of the Church of *Scotland*.

Told them with what care and charge he had repossessed the Bishopricks out of the hands of the Laity and other sacreligious pretenders, and settled them upon reverend Men as he hoped worthy of their places. But since he could not consecrate them Bishops, nor they assume that honor to themselves, and that in *Scotland* there was not a sufficient Number to enter charge by Consecration, he had therefore called them into *England*; that being here consecrated themselves, they might give ordination at home, and so the Presbyters mouths stopped.

Scots Bishops
consecrated in
England,

For they had maliciously and falsely reported, that the King took upon him to create Bishops and bestow spiritual Offices, which he never did, always acknowledging that Authority to belong to Christ alone, and whom he had authorized with his own power.

One thing admitted dispute The Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*, and *York*, always pretended Jurisdiction over *Scotland*, and so now this consecration might be taken as a voluntary subjection to this Church. But therefore *London*, *Ely*, and *Bath*, performed it to them, and they ordained others at home; And carried back Directions for a High Commission Court also, for ordering of causes Ecclesiastical, which were approved by their Clergie, and put into obedience.

Who ordain
others at home

From these good Men, The King fished out the behaviours of his Council there; and therefore to settle them in terms of honor and state at their Table, they were to convene twice a week, and None to stay in the Room, but Counsellors, nor any solicitations there. But being come instantly to take their places sitting, not standing, unless they pleaded for themselves, and then to rise and stand at the end of the Table, (for they were wont to quarrel and to cuff, cross the board.) No Counsellor to be

Council Ta-
ble ordered.

Anno

1609.

The Earl of
Orkney com-
mitted.

High com-
mission-
Court.

The Session
seek for
grievances.

be absent four days without leave of the rest. Each single Counsellor to be Justice of Peace in all the Kingdom, & to preserve respect to their places they should not trample the streets on foot, but in Coach or Horse-back with footcloths. This brought some esteem to that Board, who before were bearded by every *Kirk-John*, or *Lay-Elder*.

And after this posture of Governing, *Patrick Stewart* Earl of the *Isles Orkney* and *Yetland* was sent for, to humble himself to imprisonment: *A Custom also which was settled in the Council, to command any Malignant, to be in Ward by such a day, or else to be horned Rebell*

This great man. (at home) is there humbled before the Bishop of *Orkney*, and is by him examined, (so soon is the Kings ordinance obeyed.)

His Crimes grew up from his poverty (made so by his own riot and prodigality) which now he seeks to repair by shifts of Tyranny over the people, under his Command; and being by the Bishop reported so to the Council, he was committed to Prison, untill the pleasure of the King deals further, in Mercy or Justice. But to exercise that Nation by degrees of punishment, he was afterwards released and returned home to better behaviour, wherein he became for the future so faultie, that two years after he was executed.

We have hinted heretofore the Kings business at home, which in truth was his wisdom to wade through. To suppress the trayterous designs of the *Papists*, and to settle the fiery dispositions of the *Schismatics*; for the first, their own violent progression in their late *Powder-plot*, drew upon them publick lawes of chastisement. But these *Other*, (alas) their Motion now not so violent, yet perpetual, & the more warily to be dealt with. And because no disputes, Arguments nor Policies could reduce them, therefore the spiritual *High-Commission-Court* took some course, moderately to regulate their Insolencies.

Busie this Parliament had been in disputes, of the *Common* and *Civil Laws*; The first strained to such a necessitary power, as in short event, would mightily qualifie the other to nothing. Besides, this Session sate long and supplied not the Kings wants, wasting time (as ever sithence) in seeking *Grievances*. To palliate the *Lower-House*, some Messages had informed his necessary expences, and to both *Houses*, the new Treasurer (late Earl of *Salisbury*) opened the emptiness of his Office. And at last the King speaks for himself, at a Meeting at *White-Hall*. He spake well, and now prolix, which yet I must present thus long. Perfect Specches open the times and truth to posterity, against our Carping Adversary; I need not quote his pages, take his

whole

whole *History* passionately and partially distempered, throughout.

The King forgets not their late loving duties, and therefore recompenseth them with a rare present, a *Chrystall Mirror*, the heart of their King, which though it be in *Manu Domini*, so will he set it, *in oculis populi*.

The principal things (says he) agitated in this *Parliament* were three. First, Your support to me. Secondly, My relief to you. But the third, How I would govern, as to former constitutions, or by absolute power.

He begins with the last. That *Monarchy* is the supremest thing upon Earth, illustrated by three similitudes. First out of *Gods* word, *You are Gods*. Secondly out of *Philosophie*, *Patrens patria*. Thirdly out of *Policie*, the Head of this *Microcosm* Man.

For the first, The attributes of God; *Creation, Destruction, Reparation*, to judge and not be judged, and to have power of *Soul and Body*; so of Kings; and can make of Subjects as at *Chesse*, a pawn to take a *Bishop* or *Knight*, to cry up and down their Subjects, as their coin; And as their Soul and Body to God, so to the King, affections of the Soul, and service of the Body. And he justified the Bishops late Sermon of the Kings power in *Abstracto*, to be true Divinity. But then as to the general, so to exhort them, how to help such a good King as now they have, putting a difference between Power in Divinity, and the settled state of this Kingdom.

For the second, fathers of families had *Patriam potestatem, vitæ et Necis*, for Kings had their original as heirs from them, planted in Colonies through the world. And all laws allow *Parents*, to dispose of children at pleasure.

For the last, The head judgeth of the Members, to cure or cut off. But yet these powers are ordained *ad correctionem, non ad destructionem*: and as God destroys not, but preserves nature, so a father to his Children, a Head to his Members.

But then he distinguished the state of Kings in *Original*, and of settled Monarchs. For as God in the old Testament spake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles, yet after the Church was settled in Christ, and a cessation of both, he governed by his revealed *Will*, his *Words*. So Kings beginning by *Conquest* or *Election*, their *Wills*, *Laws*, and being settled in a civill policie, set down their mindes by *Statutes*, and at the desire of the people, the King grants them; and so he becomes *Lex Loquens*, binding himself by a double Oath; *Tacitly* as a King, and expressly by his Oath at Coronation, a *Paction* with his *People*, as God with *Noah*. If otherwise he governs them, a King turns *Tyrant*; Either govern by Law, says the widow to *Alexander*,

Anno

1609.

Hist, Gr. Br.
ubique.The Kings
Speech to both
Houses.Of his Go-
vernment.

Anno
1609.

Common
Law and
Civil.

der, *Aut ne Rex sis*. There needs no Rebellion against evil Kings, for God never leaves them unpunished.

And concludes, That to dispute what God may do, is Blasphemy; but *Quid vult Deus?* is Divinity; so of Kings; Sedition in Subjects, to dispute a *Posse ad Esse*. He professes, Reason for his Actions, and Rule for his Laws.

He dislikes not the Common Law, favourable to Kings, and extendeth his Prerogative; To despise it, were to neglect his own Crown.

The Civil, serves more for general learning, and most necessary for commerce with Nations, as *Lex Gentium*; but though not fit for the general Government of this People, yet not to be therefore extinct, not to prefer Civil before Common Law, but bounded to such Courts and Causes as have been in ancient use, as the Courts Ecclesiastical, Admiralty, of Request, reserving Common Law as fundamental, Prerogative or Privilege, King and Subject, or themselves, *Meum & Tuum*.

No Kingdom in the World governed meerly by Civil Law; their Municipal Laws always agree with their Customes.

God governed his People by Laws, Ceremonial, Moral, Judicial; Judicial onely for a certain people and a certain time. Example, If Hanging for Theft were turned to treble restitution, as in Moses Law, What will become of the middle Shires, the Irishry, and Highlanders? If fundamentally be altered, Who can discern *Meum & tuum*? It would be like the Gregorian Calendar, which destroys the old, and yet this new troubles all the Debts and Accounts of Traffick and Merchandise. Nay, the King avows, by it he knows not his own age, for now his birth-day removes ten days nearer him than it was before that change.

And yet he desires three things to be cleared in the Common Law, and by advice of Parliament.

1. That it were in English: for since it is our Plea against Papists for their language in Gods service, an unknown Tongue, (Moses Law being written in the Fringes of the Priests garments) so our Laws; that excuse of ignorance may not be, for conforming themselves thereunto.

2. Our Common Law is unsettled in the text, grounded upon Custom, or Reports and Cases, called *Responsa Prudentum*: Indeed so are all other Laws (save in Denmark and Norway, where the Letter resolves) the circumstances making variations, that therefore so many Doctors Comments, so many different Opinions; the Judges themselves disclame and recede from the judgment of their Predecessors, the Parliament might set down Acts of Confirmation for all times to come, and so not to depend on uncertain opinions of Judges and Reports; nay, there are contrary Reports and Presidents.

The

The same corruption in the *Acts of Parliaments* (which he called *Cuffing Statutes*) and penned in divers senses, and some penal, which no man can avoid, disagreeing from this our time, yet no tyrannous or avaritious King would endure.

3. For *Prohibitions*, he hath been thought to be an Enemy to them, he wishes that each *Court* might have limits of *Jurisdiction* certain; and then, if encroached upon, *Prohibitions* to issue out of the *Kings Bench* or *Chancery*; and so to keep every River within his proper banks. The abuse and over-flowing of *Prohibitions* brings in most *Moulture* to their own *Mill*.

The *King* had taken it in task, in two or three several Meetings before, and after a large Hearing, he told them, *Ab initio non fuit sic*. And therefore ordered each *Court* to contain themselves within their own bounds. That the *Common Law* be sparing of their *Prohibitions* also, and to grant them,

1. In a lawfull form, but in open *Court* onely.
2. Upon just and mature information of the Cause; for as good have no Sentence, as not Execution.

He instanced in a poor Ministers Case, thereby enforced to forbear his flock, becomes *non-resident*, obtains a Sentence, and expecting the fruit is defrauded by *Prohibition*, like *CHRIST'S Parable*. That night shall his soul be taken from him. Tortured like *Tantalus*, gaping for the Apple, it is pulled away by *Prohibition*. And concludes, with the difference of *true use*, and abounding in abuse, to be considered.

The second general Ground, Grievances are presented in *Parliament* as the *Representative* of the *People*, the highest *Court* of *Justice*, but concerns the *lower House* properly.

The manner, *opportune* in *Parliament* or *inopportune* as private men; but then, not to be greedily sought for, nor taken up in the streets; thereby to shew, that ye would have a shew made of more abuses, than in truth of cause; not to multiply them, as a noise amongst the *People*. So that, at the very beginning of this *Session*, each one multiplied and mustered them, as his *Spleen* pleased.

He therefore thanks them, for that these finding many such Papers, stuf up in a *Sack*, rather like *Pasquils* than *Complaints*, proceeding more from murmuring spirits, they made a publick Bone-fire of them all; a good effect of an ill cause. So to take care to prevent the like; lest the *lower House* become the place for *Pasquils*, and may have such *Papers* cast in, as may contain *Treason* or *Scandal* to the *King* and his *Posterity*, the ancient order was to be openly and avowably presented to the *Speaker* first.

He confesses, that they are just and faithfull to their *Trust*, to be informed of *Grievances*; and acknowledges, that his publick

Prohibitions.

Anno
1609.

2. Grievances
how to pre-
sent them.

Anno

1609.

Not to med-
dle with his
Office.

High Com-
mission.

3. The cause
of calling the
Parliament.

The quality
how to give.

Directions and *Commissions* may be abused in the *Execution*, and he not informed but by *them*.

He advises them, not to meddle with the main points of *Governments*, his craft, *Tractent fabrilis fabri*. He being an old King, fix and thirty years in *Scotland*, and seven years in *England*; and therefore there needs not too many *Phormio's* to teach *Hannibal*; he will not be taught his Office; nor are they to meddle with his ancient Rights received from his *Predecessors*, *More majorum*. All *Novelties* are dangerous.

Lastly, not to call that *Grievance* which is establisht by a settled Law, and to which to press the King is misduty in the *Subject*, knowing before hand he will refuse them. If not convenient, amend it by *Parliament*, but term it not a *Grievance*. To be grieved at the Law, is to be grieved with the King the *Patron* of the Law; and he allows them to distinguish between a fault of the *Person* and the *Things*. For Example.

The *High Commission* is complained of; Try the *abuse* and spare not, but do not destroy the *Court of Commission*, that were to abridg the Kings power. And plainly he resolves; seeing that *Court* is of so high a nature, to restrain it onely to the two *Arch-Bishops*; heretofore common to more. Nor shall any man be to him more *Puritan* to complain, as well out as in *Parliament*, of defects therein, onely, grieve ye not at the *Commission* it self. He desires them, that their *Grievances* favour not of particular mens thoughts, but rather rising out of the peoples mindes; not of the humour of the Propounder; that mans passion will easily discover him. *Petitions* also, though they be general, are so to be distinguished.

The third general Cause concerns himself, which he always leaves hindmost, (and had left it to his *Treasurer*) being distrustfull, naturally less eloquent in his own concernment. That this *Officer* had already accounted to them of the Kings *Harings* and his *Expendings*, which he hopes they acknowledg as a favour, to be particularly acquainted with his *State*. His *Predecessor* seldom afforded the like.

Duty he clames of them; one of the branches being to supply their *Sovereign*; but the quantity and time proceeds from their loves; and therefore disputes not a Kings power, but what, with their good wills; and wishes *them*, as *he*, to avoid extremes; for if they fail in the one (*Supply*) or in the manner of *Levy*, both he and the Countrey shall have cause to blame them.

And as the *secular Nobility* are hereditary *Lords* of *Parliament*, and the *Bishops* live *neuter*, *Barons* of the same, and give but their own; but the *lower House* being the *Representative* of the *Commons*, give for themselves and others, and so may be the more

more liberal: yet if too much, they abuse the *King* and hurt the *People*; which he will never accept; their true love being the greatest security to any wise or just *Prince*.

So they need not the fear of that *Item* by one of their *Members*, *In giving too much to endanger your Throats-cutting when ye came home*. He loves freedom of Gift with discretion. He never laboured for their Voices to that end, detesting to hunt for *Emendicata suffragia*. But then, as not to give him a *Purse* with a *Knife*; So not to excuse and cloak their particular humours, by alleging the *Poverty* of the *People*: To such persons, though he will not be less just, yet not in reason to gratifie them when it may come in their way, to want him.

He heard that it was propounded whether *the Kings wants ought to be relieved or not*? Certainly, though it may seem his particular, yet being *Parens Patriæ*, and tells them his wants; nay, *Patria ipsa*, by him speak^d to them; for if the *King* wants, the *State* wants; and therefore the strengthening of the *King*, is the standing of the *State*; and wo be to him that divides the weal of the one from the other.

And as a rich *King* is but miserable over a poor *People*; so a potent *People* cannot subsist, if their *Kings* means maintains not his *State*, being the sinews of *War* and *Peace*: and it grieves him to crave of others, that was born to be begged of. And if he desires more of them than ever any *King* did, so hath he juster reason than any *King* had.

And in particular, the accession of more *Crowns* in him, so the more honour to *Subjects*, and the more charge.

His fruitfull *Issue*, which God gives him for their use, of great expence; and yet *Queen Elizabeth* notwithstanding her *Orbity*, had more given her than ever any of her *Predecessors*.

The *Creation* of his *Son* draws near, for whom he says no more, the sight of himself speaks to you.

That he hath spent much, but yet not to be spared; the late *Queens* Funeral; the solemnity of *his* and his *Wives* entry in this *Kingdom*; the *Triumph* through the *City*, and his *Coronation*; *Visits* of *Princes* in person; and the *Ambassadors* of most *Potentates* of *Christendom*; could he in honor of the *Kingdom* do less than bid them welcome?

But if they will imbound his *Supplies*, to the case onely of *War*, so upon the point, notwithstanding his intern *Peace*, he is to send supply of *Forces* to *Cleves*, both in respect of *State*, and cause of *Religion*: his *Pensions*, the late *Queens* old *Commanders* of *Berwick*; besides his pretty *Seminary* of *Souldiers* in the *Forts* of this *Kingdom*, and also the cautionary *Towns* of *Flushing* and *Brill*, beyond *Seas*; his uncertain charges in *Ireland*; the last years *Rebellion* brake forth there of extraordinary charge, and a

Anno

1609.

The quantity.

His expences.

Anno

1609.

Reasons for
his liberality.

constant Army, which he dares not diminish, till this Plantation take effect, the great Mote no doubt in the Rebels eyes.

His expence in Liberality (objected) hath been given amongst them, and so what comes from them, returns amongst them. 'Tis true, had I not been liberal to my old Servants *Scottish-men*, you might suspect me ingrate to you my new subjects, and yet assures them, his bounty hath been twice more to *English*. So then to his shame be it, of your house that said, *Your Silver and Gold abounded at Edinburgh*; but I wish him no worse than to be bound to live only upon the interest thereof, and but few of you that I look in the face, but have been *Suitors* for *Honour* and *Profit*. That vastness is past, Christmas and open-tide is ended with him. He had made *Knights* by hundreds, and *Barons* by scores; he does not so now, & will do so no more.

They need not now to reminde him, the sight of his children as a Natural Man, bids him be wary of expence. As for himself, he challenges any one far meaner, to be less inclinable to prodigal humours, of unnecessary things.

What he hath said may move each member to spare him so much as they would spend on a supper, cast away at Dice in a Night, or bestow on a horse for fancy, that may break a Leg or Arm next morning.

Conclusion.

Conclusion, freeness in giving graceth the gift; *Bis dat qui cito dat*; his debts increase till his supply. All eyes of foreign statutes are upon this affair. Either they are unwilling to help him, or his state desperate not to be repaired, or that they part in disgrace with the King, or he in distast with the Parliament, our reputations were bred abroad and at home, the abilities of retribution to Neighbour Princes of good or harm, works much respect. A King contemned brings War, too late then to be supported, things foreseen are soon remedied.

1. Religion

Meddle not with too much business at once, *qui trop embrasse, rien estreint*. And recommends to them necessary things. *Religion*. Papists increase, as if some New plot, the feminine sort so proud that (as men say) they are not to be medled with. It is surer to remove the Materials of fire, then to quench it. *Nam levius ledit quicquid praevidimus ante*. He means not stronger Lawes, but better *Execution*. Nor does blood and too much severity; severe persecution makes but the gallantness of many mens spirits (more than justness of the cause) to take a pride, to die in repute of *Martyrs*.

To clear some obscure doubts in taking the oath of *Allegeance*, who ought to be pressed therewith. Let all Recusants be presented without exception, and brought under the law. To wink at faults is neither *Honor* nor *Mercy*, in a King; but to forgive after Tryal, may be *Mercy*; dividing them in two Rancks,

Anno
1609.

Rancks; Old *Papists*, Queen *Maries Priests*, and those that never drank other, than what they suckt of their Mothers milk. Secondly, Or such as do become Apostates from our Religion upon discontent or idle humour, new form as a new fashion: he pities the first, if good and quiet Subjects and may be civil and conversable. But for the other Apostates, they must expect no favour but Justice, and so that these *Papists* be no longer concealed.

In the *Common-wealth*. He recommends the framing some New statutes for preservatives of Wood, which was the worse liked of you the last Session, because I put you upon it then, so necessary as not to be without it. It concerns their *Esse*; the most Necessary Elements, *Fire* and *Fuell*: Their *Bene Esse*, decay of Wood, decay of Shipping. The security of this land is from the Sea as a wall, and by the Sea, wealth, Out-going and In-coming of commodities. If you will add pleasure *Hawking* and *Hunting*, some of them may be of his minde in that too, and preferre *Game* almost destroyed. He thought them but little, for their last law annent *Partridges* and *Pheasants*, that every Farmer may destroy them in his own ground. So that if my brede fly over the hedg to his close, they are at his pleasure, the onely remedy to cast a Roof ever all my ground, or put his *Verrels* on all *Partridges*, as on his *Hawks*, so to be known by his Army.

The Com-
mon-wealth.

And for their law against stealing of *Dear* or *Conies*. After their tedious discourse and prohibition, they conclude with restriction onely to stealers in the Night, Like the *Lacedemonian* Law against theft, not forbidding it, but to do it cunningly, whereupon the foolish Boy suffered the Fox to gnaw his heart through his breast. Like the lesson of the Canon; *Si non castè, tamen cautè*. Exclaims also against the Gentlemen, that hunt not for sport, but ravenly with *Nets* and *Guns* destroy the *Game*.

And ends as he began, *the mirror of his heart*.

1. Which may be abused with a false light, to mistake or misunderstand him.

2. Not to soil it with foul breath, and unclean hands; not apt to pervert his words, with corrupt affections, like the toll of a Bell to some mens fancying, what it tincketh, that he thinketh.

3. Glas is brittle; if it fall to the ground it breaks; so condemn his heads, is not to conform to him. But he hopes with Gods blessing all things will end well: so farewell.

And for this the Kings good Counsel to his Law-makers, they rewarded him with one Subsidy and one fifteen, which came to one hundred and six thousand, one hundred sixty and six pounds.

These

Anno

1609.

Proclamation
against in-
crease of
buildings a-
bout London.

Truce be-
tween Spain
and the Ne-
therlands.

Siege of Juli-
ers.

These times of plenty intice the Gentry to spend at *London*, where the concourse of people raised the house rents, Prices, Markets, and robbed the Countrey of their commerce in the Neighbourhood of the wealthy House-keepers, for refreshing the poor, & discharging that burthen which it brought upon the Commons (as hath been said.)

To restrain them, another Proclamation forbids all new buildings, within two miles of *London*; This and other the like Inconveniences, not giving leasure to the Parliament to advise upon remedy, the Council-Table took care to rectifie. And therefore hereabouts, began the frequent necessity of publishing Proclamations, which were cunningly carped at, by such as could not endure, that any Commands should come forth, without license of the Lower-house.

And not only now and (heretofore) but from time to time during this Kings Reign, the new buildings increasing in and about *London* were endeavoured to be suppressed, the chief Justice *Popham* and all other succeeding, resolved in opinion, their great Nufance to the whole Kingdom, like the spleen in Man, which in measure as it over-grows, the Body wasts, the Countrey must diminish if the City and Suburbs so increase; not bringing wealth, but misery & furcharge to them and the Court, and therefore at Christmass the Gentry were commanded into their Countrey, to keep Hospitality then and after.

Peace and plenty with us, taught our Neighbours to court their own necessities into a blessing also, and humbled the High-spirited Monarch of *Spain*, to descend to a Treaty for a Truce with his Rebell-Subjects, (held so in former dayes) the United provinces of the *Netherlands*, which in much policie, he soon concluded, not with very religious resolve on either part long to continue, for the Dukedome of *Cleve* descending to nice point of dissention, between two neighbor Princes Pretenders, *Brandneburg* and *Newburg*, The house of *Austria* quarrells his Interest also, and got hold of the strong Town of *Juliers*.

The *French* K. evermore near at hand, to draw back any advance to the swelling greatness of *Spain*, was a ready friend to assist the *Dutch*, who liked no such Neighborhood, and K. *James*, not unwilling to adjoyn his countenance, and forces out of the General Interest of all states, to ballance the over-powring of Neighbor Nations; he being always more ambitious of hindring them, for invading one the other, than under any pretence of Title, or revenge, apt to question or conquer upon any others possession; and all three not staying any further dispute, or delay of a Treaty therein, with a threefold Bond of an Army, besieges the Town, and with little difficulty took it for the right owner.

But

But what other Interest, King *James* had in this quarrel, I know not, unless upon the old score of affection to a kinsman of the *Scots*, and a suffering Prince. The Duke of *Guelders* and *Fuliers*, of whom this Duke was descended, had been ancient and Magnanimous Kings of *Saxonick-frizeland* for many ages. The younger Brothers of that House, had been Kings of *England* for neer 600. years, untill the time of *Edward* the confessor; The first Counts of *Holland*, till *Florus* who was the last, were younger Brothers of that descent. Amongst whom one *William* was the 26. Emperour of *Germany*; The last Kings of *Scotland* by alliance were of the same house of *Egmont*, to wit, the Grand-children of the Lady *Mary* of *Egmont*, daughter to *Arnold* of *Egmont*, Duke of *Guelderland*, which *Mary* was married to *James* the second King of *Scotland*. And the Lady *Margaret* his sister espoused to *Frederick* the second, Count *Palatine*, from whence proceeded *Frederick*, who married the sole daughter of this King *James* the sixth, for whose restauration all *Germany*, and many other large Countries, have suffered very much, in the late years then following.

I may add also the Lady *Philippa* of *Egmont* daughter to *Adolphus* of *Egmont*, Prince of *Guelderland*, married to *Renatus*, Duke of *Lorain*, from whom descended the Dukes of *Lorain*, who assume among their titles (without any Contradiction) the qualities of Dukes of *Guelderland*, *Fuliers*, and *Cleveland*; and that by virtue alone of the Alliance with *Egmont*.

But greatness submits to providence, the remainder of this royall blood is lately Anno. 1654. wholly shut up in the veins of Prince *Lewis* Duke of *Guelders* and *Fuliers*, Count of *Egmont* and *Zutphen*. His great Estate and Revenues relinquishing in the Low Countreys 22. years before his death, and sustained himself only with the means of a petty Sovereignty in *Luke-land* in spite of the *Spaniard* his mortal Enemy, but ranging abroad to seek relief and support against his Tyranny, he died at *Paris* with this Epitaph.

Hic jacet Egmontos, Germano è stemmate Regum.

Cui mors plus peteret, quam sua vita dedit.

Huic etenim Patrios querebat vita ducatus.

At mors nobilior regia sceptrum dedit.

As for the *Netherlands*, It belongs not to me to judge of their duty to *Spain*, nor their division now, whether *Spain* hath injured them: certainly they were disloyal to him. He pretends *Absolute* Sovereignty, They but conditional obedience. But without dispute, *Holland* and *Zeland* belonged to the Lady *Faquelin* of *Henault*, who to save her own life was forced to relinquish her Estate; And *Zutphen* and *Gelders* did

Duke of
Guelders and
Juliers, &c.
his descent, &
last of the race.

The Nether-
lands some-
time subjects
to Spain.

Anno
1610.

Henry the.
fourth King of
France stab'd.

60000 l.

Parliament
dissolved.

Henry created
Prince of
Wales, their
dignities.

of right belong to the Duke *Arnold*, who being Prisoner with the last Duke of *Burgundie*, who died before *Nancie*, that Duke intruded upon his possession, to the prejudice of *Adolph* his son and lawfull Successor, the immediate cause of the quarrell after.

But this siege of *Fuliers* was the last action of that fourth *Henry Le grand* of *France*: for the next year succeeding: he was stab'd with a Jesuits impoysoned knife, as his Coach stopt upon one of the Bridges at *Paris*. In the Junto of time, when he had mustered all his forces, and ransacked together much Treasure for some secret design, which the *Spaniard* feared might fall upon him. And it was suspected for that cause only, that the politick *Spaniards* Interest sent him out of the world farr enough, from prejudice of him, having but lately repayed to this Crown, what had been lent his necessities heretofore by Queen *Elizabeth*, which came unto sixty thousand pounds.

After five Sessions in six years time, the Parliament having wraстled with Sovereignty, which the King moderated by often speaking to them Himself: & yet finding them more willing to dispute, than to comply with his occasions, having on his part steered with all possible judgment, to terms of reconciliation, between his undoubted *Prerogatives*, and their Novell *Privileges*, (as he termed them) which rather increased Arguments, by their so often Meetings; He resolved therefore, to separate their Conjunction, and to adventure on the other way, to do himself right, by his own just reason, not to do the people any wrong, in the lawes of their liberties; and so dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation.

And now was performed, what the King intended last Sessions, to set forth his sonne Prince *Henry* then of the age of fifteen years, now 16. And because he was the first Prince here since *Edward* the sixth, we shall say somewhat of his dignity, the thirteenth Prince of *Wales*.

The Kings eldest sonne & his Apparant in *England*, was styled Prince, *quasi primum locum capiens post Regem*. Priviledg they had to wear Purple Silks and cloth of Gold and Tyssue in his apparell or upon his horse 24. *Henry* the eighth: but King *James* had repealed all lawes and statutes concerning apparel *quarto Jacobi*.

They had purveyance, as the Kings or Queens. He is admitted Maintenance, to give *Signes*, *Liveries*, *Badges* to his Menials, as the King does: but for enormities of that kind, several statutes of former Kings abridged them, untill 12. *Edward* the fourth. He may have as many *Chaplains* as he will.

The King by Common Law may have aid-money of his tenants by *Knights fee*, as of *Soccage*. That is, to make his eldest sonne

sonne *Knight*, and for marriage of her eldest daughter, (He at fifteen years of age, She at seven (saies *Fitz-Harbert*) the sum of money at the Kings pleasure till 25 *Edward* 3. who restrained it, viz. of every *Knights fee*, holden without mean rate 20. shillings of every 20. pounds Land, without mean in *Soccage* 20. shillings, and so *rata pro rata* of lands in *Soccage*, and for lands of the tenure of *Chivalry* according to the quantity.

To compass his death, or violate his wife is Treason, 20. *Henry* the eighth, and before the statute, the ancient common law in that case. He and other the Kings children, *Les Enfants du Roy*, born beyond Seas, shall inherit here.

He had many Priviledges since 12. *Edward*, whose device it was, to draw the *Welch* to acknowledge the Kings Eldest sonne *Edward* of *Carnarvan* to be their Prince. But 27. *Henry* the eighth, there was a general resumption of his priviledges, as to *Pardon Treasons*, *Murther*, *Man-slaughter*, *Felony*; power to make Justices of *Oyre*, *Asfize*, and *Peace*, *Goal-Delivery*, &c. so from thenceforth he had onely *Name* and *Title*, but no other Jurisdiction then should be granted by his letters patents. He is invested with a Garland upon his head, a gold Ring on his finger, and a *Virge* of gold into his hand, to him and his Heirs the Kings of *England* for ever, as Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Chester*, To sit at the right hand of the *Cloth of Estate* in Parliament. He shall not find pledges for prosecution of any Action.

Cook calls him *Omni*, *Nomine*, *Numine*, *Magnus*, by *Destiny*, *Name*, and *Providence* of God the greatest. Yet he is as a Subject, and shall be sued by action, and in token of subjection he bears upon his Arms, the three plumes *arg.* with this old Saxon word *Ich. Dien.* I serve. *Gascon*, chief Justice in the time of *Henry* the fourth, did commit the Prince, who would have taken a prisoner from the Barr in the Kings Bench, which the King justified. So much premised.

The King gave his sonne also the honor of *Knighthood*, to make him capable to dine with the King, and had *Ayd-money* of the people. An ancient Custome from the *Norman Conqueror* and never till now disobeyed with any regret, which indeed came but to twenty one thousand and eight hundred pounds. And together he was also created *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornwall*, *Earl of Chester*, &c. with all possible lustre that the father could express.

But however our *Historian* takes upon him to pry into the Kings Heart, and (though inscrutable) devises a damnable and dangerous jealousy from the father, against the most incomparable Excellent merit of this his first born sonne.

Anno
1610.See before
Knights Ba-
achelors Anno
1603.

Ayd money.

Lords by Piers.

H. Gr. Ba.
p. 52.

When

Anno
1610.

False sugges-
tions to be
impoysoned.

Court, and
ch. of King
James pa. 84.

Hist Gr. Br.
pa. 52.

Nearer Inten-
tion for
Prince Henry
to match with
Spain.

See after anno
1624.

Papists perfe-
cuted by Pens.

[When afterwards the father saw him (saith he) too high mounted] in the peoples love, and of an alluring spirit, to decline his pater-nall affections to him, and bring him to the low condition he fell in, may be the subject of my tears (saies he) not of my pen.

Hic homo erubescit timere Casarem,

Ecce! Behold this Author, *This Man*, *Mecenas* names him, *Hic homo*, *this fellow*, shames not to traduce his Sovereign King, *For he lived his Subject*. And here begins his trayterous intention, to wound the Kings sacred memory, (as much as in him lies) with a suspicion of the death of this excellent *Prince*; which another wretch says, [*was done with Poyson*] but of the truth we shall speak anon, when we treat of his natural death, not long after; yet we are told [*What his fatherly care had been to match him with the Infanta of Spain, but after some Traverses, in a Treaty it was declined*] when in truth it was otherwise to my knowledge, for I can produce the letters from Sir *Dudly Carlton*, then Ambassadour at *Venice*, to the Lord Treasurer *Salisbury*, being an Accompt to the King how to advize the choice of a Wife, from the *Protestant Princes*, wherein after a large Narrative of their Interests and particular Characters; he concludes. *Thus farr I can confidently Counsel his Majestie, seeing his Religious resolution is fixed to Princes of the reformed Churches. But since I have been over-bold to ballance the weight of his Majesties sacred Intentions with my too much freedom, in the concernments of such eminent Princes, and the hazard of my person in the quality I carry here; I beg of your Lordship, not to suffer these Avisoes to see other light, then the light fire.*

And was it likely, (which our *Historian* inferrs a little before) That after the *Powder-Treason*, the Murther of the *French King*, his Majesties speech in Parliament, and the Excellent Acts against *Papists*, he must hunt for a daughter in law from the farthest part of *Christendom*? what his second son *Prince Charles* did after upon the like score, we shall in due time and place observe.

The former passages of *Jesuits*, gave cause to all good Christians, to abhorr their villanies, and set on work the spirits of the pen-men, (such as they were) most sharpe set against them all, that professed the *Romish Religion*, and to work they went on all hands. The *Papists* to palliate such Actions as painted out the *Jesuit* in his devilish likeness. The *Puritan* of the reformed Churches, to pick quarrels with all *Catholicks* alike, and those disputes were spread abroad in several Pamphlets and Pasquells, the *Jesuit* had friends to pay us, *Two for One*.

A zealous Church-man of ours, *Sutcliffe* Doctor of Divinity

nity procures a Patent for erecting a College at Chelsey near Westminster to consist of a Provost and 20. Fellowes, to be chosen by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Universities Vice-Chancelors for the time being; Intentionally for able men in School divinity, to answer and propose against our Grand Adversary Romanists.

The affections of the people were so pregnant to this purpose, that in short time the Doctor had collected their free contributions of seven thousand pounds, whereout he disbursets three thousand pounds, in the building, and buyes land of two hundred pounds rent per annum, with the remainder. And himself becomes the first Provost, and after his death Doctor Featly, Slaughter, and Wilkinson (men of singular learning) successively. So then it was Sutcliffe that sunk his own fortune to raise this fabrick, and not Bancroft the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who died this year, and much abused in his Character by our Chronicler. Nor did the King afford it more countenance, then wisely to give way to mens wilde fancies, especially when it took fire with the Puritan, for himself soon foresaw, that the witty Jesuit would wish no better sport, then to press us to death with printed Pasquells in place of serious controversies; of which yet, (no doubt also) but Bellarmine had more Bookes to spare us, then his own budget full.

Another reason. (for I must be bound to bundle up Arguments; satisfactory to the Reader, in answer of Calumnies throughout the Hystorian, which makes this book thus bigg)

The other cause, The Title of the land, upon which the College is erected, was passed then by Howard Earl of Nottingham for years, at seven pound rent and a fine, when in truth after the Earls death the 12. Jac. It came to light that the interest was in his Widow during her life (and fourty years after) whom the Lord Mouson maries, and as her Administrator sells the interest to Duke Hamilton, whose delinquencie and death, leaves it to this State. And now 1654. disposed for a Garryson or a Prison, untill a good Customer for sale, puts it to better use. So then you see, the crackt title besides, broke the neck of this new College.

We are fallen upon the Kings first favorite, with our Hystorians observation, That as Queen Ann had hers, he had his; she loved the Earl of Pembroke, he the younger brother, whom he created Earl of Mountgomery. Men of Considerable descents, though of no fame in their merits, especially the last, of whom (he says) [the King not finding sutable to his humour, his fancie ran upon another young Gentleman] But the man is mistaken, for though the King was no quareller, yet he hated a Coward, and turned Mountgomery out of his affection, for being switcht by a

mean

Anno

1610.

Chelsey College founded and why?

H. Gr. Br.
pa. 53.The Kings favorite Mount-
gomery.
Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 54.

Anno
1610.

See 1612.
Masks and
Comedies at
Court

H. G. Br.
pa. 54.

Discussed.

mean Gentleman (Ramsey) a Scot, at a publick Horse-race. Though this favorite was urged to revenge, and backt by the *English*, fourty to one to defend him: He basely put it up to his death, and the dishonor of a Gentleman. What his after merits were to his end, let the world judge; he living to full age, and having had his opportunity and choice, to become an honest man.

Indeed the King was never without favorites, but changed them often into one more close and intrinsick, who served the turn for a Notable *Skreen* of envy, between him and his Subjects, upon whom the people (as they never fail) might handsomely bestow complaints, through his Masters faults. So *Carr* succeeded him, and his story followes hereafter.

The splendor of the *King, Queen, Prince, and Princess* with the rest of the royall yssue, the concourse of strangers hither from forein Nations, the multitude of our own people from all parts of our three Kingdoms gave a wonderfull glory to the Court, at this time, the only Theatre of Majesty; Not any way inferior to the most Magnificent in *Christendom*; Prince and people increasing in honor and wealth. And it was prudentiall in state to set it forth, with all moderate additions of *Feasts, Masks, Comedies, Balls* and such like, which our squeazie stomacht Historian (it seems) could never example in any part of his reading, and therefore sets his Gloss of reproach upon the King and them, but very favourably (forsooth) [*as not thereby to provoke himself to stain his innocent paper.*]

I shall not trouble the dispute how farr they were politickly used in the *Romane Common-wealth* and *Monarchy*, how farr tolerable in Christian Kingdoms and States. They are necessary *Mirrors*, wherein mens Actions are reflected to their own view. Indeed some men privy to the ugliness of their own guilt, have been violent, not onely to crack but to break in pieces all those *Looking-glasses*, least their own deformities recoyle, and become eye-sores to themselves.

We were wont to call them *Theatres*, representing in little the *Entrance, Acts* and *Exits* of Man, where we may behold *Language, Manners, and Behaviour* the best; the matter good for Imitation, bad to shun, to teach virtue, reprove vice, and amend manners, tempering the mind for good impressiion, or defect in most of our youth, thrust into devotion without polite manners, forceably taught on the Stage; where virtue is somewhat more seen to a mortall eye, with admiration, not to inforce men (spight of Humanity) to serve God with austerity, not Jubilation.

This *Christall* (fullied by time and malicious reports, not without some shadowes of piety, and counterfeit dress to amuze the world for a truth) hath been cleared up to the view by several

several Pens, though by King *James* at that time, little valued for his own content, unless as *Splendida Nugæ* for the dress of Court-like recreations, but evermore with so much wit as might well become the exercise of an *Academy*. And thus much of playes.

But stay, It is come to my knowledge, that our squeamish Informer was bred up a Poet, frequently a Rymer and Composer of playes, not without exceeding delight in himself to be so styled, though a mean one: but indeed since the reformation of them, the trade fell to decay, and he turned — trot any way to get money. Such another was *A. M.* who whilst he kept within the compass of that *Dialect* did well, and commendably; but turn'd another professor, and ended his daies miserably. He went to Bed, as I am credibly informed, well in health, but disguised with drink, his usual custome, and was found in the morning, his head hung over the Bed-side, his hand leaning on the boards, it seems groveling for breath, being choaked with loathsome blood and flegm, foaming at his mouth, his tongue bleeting out, not able to call for succour of such, as lodged in the next room: so was he drencht, in drink and death.

In this year 1611. was collected a *Contribution of well affected Subjects* called *Loan-money* being lent upon *Privy Seals*, an ordinary use and custome of all former Sovereigns, in time of necessity of their *Prince*, or state affairs and no *New device*, which now amounted unto *One hundred eleven thousand forty and six pounds*, which was repayed back to divers, especially to such as craved satisfaction by money, Defalcation or Composition for other considerations, *Satisfactory*.

There are sundry ways and means to make men rich, and commonly not so concealed, but it happens within the Ken of some acquaintance. But here we had one *Thomas Sutton* meanly born and bred, but some subsistence by marrying a widdow at *Barwick* farr short of wealth. It is rumoured, onely because of some probability, (for other we have none) that he bought a *Fraight* that came thither out of a *Dutch Pirate*, who (it seems) could not stay to make better market; And therein was found concealed Treasure in some Cask: his first advance; which he so increased by Interest and purchases, as having no heir, he designed a pious foundation at *Hallingbury Bowcher* in *Essex*; but afterwards purchased the *Charter-house* near *Smithfield London* of the Earl of *Suffolk*, enriched it with divers dependances of lands and Tenements, for which he paid in hand 13000 l, and procured Letters Patents to erect *The Hospital of King James* founded in the *Charter-house* in the County of *Middlesex*, at the proper cost of *Thomas Sutton Esquire*, for maintenance of eighty decayed Gentlemen Souldiers, a chamber and dyet, and 8. l a piece per-

Our Adversary a Poet and play-maker.

Contribution-money.

111046.1

Suttons Hospital founded.

son

Anno
1611.

Aburd Ex-
communica-
tion and un-
christian in
Scotland.

tion annually and a cloth-Gown in two years, with a free School for Scholars, Chamber Diet and Apparell, to be governed for the present by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Bishops of London and Ely, chief Justice, and Justice Foster, the Attorney general, Dean of Pauls and Worcester, a Master of the Chancery, and four more Gentlemen his familiar friends, and Thomas Brown the first elect Master of the Hospital, and this for ever, and as any Governours die, the Major party to Elect another.

Besides he gave in Legacie so many thousands, as it did astonish all men in those daies, how he came by so much wealth.

Since the Kings absence, the *Papists* were for these last three years much increased in the *North* parts of *Scotland*, and complaints made of the funeral Obsequies of the Lord *Oglevy* and *Gight* after the *Popish* rites. And though (as before remembred) some care had been for reducing the Earls *Huntley*, *Angus*, and *Arroll*. Yet of late *Huntley* returning from *England*, pretends some commands from the King, to mitigate Ecclesiastical proceedings on his behalf, which encouraged the others, and the rest of their Profession, openly contemning the Church Censures. The Assembly therefore had sent petitions to the King, for further authority to suppress these Inconveniences.

The Kings answer was, That *Huntley* had no such warrant from him, but pretending that he had kept all injunctions prescribed him, except that of communicating with the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which the King thought fit for the present, to refer to the Council for time of conforming; but if he did persist, his Majesty would accompt of him as intending the head of a faction, and therefore rather to root him out, than to nourish his follies by a preposterous Toleration. They were therefore confined unto several Cities ten dayes together, there to hear Sermons and admit of conference, and to forbear *Papist-priests* companies, that the sons of *Oglevy* and *Gight* should be committed.

The three
Earls revolt.

This prescription too strickt, the three Earls revolt and therefore an Assembly was called by the Kings Comand, (for so of late they were regulated not to convene of themselves) and the Names of *Papists* inrolled were found Numerous, and *Huntleys* faction in the *North* were of the most. He being cited, appears not nor sends any excuse, and therefore by the Assembly is excommunicated, and the sentence pronounced publick, and no absolution to be given by any offers of his whatsoever, and the like against *Angus*, *Arrol*, and *Semple*. This was too rigorous and unchristian, the Church being open to all *Penitents*.

And truly the inconveniences being examined from that
time

time by the Churches too frequent Excommunicating of many persons fugitives, for Capital Crimes.

The Kings Christian consideration herein, was signified to them by his Commands.

That their Sentences of that kinde were far abused from the first pious policie of institution, for such persons as have been cited before Ecclesiastical judicatures for capital cases, and dare not compeir for fear of Life, are yet excommunicated as Persons contumacious, when onely their fear may excuse their absence, and really cannot be judged Contemners of the Church.

And in truth the Venetian *Padre Paulo* in his *Treatise*, did learnedly confute the *Popes* sentence against him, for not appearing in a Cause of *Heresie*, onely upon his just fear he pretended, and had his Appeal justified by all good Christians, and indifferent men.

So was *Padre Paulo* Popishly excommunicated.

Wee may resemble the *Scots* Courses therein, to the *Muscovites* manner, who if he be offended with any man, commands him to send his head in a *Charger*, even so they, will the offender to come into Court and be hang'd, which no Penitent would do, rather to suffer sentence than to hazard themselves into Presbyters handling, a second Inquisition, and so in truth their Church suffers under scandall and contempt. And accordingly their Assemblies were afterwards reduced to conform to Reformation herein.

The Clergies Arguments somewhat Canonically (if as the Pope they cannot erre) *That the Churches form may not be changed, which terrifies the common Man from their Crimes.* But then let them be answered from the principall end of such Censures (especially Excommunication) which was reclaiming, not confounding of offenders. The principal use having no place, that other *Secondary Ends* ought not to be respected. The case of fugitives; How could the Censure avail to their reclaiming, they being absent from admonition? Men in such a Case truly sorrowfull for their sinne & sentenced, are in truth bound up by the Church whom God hath loosed. But that Church evermore expressed their hot zeal of excommunication by their fire-brand *Execution*, the pretended Sanction of their Sion.

The lustrous ray and beam of Sovereignty, was intrenched upon by the Heir of the *Earl of Eglington* in *Scotland*, being adopted so from him, that had no Successor of birth, or kindred. This man was *Sir Alexander Seaton*, a Cousin German, and with this Proviso by will, *That he and his children should take the Name, and use of the Arms of the House of Mountgomery.* This bold bearing came to the disquisition (I remember) in our Heralds office, of which, *Garter*, principall King of Arms, informs the King as an ill President, for though Noble-

Earl of Eglington illegally adopts an Heir to his Honors.

Arminius &
Vorstius their
Heresies.

Vorstius his
blasphemous
Books.

The Kings
message to the
States.

Arminius.

The States
Answer.

The Reign and Death of

men may dispose of their lands, they cannot alienate their honors from the Sovereign fountain of all honours in his Kingdomes. And so Sir *Alexander* was unlorded, till the Kings grace gave him Creation, some years after the honors of *Eglington* onely.

The King was had in high esteem, to be not onely *Rex pacificus* in temporal affairs, but *Nutricius Ecclesie* in spiritual relations to the Church, yet very tender to meddle in politicks of Neighbour Princes, unless by Envoyes and Ambassies of Brotherly advice. But for the state of the Church Reformed, he was pleased to take upon him *Defensor fidei* with tongue, pen, and sword, if need were.

And therein he gave his reasons for every Christian King to have an Interest, though in *Aliena Republica*.

And in his hunting progress, having met with two Bookes of *Conradus Vorstius*, who had the degree of Doctor of Divinity at *Leyden* in *Holland*, the one *Tractatus Theologicus Deo*, dedicated to the *Landt-grave* of *Hessen*, dated 1610. the other his *Exegesis Apologetica*, dedicated to the States 1611. Upon this latter book, He dispatches commands to Sir *Ralph Winwood* his *Ambassador Lieger*, and *Counsellor* in the *Counsel of State* in those Countries, in his Name to declare to the *States General*, Not onely his Majesties high resentment of the Monstrous *Blasphemies* and horrid *Atheism* therein, worthy to be burnt, and the Author punished; but also his infinite displeasure, to have him succeed *Arminius* (such another Monster lately dead) *Divinity Reader* in that *University*. And though he hath recanted his former *Atheisticall* opinions; it was too slender Satisfaction, for so foul an Enemy to the *Essence* of the *Deity*.

The *States General* in answer, do most humbly acknowledg his Majesties Princely assistance untill this time for preservation of their bodies, rights and liberties, against their powerfull Enemy, introducing the *Inquisition* and constraint of their consciences in matters of Religion. That the *Curators* of the *University of Leyden*, by custome of that foundation, have the charge to settle that *Lecture*, and did elect, and send for *Vorstius* in Anno 1610. from *Steinfeld* a Town of the County of *Tecklenburgh* (the first that cast off the yoke of *Papacy* in *Germany*, and so continue) where he was Professor fifteen years, and for Learning much admired by Prince *Maurice Landt-grave* of *Hessen*, as worthy of preferment in any *University* in his Countrey.

And their Message was seconded from his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, and the State of *Holland* in his behalf, who notwithstanding had opposition by some; against whom and all others accusers, he challenged the dispute, but they never appeared.

The

The next Moneth six Ministers accused him of false and unsound doctrine, and disputed it with him, before the Curators and six other Ministers, in full Assembly of the States of *Holland*, who all of them adjudged the Election lawfull, and the man full of merit.

The next Moneth after that, Certain Articles came over thither and dispersed in printed Pamphlets, to which publick declarations were made by the States; that *Vorstius* should be ready to answer the intention of the States, being to permit no Professors, but according to the Religion reformed and grounded on Gods word, and that if his Majestie were well informed, he would in his high wisdom, prudence, and benignity conceive favourably of their proceedings, they being confident that this business is managed with all due reverence, to his Majesties serious admonition, as becometh them, 1 Octob. 1611.

In the time of these Transactions, *Vorstius* gives ayme for his Bookes to be brought hither; accompanied with an other *De Apostasia sanctorum*, and a Letter of the Author *Vorstius* to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, avowing the doctrine therein to agree with the Church of *England*, and so that Book intended to fire the next Neighbours with this fuell (*Non solum paries proximus jam ardebat*) was, by order, publickly burnt at *Pauls-Cross* and both *Universities*.

The King continuing the Hunt to *Unkenell* this Fox, writes himself to the States, That notwithstanding his Ambassadors propositions, They proceed to provide a place for that Corrupted Person, and with Protection and License to print his *Apologie* dedicated to the States, impudently maintaining those former Execrable *Blasphemies*; forewarning them of the corrupt seed, of the late *Arminius* that Enemie of God, and of both their Infections, dividing their Countrey-men into factions so opposite to Unity, as must needs bring them to ruine; Remembers them of his forewarnings, by the effects since of *Arminius* his tenents, & their distractions bred from thence, shews them the impudency of one of his Secretaries, *Vorstius* his Book and Letter. If these be not motives, he prophesies the rent of their Nation, the curse of God, and Infamy to our Religion, wishes to have *Vorstius* suffer the fire, least his poyson which denies the Eternity and Omnipotence of God, should invenome their youth, corrupt their souls, and hazard the safety of their State; And threatens them if they fail in his Councils, he will be forced to protest and separate from the Union of their Churches. *Westminster* 6 October 1611.

The States notwithstanding hasten their own resolutions, and *Vorstius* was settled in the *Chair* of Professor, nor did these Letters cool their affections, which heightned Sir *Ralph Winwood* to make this remonstrance, viz.

Anno
1611.

Further accusations.

And proceedings therein.

Bookes of
Vorstius Heresies.

The King
writes again
against them
all.

Vorstius is
preferred Professor
of Divinity.

Anno
1611.

Sir R. Win-
woods speech
concerning
Vorstius.

His Tenents

Pag. 210,

212.

232.

237.

308.

441.

271.

Pa. 38.

43.
Cap. 16.

Pa. 999.

My Lords, if ever the King of *Great Britain* his Master, hath merited of the states (with great favours and royall assistances themselves with all gratitudes have acknowledged), surely then in these his letters of zeal & piety for establishing that Religion onely within their Provinces, which *England, France, Germany* have mutually embraced, not regarding otherwise the Persons or Profession of *Vorstius* or Heresies of *Arminius*, but as by them Religion to be sophisticated or dipraved by the schismes of *Arminius*, or the fancie of *Vorstius*, new devised sects of several pieces of all sorts of Heresies, ancient and modern, and these are they.

Out of his Annotations.

That God hath a Body, so as we take a Body in the Largest sence.

They therefore speak not circumspectly enough who say that God is altogether as unchangeable in his will, as he is in his Essence. We cannot read, That the substance of God is simply immense, nay quite contrary.

No Magnitude is actually infinite, and therefore God is not.

That every event of things were precisely set down from eternity, there needed not then that continual inspection and procuration, which nevertheless is every where attributed to God.

They who teach, That there is in God Universal knowledg in genere answer more fully, but so as they likewise confess, that there be more causes of Certainty, in the visions of things present, then in the vision of things future contingent.

All things which he hath decreed & determined Uno modo & actu, he doth after such his determination exactly know them; But this cannot be confirmed of all and every other thing, which are or come to pass being considered severally and by themselves, because they have their existence, not onely successively in time, but also contingently and oft-times conditionally.

Out of his Apologie.

That the Father hath a certain peculiar being, or as it were all im-mitted and bounded essence.

That there are really certain internall accidents in God, in the very fore-electing mind and will of God.

In the sixteenth chap. He dissents from the received opinions of Divines, concerning the Ubiquity of Gods presence.

In the nineteenth chap. He attributes to God magnitude and quantity.

These being in part his opinions, whom they had chosen in the Chair at Leyden, he conjures them to beware, Ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat, The disciples of Socinius seek him for

Anno
1610.

for their Master. He is a bird of their own feather, let him go, *Et dignum sane patella Operculum*, and your own Students at *Leyden* 56. of them by their Remonstrance but the last year to the *States of Holland*, besought not to be compelled to receive him, who is convinced of his Errors, by the Divinity Colleges at *Basil* and *Heydelburgh*, by evidence out of his own writings.

These reasons with the general petitions of all *Ministers*, (except of *Arminius*) may no doubt prevail.

And withall he tells them, that his Majesty moves them to set down some certain *Reglement in Religion*, to restrain licentious disputations, and absolutely to depress the liberty of prophesying, so much recommended by *Vorstius* in his *Epistle to the States*, of his *Anti-Bellarmino*, so much boasted of.

And remembring them of their *Valiances* in defence of their liberties of *Consciences* for forty years wars, they would not now make their actions Example for the Sect of *Arminius*; to proclame that wicked doctrine of *Apostacy of Saints*.

And concludes that *Religion* is the Soder of Amity between his Majesty and Them; wherein if they grow cold, their friendships will freeze.

Conclusion,

After six weeks delay, though prosecuted for an Answer, they tel him, *How they have deliberated upon all former passages, and thank his Majesty for his affection to their Countrey and preservation of the Reformed Religion, and did thereupon order, That Vorstius should not be admitted, nor is but as an Inhabitant; and unless he can clear his accusations, The States of Holland and West freeze-land before February next, (the time of their meeting) would then decide the difference.*

And thus much was all what could be done, in respect of inconvenience and distast to the principal *Towns* of those *Provinces*.

This being all, and in effect worse then nothing, *Winwood* resolves to *Protest*, and did in their publick Assembly.

And Protestation.

He begins (like the *Advocates in France*, with a *Latin Sentence out of the Scripture*.) *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, argue eum inter te; si audiverit te, &c. si non adhiberit tui atque alterum, &c. si non eos; dic Ecclesiæ*, and so recounting the Kings favours to them, the whole matter of *Vorstius* and the proceedings thereupon, concludes for those reasons he does in his Majesties Name, protest against the receiving and retaining of *Vorstius*, and against the violence offered unto the Alliance, betwixt the King and Them; founded on the *Reformed Religion* which they have violated, of which his Majesty is so sensible, if reparation be not speedily made, as his Majesty will further declare to the world in print.

States Answer.

To this they Answer, That however his Majesty hath not

as

Anno
1611.

The Kings
Declaration
against Vor-
stius.

See more in
the Kings
works.

And against
his Bookes.

Legat and
Whithman
burnt for He-
resie.

as yet received contentment in the business of *Vorstius*, as he might expect, but at the Assembly in *February* next, his Majesty shall receive entire satisfaction.

The time come, and the Assembly continuing their settlement of *Vorstius*, the King imprints a *Declaration*, giving his reasons very learned in many particulars, why he engaged *In aliena Republica*.

The glory of God, *The Christian charity* to his Neighbours and Allies, especially towards the Household of faith, *The impoysoning of their youth*, Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu; and the *Apostle Saint John*, in that respect, *Ne dicas illi Ave*; and answers all objections and excuses for *Vorstius*, with this *Maxime*, that even in doubtfull questions, Men are naturally inclined to choose the evill, and leave the good, as *Du Bartas* saies of the destruction of *Sodom*.

*De peur qu'en Offensant des saints l'oreille tendre,
Je ne les semble plus enseigner, que reprendre.*

For fear of offending good peoples Eare,
I rather teach then wish them forbear.

Then the King falls upon his Bookes, especially *His modest Christian answer*, and first in his *Preface* it is observed, how in love he is with himself and his Nick-Name, *Purus putus Evangelicus*, a mainly pure Gospeller: and indeed the ancient *Hereticks* called themselves *Catharoi*; and another Sect, the *Anabaptists*, *Puritans*; from whence all our *Præcisians* in these latter times, who fancying to refuse conformity, with the orders of our Church, borrow that Name: and *Gospeller* is assumed by many, yet more usual in *Hungary* and *Boheme*, where are infinites of Sects, agreeing onely in Unity, against the Pope.

As for this *Book*, His *Arguments* are either sophistical or frivolous, abusing the fathers: and he extracts divers questions thereout, thirteen in Number, with his resolve on them.

Wherein the King notes the others cunning to maintain them: and how he easily proves *Quidlibet à quolibet*, (as the old *Hereticks Arius* and *Samosatenus* usually did) and so leaves all to Gods will, and the States discretion, as they will answer it before God. And though *Vorstius* died not long after, his tenents increased to a high distemper in that State. But what the King desired to suppress in this Man, gave example for him to punish in others under his own power: and therefore in this year came to the Stake a Couple, the most damnable *Hereticks*; *Edward Whithman* burned at *Lichfield*; and *Bartholomew Legat* in *Smithfield London*, somewhat applying to the *Ranters* of these our times 1654. *Legat* held these opinions.

That

That the Creeds Nicene and Athanasius, do not contain the true Christian faith.

That Christ is begotten and made.

That there are no Persons in the God-head. That Christ was not God from everlasting, but began to be God when he took flesh of the Virgin Mary. That the World was not made by Christ. That the Apostles teach Christ to be man onely. That there is no generation of God but of Creatures. That this Assertion, God to be made Man, is contrary to the rule of faith, and monstrous Blasphemy. That Christ was not before the fullness of Time, except by promise. That Christ was not God, otherwise then an Anointed God. That Christ was not in the form of God, equall with God, that is, in substance of God, but in righteousness and giving salvation. That Christ is not to be prayed unto.

Whitemans Opinions were in effect these, come of Ebionites, Cerinthians, Valentinians, Arians, Macedonians, Simon Magus, Manes, Manichee, Photinus, and Anabaptists, and of other Heretical, Execrable and unheard of opinions.

Whitemans Heresies.

That there is not the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Deity. That Christ is not the true Natural sonne of God, perfect God of the same substance, Eternity and Majesty with the Father in respect of his God-head. That Christ is onely Man and a meer creature, and not God and Man in one Person. That Christ took not humane flesh of the substance of the Virgin. That, that promise, the seed of the woman shall break the Serpents head, was not fulfilled in Christ, &c. And that God had ordained him, the said Whiteman, to perform his part in the work of the salvation of the world. These and the rest were written, subscribed, and by him delivered to the King 9. Martii 1611.

*Thus in those times Hereticks took some pains to preferre themselves to the Diuel. But now a days we sport our souls away; Amongst many strange Ones, I wonder most at this meriment of the Adamites. Picardus was the first that possesst silly people, with the perfect State of Adam, placed them in an Island for that purpose which he called Paradise, caused them to walk naked, and called them Adamites. Horrible sins were committed by them under that pretence, promiscuous whoredoms, and Incest at their Service; and when their Saint-Minister pronounceth the word *Crescite et Multiplicamini et replete terram*, the lights are suddenly extinct, and without any respect to Alliance or kindred, they mingle like brute beasts; and their wickedness wearied, the lights are tinded, and they returned to their service. But now with more Infamy their Innocencie will be lighted; they spare not openly to act in the face of Heaven at Noon-day.*

Adamites Incests.

I know Our Adversaries the Romanists, lodge this device

upon

Waldenses vin'icard.

Anno
1612.

upon the ancient *Waldenses*, poor harmless souls havocked by the Armies of the Military, mercyleſs *Papiſts*, *Adamites*, ſays One, that went naked (an affront to Nature) Indeed poor men rather *Nudati* than *Nudi*, forced thereto by the Popes *Legate*, who at taking of *Cariſſone* in *France* (whither theſe people ſwarmed) granted them Life on condition that the *Males* and *Females* ſhould paſs by his Army *ſtark naked*.

I may be cen-
ſured by ſome.

I may be cenſured by ſome, how unuſefull it might be to imprint to the publick theſe damnable opinions: but in that I may be juſtified by Examples of the Fathers mentioning ſuch *Herēſies*, and of *Councils* and *Declarations* from time to time, againſt ſuch *Tenents*.

Robert Carr
a favorite.

The next *Favorite* [a new-come young Man] was *Robert Carr* a *Scotiſh-man* of no Eminencie, But a Gentleman by his bearing *Gules*, on a *Chevron Arg*; 3. *Mullets*, *Sable*; in the *dexter point of the Eſcocheon*, a *Lion*, *paſſant gardant Or*. And yet himſelf remembred the King in his Letters (hereafter his fall) of his Anceſtors merit (of which truly I have not read.) This Man had been Page of honour to the King in *Scotland*, and ſo may be the firſt and laſt original Actor on the Theatre of his family. The beginner as an excellent workman in bringing his Toolles and making his Materials; but his own Ruine by baſely degenerating from what his Maſter had made him in ſhort time, giving end to the ſtructure.

In truth he became the firſt Favorite, That is one whom the King fancied meerly for his faſhion; upon no other ſcore: and it was enough for the preſent, his Maſters ſufficiencies needed no other inſtructions, onely to chooſe him apt for impreſſive Marks of honour, better becomes the Sovereigns Creation, than to be made ſo to his hand.

Hiſt. Gr Br.
pt. 55.

And therefore after Knighthood he was ſoon Baron of *Brandſpeeck*, Viſcount *Rochefter*, and had the Garter to boot. And we are told [the King took much pains to teach him *Latine*, as a moſt needfull Improvement unto a capability of his affecti- ons] but this his opinion ſents more of a Poet, than a Courti- er.

[And ſo mounted by the wings of Love more than merit (he ſays) the Earl of *Salisbury*, Treasuſer, caſts many Miſts to damp his paſſage] and tells the old wives tale [of 1000l. a gift to the *Viſcount*, which was ſpread upon a Table in Silver, and the King invited thither, which Maſs of money ſo amazed his Maſteſty, that the half thereof was concluded too much for any Man.]

Queen Mary
of Scotland
her corps in-
terred at Weſt-
miniſter Anno
1586.

Amongſt theſe paſſages [of fancie] in the King, he forgot not that of fame, for his Mother, what ſhe had been and where interred enough hath been ſaid, but not ſufficient for him to do

do untill he had removed her Corps from *Peterborough*, (where she had been buried) and brought her with all solemn magnificence into a statelier Tomb at *Westminster*, which could not well become his Predecessor to admit, though (perhaps) repenting the stain of her honour and sex in the Act of her execution, but left it (a piaculous Act no doubt) for her own son to perform, who yet in this has his bane from the Author, [that for all his anger at her death, his clamour was closed up with a large Pension from *Queen Elizabeth*] and *Patrick Grey* his Ambassador to implore for his Mothers life is now belyed in his grave, [as the greatest Instrument to hasten her death] with a Label in his mouth of the writers own devising.

Hist Gr. Br.
pa. 62.

Mortua non Mordet.

The King mindefull of matching his only daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, had made several overtures the year before, amongst the Protestant Princes of *Germany*. And for the better, fixed upon *Frederick* Prince Elector *Palatine*, who at this time came hither to consummate the Marriage.

Prince Palatine a suitor to Princess Elizabeth.

But in the midst of his wooing he was accompanied with mourning, by the death of Prince *Henry*. Of him somewhat more must be said, Not that his Excellent merits needs other Memory, than publick fame, and of us silence of the grave. Yet we must ravel into his disease ere we come to vindicate his death which an Author basely labors to lode his father with, & that [by impoysoning.]

Prince Henryes sickness and death vindicated.

Prince *Henry* was born at *Sterling* Castle in *Scotland*, February 1594. the first son to King *James* & Queen *Anne*.

Hist Gr. Br.
pa. 72.

His breeding apted his excellent inclination to all exercises of Honour, and Arts of knowledg which gave him fame, the most exquisite hopefull Prince in *Christendom*.

In the nineteenth year of his age appeared the first symptome of change, from a full round face, pleasant disposition, to be paler and sharp, more sad and retyred, often complaining of a giddy heavyness in his fore-head, which was somewhat eased by usual bleeding at the Nose, and that suddenly stopping was his first distemper.

He retyred to his Palace at *Richmond* pleasantly seated by the *River Thames*, (though now destroyed into rubbish) which invited him to learn to swim in the Evening after a full supper, the first immediate pernicious cause of stopping that gentle flux of blood, and so putrifying might ingender his fatal Feaver.

He used violent exercises: for at this time he rode to meet the King at *Bever* in *Lincolnshire* in two days, near a hundred miles, in extremity of *Summer*.

E e e

There

The Reign and Death of

There and at other places all that progress he accustomed to feasting, Hunting, Balloon, and Tennis, with too much violence. And now returned to *Richmond*, in the fall of the leaf he complained afresh of the pain in his head inclining to feverish, and then, for the rareness thereof, called the new disease.

The tenth of *October* he took his Chamber, and began Counsel with his Physician Doctor *Hammond*, three days after he fell into a Looseness, fifteen times in a day.

Then removes to *London* to Saint *James* his Palace, contrary to all advice, allowing himself too much liberty in a great match at Tennis in his shirt, with the *Palsgrave* and Count *Henry* of *Nassau*, lately come over upon fame to see him.

And on *Sunday* the 25. of *October* fell into sudden sickness, fainting with heat and head-ach, that left him not whilst he had life, takes his bed in great drought and little rest.

The next day increasing, high Pulse, ill Urine, Doctor *Mayern* prescribes him a Glister, after which he rose and very cheery, but lookt Pale, dead sunk eyes, and great drought, and therefore *Mayern* and *Nasmyth* advised to let him blood, but the other Physicians disagreeing, it was unhappily deferred.

The fourth day of his sickness, comes Doctor *Butler* that famous Man of *Cambridge*, he approved of what had been done, consented to what should be given to him, and hopes of Recovery.

This Evening two Hours after sun, set, appeared a *Lunar Rainbow*, directly over the House, which was held Ominous.

The six and seven days increasing his Disease.

The eighth, the Physicians bleed the *Median* of his right Arm eight ounces, thin and putrid: after which he found ease, and was visited by the King, Queen, Duke, *Palsgrave*, and Sister.

The ninth worse than before, Doctor *Atkins* assisted their opinions, That his disease was a *Corrupt putrid fever seated under the Liver in the first passage, the Malignity by reason of the putrefaction (in the highest degree) was venomous.*

The tenth, increasing Convulsions and Feavers, *Mayern* advised more bleeding, but the rest would not; applying *Picheons* and *Cupping-Glasses* to mitigate the pain.

The eleventh small hopes, His Chaplains continuing daily devotions with him, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Doctor *Melburn* Dean of *Rochester*, with whom the Prince daily prayed.

The twelfth no hope, The King with excessive grief removes to *Kensington* house: All imaginable helps, Cordials, Diaphoretick, and quintessential spirits, and a water from Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Tower, all these by consent, administered without

Lunary
Rainbow.

And so he died at eight a clock that night *Fryday* the sixth of *November* 1612.

The Corps laid out, the fairest dearest and well proportioned, without any spot or blemish.

The next day, solemnly appointed for Imbowelling the Corps, in presence of some of the Council, all Physicians, Chirurgions, Apothecary, and the Palsgraves Physician. And here follows the very Coppy of their view under their Hands.

The Skinn blackish, but no way spotted with blackness or pale marks, much less purpled like flee bites could shew any Contagion, or pestilentiall venome. His Kidnies, Hips, and Thighs full of redness, his Belly (because his continual lying upon his back) swollen.

The Stomack whole and handsome without any taint.

The Liver marked with small spots above, and small lines below. The Gall-Bladder full of wind, The Spleen blackish fil'd with black blood, The Kidnies without blemmish.

The Midrise under the Film or Membrane, containing the Heart spotted with black redish colour by reason of brnsing.

The Lungs blackish, with spots full of adust blood, corrupt and thick, they concluded an extream heat, the Throat and Tongue covered with blackness which was cleft and dry.

The hinder Veins (Piamater) swoln, aboumdance of blood more than naturall.

The substance of the brain fair and clear, the other parts by reason of the convulsions, resoundings, bennumings, and of fullness, choaking the Natural heat and destroying the Vitalls by their Malignity, have conveyed him to the Grave without any token or accident of poyson.

In quorum fidem presentem relationem manu propria subsignavimus septimo die Novembris.

{ Mayern,	{ Palmer,
{ Atkins,	{ Gifford,
{ Hamond,	{ Butler,

It is added, that his admirable patience in his sickness might deceive his Physicians, never dreaming danger. His Urine shew'd none, but the state of his grief lay closely rooted in his head.

He dyed in the rage of a Malicious Extraordinary burning Fever.

And was Interred at Westminster 1612.

His Motto's, *Pax mentis, Honestæ gloria.*

Furvat Ire per altum.

Hee was comely tall, five foot eight Inches high, strong and

Anno
1612.

His Corps
viewed.

Interred at
Westminster.

His character.

Anno

1612.

well made, broad shouldred, a small waist, amiable with Majesty, Aborn Hair, long faced, broad forehead, a peircing grave Eye, a gracious smile, but with a frown, daunting.

Courteous and affable, naturally shamefast and modest, patient and slow to anger, mercifull and judicious, secret of any trust, even from his youth. His courage Princelike, fearless, noble, and undaunted; Saying, that nothing should be impossible to him, which had been done by another; Religious and Christian.

He was never heard to swear an Oath; and it was remembered at his funeral Sermon by the *Arch-bishop*, that he being commended by one for not replying with passion in play, or swearing to the truth, he should answer, that he knew no game or value to be wonne or lost could be worth an Oath.

To say no more, such and so many were his virtues, that they covered the semblance of sin.

But think what we will, one that sucks venome says [he was anatomized to amuse the world, and to clear the impoyson as a Court trick to dawb it over.] We are like to have much truth from such a prejudicate Pen-Man.

The Prince *Palatine* and *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* (by a Deputy) were installed Knights of the Garter this *Christmas*. And in *February* following the Marriage with the Prince's *Elizabeth*, was solemnized with all pomp and glory, together with the peoples hearty affections, expressed in their *Ayd-mony* (Contribution he calls it) for her Marriage, which is a due debt or ancient Custome, and no [absolute thing] whether or no that [the obedience of the subject had been ripe (or rotten) thereto] and it came to twenty thousand and five hundred pounds.

And in *Aprill* after he returns with his Bride through the *Netherlands* to his own principall City *Heidelbergh* in the *Palatinate*, from whence his finite miserable banishment took beginning in *Anno 1613*.

A *Scotish* Baron one *Sanquair* having waisted his own, pieced up his *Patrimony* by marriage with another, an heir in *England*; and having worn out hers also, with the death of his Lady, He seekes to save the poor remain, by sparing it abroad, a Custome of Gallants taken up to save their credit, which (they say) *Par-simony* disparages, unless from home in forein soil, and ere he went over, His fate was to try mastery, with *Turner* a Master of defence in his own Art, wherein *Sanquair* had much of knowledg, but more of opinion.

Turner was the most of skill in that Profession, whom the *Baron* challenges at three hits, and inforced upon him the first of three, with over-much conceipt and clamour of his Scots companions to over-Master the best in *England*, and him in his own

False suspicion
of poyson.

Hist. Gr. Br.
pa. 64.

Prince Pala-
tine married to
Princes Eli-
zabeth.

pa. 65.

Sanquair a
Scotish Baron
hanged for
murther.

Anno
1612.

own Schoole too in the face of some Schollars; an affront to all. The man sensible of his credit more than conscience, in Malice to do mischief, opened his Body to the advantage of his Adversary, who too neer pressing it home, *Turner* takes it on his Brest, being sure thereby to pop *Sanguire* in the eye, so deadly, that he dasht it out. The Baron guessed at this evil hap by his own Intention, to have done worse himself. But by *Turners* regret of this mischance, they parted, patience perforce.

At *Paris* the King pittied his loss, a great defect to a handsome gallant, and asked him why the man dyed not that did it. This *Item* the Divell so drove into his fancie, that hastily brings him home again, where he hired two of his own kindred, *Grey* and *Carliel* to kill him, which they did basely, by a brace of Bullets in his own House *White-Fryers*, And all three got time to fly. The one taken in *Scotland*, the other on Ship-board, and the *Barons* head praysed at a thousand pounds, he fearing thereby to be forced into Justice, thought it safer to throw himself into the hands of Mercy, by presenting it; and so represented by the Bishop of *Canterbury*, he might appear an object of pitty. But the wound was universall, and the blood-shed not to be wiped off, but by his death ignoble as his Act, the Halter; equall guilt had even punishment, all the three Gallows.

Some difficulty there was, how to proceed with the *Baron*, who first came in, for *Carlile* and *Grey* being Principals, and not as yet convict, the Law could not proceed to the Tryall of *Sanguair* being but Accessary. But then the other two flying, they were out-lawed, and so aptainted of felony, and then the Accessary was tryed: for there are but three kinds of Attainder, by *Outlary*, *Verdict* or *Confession*. See after in the case of *Weston* for impoysoning of *Overbury*, who stood Mute sometime; that while, the Accessaries could not be convict Anno 1615.

The next *Moneth* brings to the Grave that excellent States-Man Treasurer Cecil Earl of *Salisbury*. He was descended from the *Sitsilts* in *Hartfordshire* (*Vorstegan* saies, from *Cecilii* the Romanes) they suffered some persecutions in the time of *Henry* the eight and *Queen Mary*. His father *William* came into favour by *Edward* the sixth, who gave him *Knighthood*, and took him to his Counsell and in the Office of Secretary of State, but in some obscurity afterwards under his Sister *Mary*, was restored again by *Queen Elizabeth* in the same trust, so soon as she was settled in her *Crown*, and by degrees increales him to honour; First *Baron* of *Burleigh*, Then Lord Treasurer and Knight of the *Garter*, he died *Chancelor* of the *University* of *Cambridge* Anno 1598. and was intombed at *Stanford*, Leaving two sonnes. The Elder *Thomas* then Lord President of the *North*, and by King *James* created Earl of *Excester*, and privy Counsellor of State. He

Treasurer
Salisbury
dies.

His Fathers
descent,

And prefer-
ments.

Anno

1612.

Earl of Salis-
buries prefer-
ments.

He died some years after, discreet and honourable, whom the world could never tax with any taint.

This other sonne *Robert* was a true inheritor of his fathers wisdom, and by him trained up to the future perfections of a judicious States-man.

After his *Knighthood* by *Queen Elizabeth*, the first employment from Court (for he was not at all bred out of it) sent him Assistant with the Earl of *Derby*, Ambassadour to the *French King*. At his return she took him second Secretary with Sir *Francis Walsingham*, after whose disease he continued principal, and so kept it to his death, Not relinquishing any preferment, for the addition of a greater; A remarkable note, which few men of the *Gown* could boast off. His father liv'd to see him thus far settled in these preferments, and afterwards Master of the *Wards* and *Liveries*.

These he held to the *Queens* death, being in all her time used amongst the men of weight, as having great sufficiencies from his father who begat them also.

Those offices here in publick, with perpetual Correspondence by *Emissaries* of his own, made him capable of reception with *King James*, who was advised by him, how to be received of his people: His merits certainly appeared to his Master, that added to his former preferments, even to the day of his death, as first *Baron Effenden*, *Viscount Cranburn* and after Earl of *Salisbury*, Knight of the *Garter*, and *Lord Treasurer* of *England*.

His Merits.

It behooved the King to bestow on him the weight of that staff, the Coffer then in some want, which was not likely soon to recover, but to increase debt, by the charge of a treble Court of King, Queen and Children, and therefore many ways were devised to advance the Revenue, particularly in that of honor for *Knights*, *Baronets*, which was not this Earls only design [as some will have it] Nor of *Somerset* hereafter [as another saies;] But it was began a little before this Lords death, as will follow hereafter.

Court and ch.
King James
pa. 12, 13.Hist. Gr. Br.
pa. 76.

I know what some have surmized, to prejudice his Memory if it were possible, who with little pains may be sufficiently vindicated, and his Merits amply related; being of somewhat concernment to me, to speak my own knowledg, again, to enlighten the dark shadows that always wait on shining merit.

But all his care and pains not able to fill the Coffers, so much exhausted, and the Estate in a Retrograde consumption, He did before his death (not usual with Courtiers) present his Patent of Master of *Wards* at the Kings feet, and so the whole benefit became the profit of the Crown.

Court of
Wards how e-
rected and e-
stablished.

By former constitutions of this Realm, all the Lands of this Nation

Court of
Wards how
erected and
established.

Nation, held by two Tenures by soccage or by Knights service by the *Plough* to free us, or by the sword to defend us, and who so died, leaving an *Heir* within age, unable to do this Service, his *Heir* and Lands fell both to the protection of the Sovereign. And this in antient time was promiscuously carried in the Court of *Chancery*, untill the middle of *Henry 8.* when this Court of Wards was first erected. Since which time the Masters thereof, by favour of the Sovereign, did accustome (as a bounty of State) to grant unto Noblemen, the Kings Servants, and their own followers, both the marriage of the body, and the Lease of the Lands, for a third penny, of their true value; which also in several relations, by frequent *Orders* and *Declarations* of that Court in print, have been altered and changed, till now of late the whole Court and quality thereof is absolutely dissolved as a grievance too burthensome, for a free State and people, *anno 1648.*

He indured some time of sickness and died in his return from the *Bath*, at *Saint Margarets*, at Master *Daniels* house in *May*, 1612. and was entombed at his Mannour of *Hatfield* a princely seat in *Hertfordshire*.

His death opened the doors for the King to dispose his Place of profit, the *Treasurership* upon the E. of *Suffolk*, whose office of Lord Chamberlain fell to the Favourite *Viscount Rochester*; the Wards to Sir *Walter Cope*, who lived not long to enjoy it, being of weak constitution, carefull and painfull in his duty, of great experience in the affairs of Court and State, bred up first under *Burleigh*, and at his death delivered up to his son Sir *Robert Cecil*, with whom he continued the most exact Confident and counsellour to the end of his days.

And the Favorite also was made Secretary of State, belike for some suddain improvement of his *Latine* Tongue, which his Master is said to teach him.

His Confident was one *Thomas Overbury*, a man of good parts, a Student of *Lincolns Inn*, lately returned from Travell; besides, it was *Carr's* first principle (and no mean one) to please the *English*, by entertaining them his Domesticks; for having not many Kindred or Friends to lean upon, he might be forced to stand upon his own strength, and the kindness of strangers.

This *Overbury*, had most strickt friendships with *Carr*, lately created *Viscount Rochester*) and therefore soon knighted; and if we may credit his own vaunt, (being indeed insolent) he would brag, that the *Viscounts* advance in business of Court, and Secrecies of State, proceeded from him, which he managed, and made common.

And the knowledg of this coming to the *King*, he tenderly blamed

His Offices
disposed to
others.
Suffolk Lord
Treasurer,
Rochester
Chamberlain,
Sir *W. Cope*
Master of the
Wards,
and the Fa-
vourite made
Secretary.

Sir *T. Over-*
bury his story.

A Friend to
Rochester.

Anno

1612.

Design'd
Ambassadour,Refuses to
go.The King
wants money.Sir Arthur
Ingram.Court and
Ch. pag. 87.

blamed his *Favourite*, for such freedom in his *Masters* affairs. This advice made him less communicable in those *Mysteries*, which *Overbury* took ill, and with scornfull resentment told *Rochester*, that indeed he deserved to be better employed than to attend as his *Tutor*.

And therefore he desired to have the *Honour* and *Preferment* of an *Ambassy* Leiger then intended abroad, as best fitting his good parts, (and greater pride, of which he had sufficient) to present the *Kings* person; conceiting perhaps, that the power which he usurped, in the *Viscounts* affection, would work some regret upon him; which *Overbury* knew how to master for a better advantage.

But when *Rochester* had wisely considered, that there would be no great loss of so loose a *Friend*; and that *Overbury*, though an *Osier* of his own planting, would not be wrought in any purpose, but to his own self-pride, hastily put the Design forward, drew up his *Instructions*, (with some *Additional*s of *Overburys*, (for I copied them) and this being in earnest, then *Overbury* would not go, for which high *Contempt* the *King* and *Council* sent him to the *Tower*.

'Tis true, some Moneths before, *Rochester* made Court to the *Countess* of *Essex*, (who did not, that loved a Lady?) which *Overbury* misliked, upon no score of *Religion* or *Virtue*, but to ballance with his *ambition* and *vanity*, and to obtrude any *Co-partnership* in his friends affection, especially of the *House* of *Howards*, whom mortally he hated upon private malice; for to some mens knowledg, he would scornfully report (not long before) that she was won by *Letters* of his inditing (which I have read) and by that means, endeavoured to bring them to *Bawdery*, the beginning of all their future ruines, as you shall hear the next year.

The *Kings* expence brings him to account with his *Exchequer*, where his *Exits* increasing the *In-comes*, he intends better husbandry to piece out his *Expences*; and having taken into his *Houhold* Sir *Arthur Ingram* a Merchant bred, who by his wit and wealth, came to be his *Cofferer*, the vast expence of the state keeping the *Treasury* dry, his abilities discover the cunning craft of the Merchant, for the *Customers* had cozened the *King*, engrossing by that means, the wealth of *Trading*, which was therefore raised to an higher *Farm*. The same use was made at *Court*, which he taught the *Green-cloath* by *Retrench*, and he is called by Sir *A. W.* therefore [an evil Bird that defiles his Nest] (what is he then who defiled the *Court*, that gave him breeding, defam'd the *King* that gave him bread?) The *King* put this course in practice at *Court*, (somewhat differing I confess) in the *Line* of *Ascent* to the *Houhold* preferment, which rises by order & succession)

on) and this man a stranger in Court stept in, to discover the concealments of the *Green-cloath* also; and when this *Tide* had its *Ebb*, it returned again to his wonted channel; and 'tis true, the King shifted the fault upon his Favourite, an ordinary fate, which often accompanies them to bear the burden of their masters mistakes, which yet was but an experiment, proper enough for the *L. Chamberlain Rochester* to put in practice, whose creature he was.

But we may not forget our good Lord of *Essex*, our digression most necessary to his story, which was thus:

There was, amongst other persons of Honour and quality in Court, a young Lady of great birth and beauty, *Frances* the Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*, married in under-age unto the Earl of *Essex*, now become a forward stripling, she two and twenty, and he three and twenty years; of him common fame had an opinion (grounded upon his own suspicion) of his insufficiency, to content a Wife.

And the effects of this Narration (with the sequel of his life and conversation, with his second Wife) is so notorious, as might spare me and the Reader our several labours, for any other convincing arguments.

But with the first, when both were of years, to expect the blessing of the Marriage-bed, he was always observed, to avoid the company of Ladies, and so much to neglect his own, that to wish a Maid into a mischief, was, to commend her to grumbling *Essex*, as they stiled him, and increased the jealousy of such men, whose interests were to observe him, that he preferred the occasion himself for a Separation; and which indeed from publick fame, begat private disputation amongst *Civilians* of the legality thereof, wherein those *Lawyers* are boundless.

This Case followed the heels of a former Divorce, fresh in memory, between the Lord *Rich* and his fair Lady, by mutual consent; but because *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonshire* married her, whilst her Lord lived, the King was so much displeased, as it broke the Earl's heart; for his Majesty told him, that he had purchased a fair Wife with a foul Soul. But this of *Essex* was a different Example, when you seek to parallel them together.

And therefore we may with more charity to truth, not admit such hasty credit, as to believe, [that now the Kings delight was onely for the love of the Viscount (who is supposed to be in love with the Countess of *Essex*, and upon no other score) to command the Bishops to sue out a Divorce from her Husband] which in truth was done with ample Reasons and legal Ceremonies.

And because the Nullity gave freedom to either, and so the means of her after-marriage, with *Rochester*, the sad occasions of all the sequel mishaps; I have with some diligence laboured out the truth precisely and punctually, as it was acted and proceeded

E. of Essex
and his
Countess,
Car and
Overbury
their stories
intermixt.

Lady Rich
divorced.

Hist. Gr. Br.
pag. 68.

Anno

1613

Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 69.E. of Suffolk
petitions for
his daughters
divorce.Delegates in
commission.The Count-
esses Libell
against her
husband.

by Commission *Delegative*, not easily now, otherwise to be brought to light, which the *Historian* passes over briefly, as unwilling to spend time, to set down truths, when it makes not for his turn; for this Author had been *Essex* his Man, and turn'd away by his Lady.

Upon Petition of the Earl of *Suffolk* and his Daughter *Frances*, to the King.

That whereas his Daughter *Frances Countess of Essex* had been married many years unto *Robert Earl of Essex*, in hope of comfortable effects to them both; that contrariwise, by reason of certain latent and secret imperfections and impediments of the said Earl, disabling him in the rights of Marriage, and most unwillingly discovered to him by his Daughter, which longer by him to conceal, without remedy of Law and the practice of all Christian policy in like cases, might prove very prejudicial.

And therefore prays.

To commit the cause of Nullity of Matrimony, which she is forced to prosecute against the said Earl, to some grave and worthy persons, by Commission under the great Seal of England, as is usually, &c.

Which accordingly was granted unto four Bishops, two Privy Counsellours learned in the Law, and unto four other Civil Lawyers, with clause to proceed, *cum omni qua poterint celeritate & expeditione summarie ac de plano sine strepitu, ac figura judicii, sola rei & facti veritate inspecta & mera aequitate attentata.*

And with this clause also, *Quorum vos prefati Rev. Patrem Cant. Archiepiscopum, Reverend. Patrem Lond. Episcopum, & Ful. Caesar. Mil. aut duos vestrum, in ferenda sententia interesse volumus.* But for some Exceptions concerning the *Quorum*, by the Commissioners in the words, *Sententia esse non interesse*; A second Commission was granted, and adjoyned two Bishops more, with this *Quorum. Quorum ex vobis prefat. Reverend. Patrem George Cant. Archiepisc. Joh. Lond. Episc. Tho. Wint. Episc. Lancelot Eliens. Episc. Richard. Covent. & Lich. Episc. Joh. Ross. Episc. Ful. Caesar. Mil. Tho. Parry Mil. in ferenda Sententia, nos esse volumus.*

Upon this the Countess procures Process against the Earl, to answer her in a Cause of Nullity of Matrimony.

The Earl appears before the Commissioners, by his Proctor, and she gives in her Libell, viz.

That the Earl and the Lady six years since in January, Anno Domini 1606. were married, her age then thirteen, and he fourteen; and now she is two and twenty, and he three and twenty years old.

That for three years since the Marriage, and he then eighteen years old, they both did co-habit as married folk in one bed, naked, and alone, endeavouring to have carnal knowledg each of others body.

Notwithstanding the Earl neither did, nor could ever know her

car-

Anno

1613.

carnally, he being before and since possessed with perpetual incurable impediment and impotency, at least in respect of her.

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Anno

1613

Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 69.E. of Suffolk
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Anno

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Tunc Domini, viz. Arch. Cant. Lond. Eliens. Covent. & Lich. Caesar, Parry, Dunn, Benet, Edwards, habita inter eos privata deliberatione ex numero matronarum predict. elegerunt,

The Lady Martha Terwhite, wife of Sir Philip Terwhite Baronet.

Lady Alice Carew, wife of Sir Matthew Carew.

Lady Dalison, wife of Sir Roger. Et in supplement. casu earum impedire.

The Lady Anne Waller, Widow.

Et ex obstetricum numero, &c.

Margaretam Mercer, & Christianam Chest.

Et assignarunt procuratorem dicta domina Francesi ad sistendum cujusmodi inspectatrices, coram Reverend. Patre Episcop. Lond. Caesar, Dun, &c. Inter ceteros nominat. isto die, inter horas quintam & sextam post meridiem juramentum in hac parte subdituras, atque inspectione facta fideliter relaturas, earum judicium, juxta earum scientiam & experientiam, &c. Coram dictis dominis delegatis, sic ut praefertur assignatis, quam cito fieri possit, ante horam quartam post meridiem diei Jovis prox. alioquin ad comparend. hoc in loco coram Commissariis dicto die Jovis inter horas quartam & sextam post meridiem ejusdem diei, earum judicium in hac parte tunc relaturas, & interessendum diebus, hora & loco respective predict. ad videndum inspectatrices predictas, juramento in hac parte onerari; nec non quibuscunque aliis diebus hora & loco per dictos dominos Commissarios nominat. dictis inspectatricibus ad referend. earum Judicium assignatum.

Accordingly between the hours of that day, were presented before the Delegates, the said Ladies, sworn, *ad inquirend. & inspect.*

1. Whether the Lady Frances were a woman apt and fit for carnal copulation, without any defect that might disable her to that purpose?

2. Whether she were a Virgin unknown carnally by any man?

Whereupon they went from the presence of the Commissioners into the next Room, where the Countess was, accompanied with the Council of both sides, into which Room was no entrance but at one door, whereat the Council presently came forth, and onely the Countess left with the Ladies, who after some convenient time returned their report under their hands. The Commissioners having first sequestered from their presence

the

Anno
1613.

the Council on both sides, (who had been present in all these passages) and all other persons except the Register, that so the Ladies and Midwives might more freely deliver their secret Reasons, &c. though it was not fit to insert them into the Record.

And this is in sum their Relation.

1. That they believe the Lady fitted with abilities to have carnal copulation, and apt to have children.

2. That she is a Virgin incorrupted.

And to corroborate all this, the Countess in open Court produced seven women of her consanguinity.

That in as much as the truth of all was best known to her self, she might by virtue of her Oath discover the same, and her Oath should be no farther regarded than as it was confirmed by the Oaths of those her Kinswomen.

The Law presuming, that such kindred should be best acquainted with the inward secrets of their Kinswoman.

In order, the Countess had an Oath administered to her, with all, with all the like grave admonition as before to the Earl. And so she affirmed:

That since the Earl was eighteen years old, for three years he and she had lain in bed, &c. as in her Libell.

And then the seven noble women, viz.

Katherine Countess of Suffolk, Frances Countess of Kildare, Elizabeth Lady Walden, Elizabeth Lady Knevet, Lady Katherine Thin, Mistris Katherine Fines, Mistris Dorothy Neal her Kinswomen, being charged to speak without partiality, they did all depose, that they believed the same was true.

1. And in particular, that *post plenam pulvertatem utriusque*, they both endeavoured copulation.

2. That notwithstanding, ability on her part, *per inspectatrices*, she remained a Virgin incorrupted.

3. That the Earl had judicially sworn, that he never had, nor could, nor should ever know her carnally.

The Law being this, that *impotentia coeundi in viro* howsoever, whether by natural defect, or accidental means, whether absolute towards all, or respective to his wife alone; if it precede Matrimony and be perpetual, as by Law is presumed, when by three years continuance, after the mans age of eighteen years, there having been *nil ad copulam*, the Marriage not consummated, and the Law allowing the said proofs, &c. was abundantly sufficient, to convince the said Earl of impotency.

Because *Canonum statuta custodiri debent ab omnibus, & nemo in actionibus, vel Judiciis Ecclesiasticis, suo sensu, sed eorum auctoritate duci debet.*

The Judges Delegates therefore gave this Sentence.

who repute

her a Virgin,

and so do seven more Ladies.

Anno
1613.Sentence of
Nullity,

Idcirco nos, &c. in dicta causa Judices Delegati & Commissarii Christi nomine (primitus) invocato, & ipsum solum Deum, oculis nostris praeponentes & habentes, deque & cum consilio Jurisperitor. cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus; matureque deliberavimus, praefat. dominum comitem Essex, dictam dominam Franciscam, ob aliquod latens, & incurabile impedimentum perpetuum, praedictum contractum, & solemnizationem praecedens, citra solemnizationem & contractum praedictum nunquam carnaliter cognovisse, aut carnaliter eandem cognoscere potuisse, aut posse, & eundem dominum comitem, quoad carnalem copulam cum eadem domina Francisca, exercend. omnino inhabilem & impotentem fuisse & esse.

Pronunciamus decernimus & declaramus praefatum praetensum Matrimonium, sic inter praedictum virum Robertum Devereux comitem Essex & praedictam praenobilem faeminam Franciscam Howard, de facto contractum & solemnizatum, omniaque ex inde sequentia, ratione promissorum, omnino invalidum, ac nullum nulla fuisse, & esse, viribusque juris caruisse & carere debere, atque nullo & nullis, & invalido & invalidis, ad omnem juris effectum, etiamque pronunciamus decernimus & declaramus, dictum matrimonium praetensum, omniaque exinde sequentia cassamus annullamus & irritamus; memoratamque dominam Franciscam Howard, ab aliquo vinculo hujusmodi praetensi Matrimonii inter eam & dictum dominum Robertum comitem (ut praefatur) de facto contracto & solemnizato liberam & solutam fuisse & esse, & sic tam liberam & solutam insuper pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus; eandemque dominam Franciscam ab eodem domino comite Essex, quoad vinculum matrimonii praetensi praedicti, omniaque exinde sequentia liberandam & divortiandam fore debere pronunciamus & sic liberamus & divortiamus, eosdem quo ad transitum ad alias nuptias conscientis suis in domino relinquere, per hanc nostram sententiam definitam; sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive, quod fecimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

And the Records extant, do mention the proceedings (you see) modest, legal, parallel with any former of like kinde, wherein the Civil Laws are boundless; and this strict form and manner had no room for corruption.

And the Commissioners that agreed to the Sentence were four Bishops, Winchester, Lichfield and Coventrey, Rochester, and Ely.

The Civilians were three Knights, Caesar, Parry, and Dunn. And though thus sufficient, yet are they noted [for private men for the purpose, and that Kings will never want such ministers in corrupted times both in Church and State.]

The common people were offended with the Canons, and wisht, that Essex might have as many Women to aspekt him for his sufficiency; That he might have justified himself upon others

Signed by sufficient men.

others, or have had Physicians (by art) to certifie his natural impediment, or whether *impedimentum malefici* (being accidental) *presumatur processisse, vel potius subsecutum fuisse matrimonium contractum & solemnizatum?* Whether they ought *post preceptum Judicis*, to co-habit together, *saltem per aliquod temporis spatium arbitrio Judicis moderandum*, for further trial.

Indeed the Arch-Bishop Abbot took upon him the quarrel, who (in truth) in the Civil Law was least able) his Doubts and Queries were dispersed, and got some credit with the Clergy, whilst the Civilians (with much civility, if not fear) of his authority amongst them) forbore to give him answer, till the King himself took the pains to pull him down.

The Bishops Arguments were six.

1. That all controversies concerning the Church are comprehended in the Scripture, and Marriage is there accounted sacred.

2. What Text doth warrant a Nullity after Marriage, *Propter maleficium versus hanc?* The Scripture, indeed, makes Nullity, *Propter frigiditatem*, Matth. 19. 12. Some born chaste, some made Eunuchs, some made so by grace.

3, 4. What Councils or Fathers, or stories either Greek or Latine, have ever mentioned *Maleficium versus hanc*, untill *Hircannus, Rhemensis Episcopus*, four hundred years after Christ?

5, 6. *Essex* is found defective, for whom we are bound to use two Remedies, Eternal and Temporal.

For the first, *Non ejicietur, nisi per orationem & jejunium*.

For the second, *Corporeal Medicines*. But the Earl hath had none of these.

The Answer.

To the first, It is a preposterous Puritan Argument without some better distinction or explanation: for, the Orthodox, consider all controversies in points of *Faith and Salvation*. Nullity of Marriage cannot be one, and therefore the consequence fails.

2. If the Scriptures want a Nullity, *Propter frigiditatem*, then all the means which may make him *frigidus versus hanc*, must be comprehended; for, why doth our Church condemn Marriage of a man with his sisters daughter? or of two sisters, but *ut paritate rationis?* for none of them are *in terminis* prohibited in Scripture, and so all the other unlawfull matches, for ascending or descending in points of *Consanguinity, quia par est ratio*.

The like is in this case; for although Christ spake onely to three sorts of Eunuchs, yet, *Ratio est quia non potest esse copulatio inter Eunuchum & mulierem*; and therefore Saint Paul tells us, It is not *Conjugium sine copulatione*.

I conclude therefore a *paritate rationis*, that Christ did comprehend under these three sorts, all inability, which doth perpetually

Arch-bishop
Abbots Ar-
guments a-
gainst the
Nullity.

Answered.

Anno
1613.

tually hinder, *copulationem versus hanc*; whether natural or accidental. For what difference is there, between the cutting off the hand, and being made impotent thereof? *Amputatio & Mutilatio membri*, being the same in *Civil Law*.

It being sufficient unto moderate Christians to believe out of Gods word. That marriage is null, *sine copulatione*; and those words, *quos Deus conjunxit*, are never found in Scripture, where *et erunt eis*, doth not proceed, *viz. And they two shall be made one flesh*.

But however the impediment be, whether universal or *versus hanc*, or *born so*, or by violence, or by disease, or ineptitude, that is ever *par ratio*, he is *Eunuch versus hanc & omnes alias*. Seeing to him only she was married.

To the third and fourth; There may be something to this purpose, or *aliquid analogum*, with a *paritate rationis*.

Besides; it is an ill argument to say, that therefore it is not lawfull, because Fathers nor Council, do not mention it.

5. The same answer to the fifth; for till the four hundred years after Christ (perhaps) that devillish trick was not discovered, and we know, *ex malis moribus bonæ leges*.

And this, in dispute, is only a question of Order and Policy; For the essential point of Matrimony, cannot be accomplished *sine copula*.

6. The Devils have power over the flesh, and to exempt us from the power of Witch-craft, was never maintained by any learned man; and why not of Protestants, as well as of Papists?

Remedies perhaps, have been used by themselves, but *Non interest Repub. nec Eccles.*

And so to satisfy his conscience, this pains was taken with the Arch-bishop, *ut cum conversus fuerit, confirmet fratres suos*.

In fine; both Parties freed to their second choice, the Countess the fifth of December marries the Viscount, lately made Baron of *Brandspick* and Earl of *Somerset*, the tenth Earl; the first being made by *Maud* the *Empress*: And *Overbury* in the Tower hears of this jollity, and himself in durance, threatens *Somerset* (No, saies our Adversary) writes to him, humbly imploring. Another (such like) pens the Letter thus.

Right Noble and worthy Sir,

YOur former accustomed favours, and also late promise concerning my present deliverance, hath caused me at this time, by these lines to sollicite your Lordship, and to put you in remembrance of the same, not doubting that your honour is at all forgetful of me, but

The Countess marries
Somerſet.

H.Gr.Br.p.72
Hist.Nar. ch.
28.

but onely (by reason of my imprisonment) being possesst of divers diseases, would for my bodies health and safety, tast of the felicity of the open air; In which cause, if your Lordship please to commiserate my present necessities and procure me my speedy deliverance, I shall not only stand much the more obliged to you, but also acknowledge you the preserver of my life.

Such stuff as this makes up the matter as they would make us believe, but in truth; he threatened *Somerset* with some discovery, which was construed to be secrets of *Love*, or *State*, or both. Not without monstrous defaming her honour, by Message and writing, [*filthy base woman, they were best look to stand fast*] which begat fury in her and subtilty in *Somerset*, least *Overburies* Malice, should break forth, to both their sufferings, and so trouble their whole fortunes.

To prevent mischief to the One, and continual defame to the other, combining with the rest. It was resolved by her to destroy him; which she first intended by assassination, and dealt with one *Sir David Wood* (an ill-looking red-bearded *Scot*) whom *Overbury* had prevented of a suit, valued 2000*l*. But his cowardice, not conscience, fearing to ingage, she and they plotted the im poisoning of him in prison, as the story intends to discover in particular.

Overbury designed to be destroyed.

This Spring seizes *Northampton* for death. He was brother unto the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who suffered for his Attempts of Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* (as before remembred) then a Prisoner here in *England*, which might be some motive for the King to consider the advance of this Man and that Family, which he did, by preferring the Dukes second Son to be Earl of *Suffolk* 1603. and by restoring the Dukes Grandchild *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* 1604. as aforesaid, and by particular preferments of this *Henry*, who was more wedded to his book than to the Bed, for he dyed a *Bachelour*.

Earl *Northampton* dies.

He was accompted wise and learned, a cunning Statef-man, and for all these abilities, out of the Kings great affection to Letters, especially being concentured in a Noble person, at his first accession hether, he the rather advanced him in succeeding Creations, as *Baron of Marnhill*, *Earl of Northampton*, then *Privy Councillour*, *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports*, *Lord Privy Seal*, and *Knight of the Garter*, and elected *Chancelour of the University of Cambridge*.

His preferments to honour.

He had plentiful for his single Life, and to spare for his friends. In his expence, not over frugal, maintaining his *Port* the most remarkable (like the antient Nobility) in his family and dependents of any Lord then or since his time.

He assisted his Nephew the *Earl of Suffolk*, by his designing

Anno

1614.

ning, and large contribution to that excellent Fabrick *Awdle-*
end.

He built that Noble Structure at *Charing-Cross*, *Northamp.*
House, & presented it a New years gift to his Cousin German the L.
Walden, *Suffolks* eldest Son. And yet left his other Cousin the E.
of *Arundel*, the rest of his estate, so to appear to the World his
equal distribution to such even kindred.

He was pious, and gave good testimony thereof in his life,
built that handsome Covent at *Greenwich*, and indued it with
Revenue for ever, for maintenance of decayed Gentlemen *Ba-*
chelours, a competent number; and for Widdows also confi-
derable.

He died in *April*, *Anno 1614.* full of years and honour, and
suspected more *Catholick* than some will think reasonable,
though in the form of a *Church Papist* (as some lately do pub-
lish) and to be a Setter in the monstrous Murther of Sir *Thomas*
Owerbury, though the Lieutenant of the Tower *Yelvis* in his
Examinations and Confessions cleered him, which suspicion
is since grounded upon the interpretation of his Familiar *Epi-*
stles to the *Earl of Somerset*, and indeed but bruited since his
death. And where no proofs precede, we may be sparing to
note him so Noble a Person, with that, or any other Infam-
y.

About these times, the humours of young Gallants, not
brooking the peaceable conditions of our Kingdomes, and
neighbour Nations, took upon themselves to quarrel with
each other, and to fight it out in Duels upon slight occasions,
and very frequent; which induced his Majesty to publish a se-
vere Edict against private Combates and Combatants, their
Seconds, Accomplices, and Adherents, for prevention of those
heavy events whereto worthy families become obnoxious, by
the odious and enormous impieties inevitably subsequent there-
upon;

Intending by that time, that the most proper Remedies
have qualified the distemper of ill-disposed minds, and that auda-
cious spirits have smarted for incompetent desires; the false co-
lours and pretences of erring Custome, have both been coun-
terpleaded and corrected by reforming severity. By that time,
I say, that Passion hath been put into the right course of sub-
mitting to discretion and caution, hath wrought it self at lea-
sure, into as constant a form and habit of conforming to obe-
dience, as self will took in former times to plant false prin-
ciples; the greater part will easily discern, That there is greater
reason to reprove those that offer Challenges of madness, than to tax
those of Cowardice that abstain out of duty.

And

And therefore those that should conceive themselves to be behind in the least respect or point of honour should repair to the Marshalls Court, who were instructed and prepared as well for the cleansing of all green wounds, as the healing of old *Ulcers* that shall appear to them.

Hereupon occasion was soon given and taken in a *Duel* of *Priest* and *Wright*, for writing and carrying the challenge, and an information against them in *Star Chamber*, by a charge of *Sir Francis Bacon*, Attorney General, and though the persons were but mean, yet they served for example to the great; the *Dog* to be beaten before the *Lion*, the one a *Barber Surgeon*, the other a *Butcher*.

This eloquent Oratour divided his charge into four branches.

1. *The nature and greatness of the Mischief.*
2. *The Causes and Remedies.*
3. *The Justice of the Law of England, which (saies he) some think defective herein.*
4. *The capacity of this Court, where the Remedy is best to be found.*

1. For the first, when Revenge is extorted out of the Magistrates hands into private men, presuming to give Laws to themselves; It may grow from quarrels to banding, so to trooping, then to tumult and commotion, from private persons to families and alliances, and so to national quarrel; and subject the State to inflamations and convulsions, and herein Offences of presumption are the greatest, and this to be done by the *aurora filii* sons of the morning, young men full of hope and towardness.

2. The Causes no doubt, a false imagination of honour and credit; bewitching *Duels*, *Species falsa*, against *Religion*, *Law* and *virtue*. That men nowadaies had lost the true Notion of fortitude and valor; the one, *Fortitude*, distinguishing the grounds of quarrels, whether they be just and worthy a mans life, being to be sacrificed to honourable services, good causes and Noble Adventures, Expence of blood is as the expence of money, not to be profuse in either, upon vain occasion.

For the Remedies. Four things may be effectual for repressing the depraved custome of Combates.

First, The State to abolish it: for then every particular person thinks himself thereby acquitted his reputation; when he sees it an insult against Sovereign power. Like unto the Edict of *Charls* the ninth of *France* against *Duels*, That the King himself took upon him the honour of all, that were grieved or interessed for not having performed the combate, when he shall

Anno

1614.

see the rule of State dis-interest him of a vain and unnecessary hazard.

Secondly, This evil must not be cockered. The compounding of quarrels is grown so punctual by private Noblemen and Gentlemen, who is before hand, and wholly behind hand. It countenances Duels, as if therein somewhat of right.

The most prudent, and best Remedy may be learned out of the Kings Proclamation. The false concealed humour must be punished in the same kind, *In eo quis rectissime plectitur in quo peccat*, such men to be banished the Kings presence and excluded the Court for certain years, to be cast into that darkness, not to behold his Sovereigns face.

Lastly, We see the Root of this offence is stubborn, for it despiseth death the utmost of punishments, and therefore these men to be executed by Law without all remission. The severity of *France* had been more, where by a kind of Marshal Law established by the King, the party surviving was instantly hanged, their wounds though bleeding, least a natural death should prevent the example of Justice. Or, if not so to do, but with greater lenity, yet of no less efficacy, which is to punish by fines in *Star Chamber* the middle acts and proceedings, which tend to the Duel.

3. Now for the Law of *England*. It is excepted against in two points.

Not to difference between an insidious and foul murther, and killing upon fair terms, as they term it.

The other, Not providing sufficient punishment for contumely of words, as thely, and the like.

These novelties are thus answered. The *Law of God* makes no difference, but between *Homicide voluntary* and *involuntary*, which we term *Misadventure*, and for which there were Cities of Refuge.

Our Law hath a more subtil distinction. The *Will inflamed*, and the *Will advised*; *Man-slaughter in heat*, and *Murther upon Malice or cold blood*. The *Romans* had restrained this privilege of passion, but onely where the Husband took the Adulterer in the manner. Yet *Cain* inticed his Brother into the Field and slew him treacherously; but *Lamech* vaunted of his Murther, *To kill a young man, and if it were but in his hurt*. So as the difference is between *Insidious* and *Presumptuous Murther*, these of *Cain* and *Lamech*.

Greece and *Rome* had not this practice of Duells. It is said, *fast & ab hoste doceri*.

There was a Duel between two eminent persons of the *Turks*, and one slain; the Council of *Bashas* reprehended the Other, *How durst you undertake to fight one with the other? are there not*

not Christians enow to kill? Did you not know, that whether of you were slain, the loss would be the great Seignours?

Tis true, we find Combates before an Army amongst the Romans, which they called *Pugna per provocationem*; between Generals themselves, or by their license to others.

So David asked leave when he fought with Goliath; And Joab when the Armies met, gave leave, *Let the young Men play before us.*

And of this kind was that famous example in the Warres of Naples, between the Spaniards and Italians, where Italians prevailed.

The second combat is a Judicial Tryal of Right introduced by the Gothes, and the Northern Nations, and more antient in Spain.

But yet a wise Writer saies, *Taliter pugnantes videntur tentare Deum, quia hoc volunt ut Deus ostendat & faciat Miraculum, ut justam causam habens Victor efficiatur, quod saepe contra accidit.* Nay the French folly in this kind, had it in Toleration, never authorized by Law; but of late punished with severe rigour.

As for the supposed defect in our Law for Lies and fillips, words of denyal and flea bites, to murder a man; Solon's Answer satisfies, *That he had not ordained Punishments for it, not imaging the world so phantastical to take it so highly.*

The Civillians say, that an action of injury does not ly for it. Indeed Francis the first of France, gave the ly to the Emperour, and in a Solemn Assembly said, *That he was no honest man that would bear the ly.*

The Laws of England had onely these degrees of injury, Slander, Battery, Maime, and Death. But as for a fillip, Consalvo said, *A Gentlemans honour should be De tela crassiore, of a strong warp.*

Now for the power of this Court to censure; Presidents have been in the Minor: Whartons case Pl^t. where Acklam, Defendant, servant to Elleckars, was fined for carrying his Masters challenge but by Word of Mouth.

And it was concluded to prosecute in these cases against such,

As shall appoint the field though the fight be not acted,

Send challenge in writing or message.

Shall deliver either of them.

To accept or return them.

To be a second.

To depart beyond Seas to combat.

To revive a quarrel by scandalous bruits or Pasquils.

Counsellors of Quarrellers.

And that a Man may in those cases be as well *fur de se*, as *felo de se*, if he steal out of the Realm to fight, he doth, *Machinari contro Coronam.*

But

Anno

1614

Rebellion in
Orkney.

But let us remember *Scotland*. We have forewarned the Earl of *Orkneys* mis-behaviour in *Scotland*, which of late so increased as he was again sent for and committed. Having rioted most of his Estate, the remainder was mortgaged to Sir *John Arnotts*, of whom the King purchases his Interest, by which means he might the better give relief to the distressed Tenants from oppression.

The Earl now in *Dunbarton Castle*, with a Noble a Day pension for his Maintenance, had information how his Estate with his Castles *Kirkwall*, *Birsay*, and other his Houses and Lands in the Isles were rendered to the Kings Sheriffs; He endeavouring first to escape, but not effecting, sends his base Son to get forces, and to expulse the Possessors.

He does so, with some loose people assaults *Birsay*, and takes it, wherein he puts a Garrison of thirty men, and hastens to *Kirkwall*, seizes that also.

This Insurrection comes to the Kings knowledge, and hastens Commission to the Earl of *Caithness*, Lieutenant of those bounds; who with his Canon recovers the Castles in 6 weeks, and those within made Prisoners. *Robert Stewart* the Earls base son, and four more principal Actors, were arraigned at *Edinburgh*, convicted, and hanged.

The Earl as Accessary, came to Tryal, being indicted for causing his base son to surprize *Kirkwall* and *Birsay*, inciting the people to Rebellion, and detaining the Castles treasonably against the Kings forces.

He was allowed Prolocutours (Lawyers) of the best esteem, who deny the *Libel* (as they call it) but the confession of his base Son, and Others, with his missive Letters written to one *John Sharp*, for detaining those Castles, and a charter of certain Lands assigned by him to one *Patrick Haloro*, for assisting the Rebels; the Assize of *Fury*, being his Peers, Earls and Lords found him guilty of *Treason*, and he presently executed at *Edinburgh*.

The end of *Patrick Earl of Orkney*, Son to *Robert Stewart* one of the base Sons of King *James* the fifth (for he had others) This *Robert* was at first *Abbot of Holy-rood-house*, for divers years. After the forfeiture of *Hepburn Earl of Bothwell*, and the obtaining those Isles, he exchanged the *Abbacy* with the Bishoprick of *Orkney*; and so became sole Lord of the County. *Patrick* succeeding to an elder Brother, and grown a Courtier, involved himself in great debts which inforced him the more tyrannous over the people, to recover his wants.

At *Glasgow* was apprehended *Oglevy* a Jesuite, lately come from *Gratts*, by command of his Superior in that College. He answered peremptory to the Commissioners questions, protesting

The Earl
convicted,

and executed,

his descent.

Oglevy a Je-
suit, his Exa-
minations.

Anno

1614.

sing not to prejudice others by any Confession. Their torture to inforce him to impeach others, was to debar him sleep for some time, until he was forced falsely to accuse any body, which he, after repose, would deny again.

The King was displeased with such forms to men of his profession, and if no crime could be proved but his *Calling*, and saying *Mass*; they should banish him, not to return on pain of Death; but if his practice had been to induce the people to rebellion, and maintained the Popes power transcendent over Kings, and refused the Oath of *Allegiance*, they should leave him to the Law.

But with all they were to urge his Answer to these Questions.

1. *Whether the Pope be Judge in Spiritualibus over his Majesty, and whether in Temporalibus, if it be in Spiritualia?*

2. *Whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings (such as are not of his Church) as his Majesty.*

3. *Whether he hath power to depose Kings after his excommunication, and in particular his Majesty.*

4. *Whether it be no Murther to kill the King so deposed?*

5. *Whether He hath power to assoil Subjects from the Oath of their native Allegiance to his Majesty.*

He answers in writing,

To the first Affirmative in Spiritualibus. But whether in Temporalibus he is not obliged to answer to any but a Judge of Controversies of Religion, the Pope, or one by his Authority.

To the second affirmative, and that all persons baptized are under the Popes power.

To the third, He will not declare but to a lawful Judge of Religion.

To the rest, ut supra.

He could not be moved by threats, but rather railed at the Oath of *Allegiance*, as damnable and treasonable against God; and so came to Tryal of Life, but was told over night, That he was not to be tryed concerning his profession, but for his former Answers to the Questions, which he may recal and crave mercy: but this he utterly refused.

And so was impannell'd, grounded upon the Acts of Parliament, against such as declined the Kings authority, or maintained other Jurisdiction, and upon his former answers.

He protests, not to acknowledge the Judges nor Judgement Lawfull: for if it be Treason here, it should be so in all other Kingdoms, which is not. Your Acts of Parliament are made by partial men, and of Matter not subject to their forum, for which I will not give a sig. The King hath no Authority, but derivative from his Predecessors, who acknowledged the Popes Jurisdiction; If the King will be to me

Anno
1614.

me as they were to mine, he shall be my King, if otherwise, I value him not. And for the reverence I do to you, bare-headed, It is ad redemptionem vexationis, not ad agnitionem Judicii.

That the Jury were either his Enemies or his Friends, if Enemies they could not sit upon his Tryal; if Friends, they ought to assist him at the Bar; That what he suffered was injurious, and not Justice; he had not offended, nor would crave Mercy. My Commission (said he) was by command of my Superiour, and if I were abroad, I would return hether again, and repent only that I have not been so busie as I should, in that which you call Perverting of Subjects, and I call, Saving of souls; I do decline the Kings authority, and will do it still in matter of Religion, the most of your Ministers maintain it; and if they be wise will continue in that mind.

As for that Question, Whether the King being deposed by the Pope, may be lawfully killed? Doctors of the Church hold the Affirmative not improbably, and as it is not yet determined, so if it should be concluded, I will dy in the defence. And (now) to say, It were unlawful, I will not to save my life.

His insolent speech was shortned by the Jurors quick return, who found him guilty, and had Sentence of Treason, and to stop his rayling, was after Noon, the same day, hanged at Glasgow.

He was a desperate second Ravilliack, and ready in that devilish doctrine of deposing and dethroning Kings, which he urged the more (he said) as consonant to the Kirk Ministers tenents. And that nothing troubled him but to be taken away ere he had done that which all Scotland and England should not have prevented, and had it been performed, no torments would have been by him refused.

So then we see the cause of his Execution. For the King professed, *Never to hang a Priest for his Religion.*

The opening of the Spring gave opportunity to sundry families of England, to prepare themselves for planting in America. Upon no great incouragement of profit, or pleasure, by any former Voyages of the English, into those parts; but people and trade increasing here, they would unburthen this State with forein adventures.

The Design was for New England a part of America, in the Ocean Sea, opposite to that part of America, in the South Sea, which Sir Francis Drake discovered in his voyage about the world, and named it *Nova Albion*.

But he was never employed thither, as a Discoverer or Planter upon this part of America, taking the coast from Cape Florida, in twenty degrees, (North Latitude) North-East-ward to Cape Brittain. Between the Degrees of Latitude, from 20. to

Plantations in
America.

Hist. gr. Br. p.
75.

45. King *James* granted *Letters Patents*, being about fifteen hundred miles, but to follow it aboard near two thousand miles.

And all this Coast from *Cape Florida* of twenty Degrees to five and forty, was first discovered by *John Cabot*, with six sail of ships, who had his *Patent* from *Henry 7.* Anno 1442. about the time that *Columbus* discovered the middle part of *America*, for *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* of *Spain*, and is called the *West-Indies*.

The first Colony from *England* was with *Sir Walter Raleigh*, assisted in company of *Sir Ralph Lane*, and *Thomas Heriot*, that learned *Mathematician*, Anno 1584. who in honour of *Queen Elizabeth* named it *Virginia*, leaving there sixteen men, which were brought home by *Sir Francis Drake*, in his return from his *West-India* Voyage a year after; and this part is contained from *Florida* to the *Chesiopech Bay*.

The next Northward is a part of Land to which *Sir John Popham* Lord Chief Justice sent, for Discovery and Trade, 1606. but no success returned, and since it is called *New England*.

Then the Land adjoyning Northward was discovered by *Captain Gosnold*, all that coast being studded with broken Lands, and called by him *Elizabeths Isles*.

Then you come to *Cape Cod*, and to the discovery of *Captain Weymouth's* Land, and large River, and so forward to other *Plantations*, thence of the *English*, so far as *Cape Britain*.

Then to *Nova Francia*, the Colonies of the *French*, which Land in truth they have ingrossed, as being elbo-room for all, and which ends at *Cape Race*; the Lands spreading from thence directly Northwards, and named *New-found-land*, untill you sail into the *Frozen Sea*, where *Davis*, *Basin*, and *Hudson*, made large Discoveries, many thousand miles.

But to our business, this year 1614. *Captain Smith* intended for *New England*, with two ships, not to plant, but to take Whales and other fish, and to trade for Furs, and so returned.

And presently from *Plymouth*, he went out again, with one ship, and *Michael Cooper* with five from *London*, accompanied with four more from *Plymouth*, partly to trade and plant.

And indeed these people for Planters were suspected *notorious Schismatics, Brownists, Anabaptists, Families of love*, and the like, under such notions, so together, and here and there strewed over with a spice of *Protestancy*, but by the general name of *Puritans*, which term included good and bad in their distinct kinds, truly and ingenuously distinguished into the *Puritan Knave*, and the *Knave Puritan*: but in truth, all of them (of the first rank especially) Enemies to the *Hierarchy* of our *Protestant* Profession in the Church of *England*.

And away they would go, for elbo-room to model a new Church-government, such as hereafter should happen; for God

H h

knows,

Anno

1614.

Cabot.

Virginia.

New Eng-
land.Elizabeths
Isles.Nova Fran-
cia.

Anno
1614.

knows, they were so diversly affected, that as yet they could conclude of none, nor ever would agree to any.

It was not impossible also, but those Factions there might breed into extremes, and become hereafter Nurseries for all Non-conformants of Church or State, with some prejudice to this Government at home.

And therefore then, there was a restraint for the present only, untill by examination of some of their *Principals* remaining behinde, a better account might be assured, concerning those that are sent before, for whose good behaviour there, these were responsible here, and so they had leave to go.

And in a word, at that time, and until these later days, most of the violent pretenders for *Plantations*, either *Governors* or *Assistants*, here, in their several Courts, were a company of cunning contrivers, who abused the honest *Adventurers*, and of long time came loss to them in all their returns.

The Kings bounty had stretched beyond the liberty of his Treasure, which he timely took up, and was free in rewarding merit by Honour of *Knighthood*, upon such whose Estates were not answerable in value to other *Gentry*, before whom they were to take place of precedency. And therefore it was designed (twelve moneths since) by the late Treasurer *Salisbury*, to create a degree of *Knight Baronets*, to precede all *Knight Bachelors*, being the earnest suit of themselves, ninety persons in all of good Birth and Estates; and each of them (except two and twenty) were then *Knight Bachelors*: and this to my knowledg, for I copied the List of them, before it was presented to *Salisbury*: and as true, that his exception thereto was, that it would discontent the *Gentry*. To which themselves replied, that it would rather satisfie them, in advance of dignity before others, who now come behinde those meaner men, whom indeed the King was forced to dubb, for his Honour and some merits of theirs, having no other reward or money to spare, and therein not much too blame, to oblige them that way; and *Salisbury* dying, it was now established; the design having martial reference to Honour and Arms, the Prerogative of every Sovereign, as in former *Presidents* of all *Christian* Princes and States *Monarchical* and *Republicks*, especially upon distress of any *Province* or place, for support or defence thereof.

And herein, other *Princes* exceed in example, and never quarrelled by any, as in *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *Venice*, and must it now be a crime in this King, in the settlement of his *Inheritance* here, to take leave to advance the creation of one single Order? A new erect distinct Title, with those Privileges to them and their heirs for ever. Place before all *Knights Bachelors* and of the Bath, (and all *Bannerets*, but they are not in being) to be implead-

Baronets created.

Hist. gr. Br. p.
76.

Court & Ch.
King James,
pag. 12.

ed

Anno
1614.

ed by addition Baronet, and the Title Sir, and their wives Lady, the King shall not create any degree under the dignity of Baron that shall be superiour or equal to them, no more to be made, but the full number of two hundred, untill some of these dy, but the younger sons of Viscounts and Barons (by Decree of the King and Council upon controversie) were adjudged to take place before them, and that their heirs males at one and twenty shall be knighted, and shall leave either in a Canton in the Coat of Arms, or in a Scutchion at their Election, the Arms of Ulster, Argent, a Hand Gules, their place in the Kings Armies to be in the gross, near about the Kings Standard, for defence thereof.

Nor was this done but in the like example or noble way, for each Baronet to maintain thirty Footmen for three years at eight pence *per diem* each Souldier in service of the Kings Forces, for the establishment of the Province of Ulster in Ireland, not as yet emptied of Rebels, which came unto one thousand nine hundred and five pounds a piece. And it was their own humble suit afterwards to compound the expence, at a certain value, and to put the charge in general upon the King: and I know he lost by the bargain, the Composition came but to ninety eight thousand five hundred and fifty pounds, and cost the King much more.

And for the honour of their degree and memory, it may not be amiss to insert in order of precedency in their Roll, threescore and eight of them being Knights already, and two and twenty Esquires.

Suff. Nicholas Bacon.

Lanc. Richard Mollineux.

Glam. Thomas Mansell.

Leic. George Sherley.

Glam. Jo: Stradling.

Derb. Francis Leak.

Suff. Thomas Pelham.

Lanc. Richard Howton.

Wilt. Jo: St: John.

Linc. Nicholas Sanderson.

Suff. Jo: Shelley.

Cistr. Jo: Savage.

Essex Fr: Barington.

Leic. Henry Barks, Esq;

Ebor. Will: Wentworth, Esq;

Westm. Richard Musgrave.

Norf. Henry Hobard.

Cestr. George Booth.

Camb. Jo: Peyton.

Suff. Lion: Talmage, Esq;

Not. James Clifton.

Lanc. Thomas Gerard.

Staff. Walter Aston.

Norf. Ph: Knevet.

Essex Jo: Wentworth.

Ebor. Henry Belaser.

Ebor. William Constable, Esq;

War. Thomas Lee.

Rutl. Edward Nowell.

Hunt. Robert Cotton.

Cestr. Robert Chalmand, Esq;

Devon. Edward Seymer, Esq;

Lanc. Moyell Finch.

Oxon. Anthony Cope.

Linc. Thomas Mowson.

Linc. Thomas Vavisor.

Derb. Thomas Gresly, Esq;

Gloc. Paul Tracy, Esq;

Ebor. Henry Savile.

Derb. Henry Willoughby, Esq;

North. Lewis Tresham, Esq;

North. Thomas Brudenell, Esq;

Hhh 2

Linc.

The Reign and Death of

anno
1614.

Linc. *George St. Paul.*
Linc. *Philip Terwit.*
Linc. *Roger Dallison.*
Linc. *Edward Carr.*
Linc. *Edward Hussy.*
Norf. *Lestrange Mordant, Esq;*
Essex *Thomas Bendish, Esq;*
Carm. *Fo: Wynn.*
Gloc. *William Throgmorton.*
South. *Richard Worsley.*
Bedf. *William Gostwick, Esq;*
War. *Thomas Puckering, Esq;*
Camb. *Nicholas Sands.*
Ebor. *Fr: Wortley.*
Ebor. *George Savile.*
Derb. *William Kneveton, Esq;*
Norf. *Philip Woodhouse.*
Oxon. *William Pope.*
Rutl. *James Harington.*
Staff. *Richard Fleetwood, Esq;*
Oxon. *Thomas Spencer, Esq;*
Lanc. *Fo: Tuston.*
Camb. *Samuel Peyton.*
Norf. *Ch: Morrison.*
Kanc. *Henry Baker.*
Essex *Roger Apleton, Esq;*
Kanc. *William Sedley.*

Kanc. *William Twisden.*
Kanc. *Edward Hales.*
Kanc. *William Moynes.*
Essex *Thomas Mildmay, Esq;*
Essex *William Maynard.*
Buck. *Henry Lea, Esq;*
Wilt. *Edward Gorges.*
Essex *Harbottle Grimston.*
War. *Thomas Holt.*
Som. *Fo: Portman.*
Linc. *Fo: Wray.*
Berk. *William Essex.*
Ebor. *Marmaduke Wivill.*
Wilt. *Fr: Englefield.*
Staff. *Fo: Pessel, Esq;*
Essex *William Aloff.*
Wor. *Edward Deverenx.*
Dev. *Thomas Ridgeway.*
Cornw. *Renald Mohune.*
Essex *Paul Baring.*
68 Knights. }
22 Esquires. } 90

These afterwards.

Doneld. *Thomas Blaxton, Esq;*
Chester *Rowland Egerton, Esq;*
Norf. *Roger Townsend, Esq;*

The Kings
want of mo-
neys, and the
realon.

It is well known that *Queen Elizabeth* left her Coffers empty, and her Revenue not ample; for in Treasurer *Burghley's* times, the profit of the *Kingdom* (besides *Wards* and *Dutchy of Lancaster*) was one hundred eighty eight thousand, one hundred, ninety and seven pounds *per annum*; and the Payments one hundred, ten thousand six hundred and twelve pounds *per annum*. In which Payments these were constant *per annum*.

The Household forty thousand pounds Ordinary, and now increased necessarily, almost treble.

The Privy Parse two thousand pounds.

The Admiralty thirty thousand pounds.

1. For support, this King was to proportion his issues, with his *Revenues*, both certain and casual.

2. By abating or reforming the excess of his Household.

3. By raising moneys, and improving the *Crown Revenues*.

For the first, he could not well tell how to begin that Lesson, for coming in hither with an increment of expence, *Himself, Wife and Children*, and a large *Train* of old *Servants* to be new

re-

rewarded, the Marriage of his Daughter very lately, which expence in that amounted unto near an hundred thousand pounds, and her *Aid-money* came but to twenty thousand and five hundred pounds. And that we may see the Charge and Expence of this Marriage in particular, I shall set it down.

Anno

1614.

Expence of
the Princess
Elizabeths
marriage.

	lib.
For the <i>Palsgraves</i> Diet at his standing house	6000
For his Diet at his <i>Instalment</i> of the Garter	4000
For Diet at his Marriage	2000
For Lodgings for his Servants	830
§ To the Wardrobe for Apparel for the Princess <i>Eliz.</i>	6252
§ For furnishing her Chamber	3023
§ Apparel and Necessaries for her to my <i>L. Harington</i>	1829
§ Jewels and Apparel for her Servants	3914
To divers Merchants for Silks, &c.	995
The Lords Mask at her Marriage	400
For the Naval Fight of Fire-works on the <i>Thames</i> at her Marriage	4800
More Fire-works on the <i>Thames</i> at her Marriage	2880
To Sir <i>Edward Cecil</i> as Treasurer for her Journey from hence to <i>Heidelbergh</i> , and for her Purse	2000
For settling her <i>Foiture</i> , and charges to some of the Gentry to go thither and to take the <i>Assurance</i>	800
For her <i>Transport</i> to <i>Flushing</i>	5555
<i>Totale</i>	53294

L. Hay Ma-
ster of the
Wardrobe.
L. Harington.

Paid over to the *Palsgraves* Agent for her *Portion* 40000

The Total is ninety three thousand two hundred ninety and four pounds.

93294.l.

These Expences put the King to consider of the best means of Recovery, so that several ways were proposed to make his Disbursements answerable to his In-comes, and the way was; the first work of Ordinary good Husbandry, and might well be expected from a *Paterfamilias*, yet it would not for the present, *Rebus sic stantibus*, become this King, whose fame and honour (as all other Sovereignities, so his in particular) stood more upon Reputation than profit; and therefore he (according to the magnificence of Royalty, left that consideration, and he had done reasonable well, if not too much, for satisfying his Train.

Propositions
of Retrench-
ments of

Honoraries.

His second way was, to consider of his great expence of Household, now enlarged into several Courts, King, Queen, Prince, and Nursery; and these being lookt into, he was forced (contrary to the royal and largest heart of any his Progenitors) to come to *Retrenchment*; and truly in this, he was advised to use

Household.

Anno

1614.

use the means of mean people, and others subordinate, *Ingram* and others.

And first he removed by *Proclamation* a number of useless persons of his own *Nation*, that unnecessarily depended upon the bounty of his Court, and returned them home again.

Then he proportioned to each Court their expence, particularly rated for personal Diet and Dependance, Livery and Wages, Charge and Salary.

And this was done without publick complaint of any pressure upon the people (as hath been usual heretofore to Parliaments, and by them redressed) but prudently considered, and so referred to the Council-table.

In ancient time the Household was regulated by Book-order, and continued so to *Henry 8.* when Cardinal *Wolfey* (for more honour to that *Christmasts* King of immoderate expence) settled it, and so remained a ground-work to this present time, being now so corrupt, as that new ways were proposed, in effect to put down Tables, and to allow *Attendance-money*, as *France* does; or else by setting up the *Hall* again, to the best, first, and most magnificent Order, that so being spent in publick to the Kings honour, the secret waste of Chamber-diet, and purloining prevented; for out at the Court back-doors, most of the meaner houses at *Westminster* were maintained with food and firing, the stealth of under-chamberers.

We all know what excess was usual in our ancient *Retinue* and *Servants* with *blue coats* and *badges*, especially respecting the *Garter* of *St: George*, who were now ordered to lessen their number, and afterwards to fifty *Gentlemen*, and no more, to each *Knight* of that Order, heretofore an excessive number, to vie it out who should bring most.

And to reform himself from the excess of his royal heart in gifts and rewards, he published Orders and Articles in print, in what manner his pleasure restrained his bounty, and what natures he was willing to grant. Having been liberal to the *Scots*, whom he brought with him, men of the greatest eminency at home, thereby to binde them here with *Free-hold Lands*, as also with *English Tithes*; for what held the great *Gascoign Jean de Foix* firm to the Crown of *England*, but his Earldom of *Kendall* here. A neglect in Queen *Elizabeth*, to draw the chief Nobles in *Ireland* into *England* by exchange, or gift of Lands to have made them Free-holders here: she might then have spared two millions in her Wars.

But indeed the Kings gifts in Land to the *Scots*, unthankfully and unfittingly they sold, conveying that Treasure into *Scotland*, and so his great Design of uniting them here, became frustrate. And we finde, how many of them not so engaged, have turned Adversaries to his Posterity.

And

The King restrains his former bounties.

And I remember well, not a penny given then, freely to the *Scots*, but gave alarm to every part of *Englands* Discourse; Notes, Copies of all privy Seals, for money given, and so shewed then in Parliaments. Yet no noise of what the *English* had, though ten times more.

But his free hand having stretcht his purse-strings, there was a free *Benevolence* considered of, from such good Subjects as in hearty affection to their Sovereign, were willing to contribute, and did, the Lords and others, by which he might have experience how they could serve him, that served themselves so well, the building up of their own fortunes and factions, had been their diligent studies, and his service but the exercise of their leifures. And this *Benevolence* came but to fifty two thousand nine hundred and nine pounds out of their purses. Which yet maddened the ill-minded men, [*Pillars to the Kingdomes Liberties*] alwaies plotters to the Kingdomes Miseries. Who being ashamed to be out-done in honesty and honour, they justly drew upon themselves a *Mark of Malignancy*; and so needed not otherwise to be noted, [*by giving in their names*] as is pretended. And yet they would be meddling, devising poor Arguments to pretend it, [*against Subjects Liberties*] though accustomed evermore by examples of all former Sovereigns.

But to tell our *Historian* how antient the custome of *Benevolence* hath been, ever since the Statute of 20 *Henry* 8. that united *Wales* and *England* together, and to send their Members to sit in Our *Parliament*, where a motion being made in the House of *Commons* for a *Benevolence* to be freely given to that King, an honest Knight (for a *Welch* County) made answer. Mr. *Speaker*, This word *Benevolence* is a pretty Word, but I understand it not; Yet sure it is something His Highness should have: If it be so, in Gods Name let him have it; the sooner the better; and so may deserve thanks, else it will not.

Thus it was then, but now it is held to be [*Against Law, Reason, and Religion*] and *Injustice and Impiety* to be accepted.

And because his whole Reign was necessitous, and the want of money for him to be liberal, was his disease; I think fit to say somewhat here, in excuse to all the future aymes and ends which he took to get money, which answers the third way of Improvement.

There was much ado in Council to advance the *Crown* by several waies of Improvement. By grants in *Parliament*, wherein the King made some Tryal; so be it examined from former examples, whether or no, their bounties exceeded his Merits. Some advised him to fall upon *Acts of Resumption*, of *Lands, Offices and Annuities*, unadvisedly or profusely bestowed by his

Anno

1614.

A Benevolence

Hist. gr. Br. p.
78.Hist. gr. Br. p.
78.

Anno

1614.

his Predecessors, or himself, upon undeserving persons; which have been usually done by former Presidents of *Princes, Ubi necessitas Regis cogit*. But this his Noble heart disdained. Indeed it was wicked Counsel to work upon his Necessity, thereby to make him odious to his meritorious Servants and good Friends.

Did he ever do, as others, Henry 3. to his Subjects, of whom one saies, *Quicquid habuerunt in Esculentis, et poculentis; Rusticorum, enim, Equos, Bigas, vina, victualia ad libitum cepit*.

He made tryal of *Voluntary Lones*, or *Benevolence* by *Privy Seal*, which was neither burdesome nor dishonourable, being so petit in the Purses of the ablest Subjects.

But *Compulsion* I know of none, unless you call the *Star-Chamber* to the accompt, the Mulct and Fines of great Offenders, and perhaps adjudged by that Court to some value as the Crime deserved, which might be suspected in favour for Support of the Kings occasions. Yet you will find, when such happened, it was in the excess of unparallel'd crimes, not in other Courts of *Justice* lyable to examination or punishment; which as it was in *Terrorem populi*, so now in these our later daies being suppressed in favour and liberty of the Nation, the wickedness of sinfull man takes freedome to offend in such horrid waies, that nought but some such extraordinary course of Justice can possibly reform.

Pawning of Jewels and Plate had been frequent by all former Princes, and that not in ordinary waies, *Aurum & Focalia fanetri sancti Edwardi Confessoris. Vasa aurea, & diversa Focalia*.

Nay, *Magnam Coronam Angliae*. Yes, and Queen Elizabeth did it, and no more need, than He; but he did not.

To assign *Customes*, and pawn the next *Subsidies* to be granted, hath been a device to draw on supplies the sooner. Which he refused.

The *Privy Seal* indeed he made use of, but very moderately in comparison of former Presidents, if you examine the Records and Rolls of willing Subjects bountiful assistance.

Compulsory Waies have been Presidents to necessitated Princes, exacted from *Merchants-Strangers*, or to be committed to Prison, and the *English Subject*, little better favoured.

What will you say of Henry 8. *ten per centum* of all Goods, Jewells, Utensils, and Land, extremely rated, *per Sacramentum Suorum*? In that rank may be remembered a Custom, called *Liberalitas populi & Curialitas ex voluntate, nec de jure potest*. But in the gathering by Commissioners, such threats were used, as was little better than the violent; and was customarily reduced

Star-chamber.

Pawn of Jewels,

and customs.

Privy Seals.

Mulct upon commodities.

ced down to Queen *Mary*; indeed Queen *Elizabeth* had a little better cunning way to cozen them the more returning their bounty back again, until they doubled the sum.

There is a *Statute*, To compell Subjects to attend the Kings Service, which was repealed by Queen *Mary*, and that again repealed by Parliament of this King, of which truly he made no other advantage, than to send half a dozen refractory *Puritans*, that troubled the State, of his errand into *Ireland*, and yet paid them good salary for their pains, which had been usuall heretofore in the like case, at their own cost.

Trading themselves; I could shew Presidents for this also, of other Princes engrossing trade of Commodities; as one did, with all the *Wools* at a long day, and a narrow price, and sold them over Seas with great gain. The like of *Tyn*, *Corn*; nay, bind all men to trade their staple to one certain place, and yet themselves to places of more advantage. And this was the glory of Queen *Elizabeth* stoop'd unto, and took occasion to trade in, when the gain was advantage, though but in *Strong-Beer*.

Licensing Others also. It was so ordinary heretofore, to raise monies by licensing Trade, *non obstante*, Statutes and customs, as that those grew to high Complaints; yet necessitated Kings, continued these *non obstantes*, *non obstante*. And this King found them in *Grants*, for certain years in being, and made no further example of them, unless transporting of a quantity of undrest *White Cloths* to the Earl of *Cumberland*, and some others, and that upon good reason of State too.

Raising rates of Merchandize. There will never want will in the Merchant to abuse each other, and gain to themselves: and therefore as all Princes have occasion, and the increase of commodities requiring, do raise the Rates; and this was done *cum consensu Mercatorum*; but of late the just Prerogative imposed it, where the Merchants gain might give way, if you could conceive it convenient, to their conscience, ever to acknowledge any gain sufficient.

Causa honesta sit, ut necessaria ratio facili tempus idoneum.

Letting Customes to farm. He did so; some murmured, grieving the Subject to pay Custom to the Subject; but do they serve the King for nought? infinite gain; It was then wished, that they should declare their benefit, and afterwards become Collectors for the King.

Queen *Elizabeth*, after she had raised Customer *Smith* from 14000*l.* per annum to 42000*l.* made him discount what he had got. This King did not do so; yet he did better, borrowed money, and never paid it them. Besides they were alwaies at hand to be squeezed, and what his Successor failed in that way

Anno

1614.

To wait on
the Kings ser-
vice.

Ingross Trade,

and license.

By raising
rates.Customs to
Farm.

Anno

1614.

(being perhaps surprized by death) the next long Parliament, did to purpose ; ruined them all upon old Scores.

And was it not time for *King James* so to do ? We all know by the succeed, such Contractors lost not by their Farm. By which we may be assured, how mightily trade increased by the wise Government of this King, and no Text more certain to prove it, than the *Inter* and *Overloping* of *Merchants* to get in to be Farmers; so mighty was their gain, and so secret this their trade, as (but by their Pride, profuse and stately comportment since, could never otherwise have been imagined.

Liberties and *Penalties*; there have been Kings that have proclaimed, *Quod omnes Chartæ irritæ forent, nisi posteriori sigillo roborarentur*. Nay, *Qui suis volebant gaudere, innovarent chartas suas de novo*; and this was done by Commissioners, or by *quo warranto* against all.

And for penal Laws, though I know, that many Projectors advised, yet former examples of this kind have evermore been fatall to those of the *Quorum*. But this King declined it, at all.

Sale of Offices,

Selling Offices had been done formerly, not a King scaped it; to sell great Offices of the Crown and State, for years, for life, under the Kings hands and seals. They lodge in the Record thus, *Chancelour, Chief Justice, all Keepers of Records, Clerks of Assize and Peace, Masters of Game and Parks*, and what else of profit or repute.

In *France* it is common, not one scapes, and in *Spain* as usual, and defended as lawful; and there are some, that have prescribed them amongst the best Rules of reigning Sovereignty, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Temporal*. It may be, that Favorites and Courtiers, made bold with their interests in their Master to receive their Rewards; But his own hands were ever closed from such corruption.

and Honors.

Sale of Honours; It was the antient Power, and that legal, to call landed men to Knight-hood or fine; which he did, by favour and grace which he gave, truly I believe he was no niggard in them too. But indeed, there being no *Chivalry*, or *Deeds of Arms* in this time of peace to make men merit honours, those that had it (*favourites excepted*) I rank in desert, and so of due reward) To others I confess, they paid for it, and they were those off-hand Lords as were made Earls together, that paid eight thousand pound a piece, and the pride of their hearts never bogled at the purity of the Project, but swallowed down the Corruption, without check of Conscience; and yet this I can tell, Some of them, set their Sons to beg again, part of it, for their private expence.

Earls.

The

The *Baronets* were created upon a better score, and both these without any plot of State, as was feigned, and the designs upon the Earl of *Salisbury* for the former, and upon *Buckingham* for the later; when in truth Pride and Ambition made the project their own. And in Gods name let such pay the price thereof. And I know, as honest and discret as our later times can boast of, molded other such designs for degrees of honor, to be hereditary in tail, as *Under-degrees* to those already in use, which yet the King for that pretent declined.

Coyne and Bullion. All men know, that *Coin* and *Bullion* in any State admit great wisdom in the management, and as many overtures were now offered, as could stand with Justice or Customary Presidents. It was much urged to abate money, which was never used by any, but as a last shift, full of dishonor, as in *Bankrupts*, and a certain inconvenience to all Revenues of rents, and so to the King in that particular, as the greatest land-Lord, and so his disadvantage; which he declined. Moneys being esteemed *quantum in Massa*, not altogether *per sculptam*; and so hold esteem by their true value. *Queen Elizabeth* held it up from abasement, which her great potent *Enemy Spain* could not do.

Then was advised *Cambium Regis*, an office antient, untill of late the *Goldsmiths* have ingrossed it. Some thoughts there were to make the *Exitus* exceed the *introitus* in Traffick, that the unnecessary, nay useless commodities brought in (in old time accompted *Wines, Spices, Silks, and fine Linnen*) the Manufactures of out-lands, and sold to us to a great value, even in *Babies and Rattles*, being the sad occasion then, the great want of *Bullion*, not sufficient in *Specie* to pay the Lender in principal. At last it was concluded to get advantage in the *Coinage*, either *simple Metal or Mixt*, by which we see, that all *Monarchs* have, *ere, argento, & auro*, and so was coined only *Farthings*, least other stamp of more value should clog the Kingdom, and a proportion was (together) coined, and do what this State could, was in few years counterfeited by our neighbour *Hollanders*, and many *Firkins* filled by them, that the *Farthing Office*, was not able to rechange, upon the rebate for silver, which yet the King continued till these late times called in. Examine the inconvenience of *Leaden and Copper Tokens*, as great a benefit now to *Retaylors*, then formerly to the State; but with much more inconvenience to the Nation, being only utterable and current to each *Retaylor*, of his own *Mint and Mark*.

He was forced to adventure upon the use of *Parliaments*, and to begin with money, but not to build long upon their discusses, whereby came that saying in common, as of no other Design, *Subsidies granted, Parliament ended*, and therein the disadvan-

Anno
1614.

Baronets.

By Coin and
Bullion.

Exchange.

Coinage.

Farthings.

By Parlia-
ments.

The Reign and Death of

tages he found ; might well distinguish him, and their less frequent calling from his Predecessor, and her often invitation, and indeed discourage any Prince, that should next succeed her.

The Disposition and Spirit of the times considered were not alike with him. Her people ingenuous, and un-inquisitive, wrapped in innocence and humble obedience. But in his time, their passions and disaffections had gotten loose Reins, the snaffle in their teeth, contesting and capitulating ; Reasons of her actings were her own Will ; for then she having just cause, to complain of oppressions (as they did) they only conveyed them to her notice, and left the time and order of redress to her Princely discretion. And yet when it was not altogether concerning them, she would bid them meddle to amend their own Manners ; Nor were her Messengers choaked, by any reproach, that came of such errands. In his time, so much degenerate from the purity of the former, under pretence of reforming and freedom, that their very inquiry extended to the privacy of the King himself.

Nusquam Libertas gratior extat, quam sub Rege pio.

Afflicting themselves to search for mischiefs, and being found to scandalize the State with them.

How these were nourished and afterwards fomented, the revolution of time hath made obvious to all men, and saves me the labour to set down the particulars.

It was no novelty then to applaud the former times, and to vilifie the present, for indeed her fame carried it current in a long continuance, to have lived and dyed Royally and Victoriously, without the disquiet of the peoples affections ; and being but a Sojourner in the World in respect of her Maiden-hood, might be, and was a blessing to her own times : the impression of her good Government, besides her happy memory is not without some effect, which doth survive her ; But this K blessed already with Royal issue, and whose fruitful Bed promised increase, It was more proper and agreeable with him to be studious, not onely in the Transitory part of good Government, but in those Acts, which are in their nature permanent and perpetual to his posterity, rather to increase, than diminish the Advantages of Sovereignty, which he aimed at, and for his part and time did perform, but tis a tender subject to discuss. I have done.

Yet I may add a truth. That all the force and power of his Progenitours, and all their merits and policies to boot (for more then an age before her) could never borrow so much credit upon their Privy Seals, as she did during her time, and left them

all for this King to discharge, great and vast sums. Which shews; that Necessities put her upon that piece of State, when neither her Exchequer could afford relief, nor the urgency of her affairs indure the delaies of Parliaments assistance. For in truth, she had strained likewise from her people in that way of Subsidies, more then ever any Prince (I will not say many) that were before her.

She had the way to do it, by complaisance of a Princess; and he a King, not affecting that Course, failed of such effects.

For he was by nature more reserved than popular, and had his virtues fitter for estimation then Love, and did like a King; his soul being planted higher, overshot such matter, as lay level to anothers eye.

And so (as I have said) some of these ways, to get mony, was set a foot, this year 1614. and upon several occasions in his reign after proposed, but not effected.

In those times of Trade the Merchant-Adventurer usually transported *Our English Cloths*, white, undress'd and undy'd, and the *Dutch* had gotten the Art by the end, fitted and stretcht them by their Knavery, and so returned them to us at high rates; of this the Cloth-worker of *London* complains, which was soon remedied by Proclamation, forbidding the transport; and to countenance that Corporation, the King was feasted in their Hall, and made free of their Company, the rather because their Cote Arms, the *Thistle*, is the *Scots Embleme*. And over went our *Cloaths* accordingly, dyed and drest, which the *Hollanders* forbid to be bought by them; and therefore dealt with our Fell-mongers, and got over Our *Woolles*, and the *Mystery* of making *Cloth*.

Hereupon we proclame and forbid the transport of our *wools*. The Quarrel between those two Corporations, and their respective gain is by the *Merchant Adventurers* complained of, and for mittigation of their Mischief, several warrants for some thousands of Cloths were sparingly licensed by wisdom of State, to be sent over, and so evenly moderating the mystery of *Merchants* that cozen each other; and at their great Feast likewise the Prince was made free.

The King of *Denmark* makes a second visit to his Sister the *Queen* for fourteen daies, upon no business of State, onely his affections to her, and jollity to himself, with a Train of no more than half a hundred persons of honour, and Noblesse, of his own breeding to the Dutch *Diet* and *Drink*, to which he was too much inclined and oft-times had his load; for we were not wanting of our *boon-Companions*, that waited on him for that purpose.

Merchants
made friends.

King of Den-
marks second
Arrival.

The

Anno
1615.

Overburies
death disco-
vered.

The Earl of *Suffolk* succeeding *Salisbury* in the Treasurership yielded his Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household to his Son in Law *Somerset*, as aforesaid, and he the Place of *Secretary* unto Sir *Ralph Winwood*, lately returned from the *Netherlands*, where he had been *Ambassadour Lieger* of a long time.

The Summers Progres returns the King to *London*, where had been some muttering of *Overbury's* death in the *Tower*, discovered beyond the Seas by the Apothecary's Boy that impoysoned the *Glyster*, and having his Reward was sent out of the way to *Flushing*, where he told the Tale to *Trimball* the Kings Agent there, by whom it came to *Winwood's* knowledg, and so to the King, and by degrees to particular *Examinations*, *Confessions* and *Executions* of all these, *Weston* an Apothecary, Mistris *Turner* a Doctor of Physick's widow, Sir *Fervis Yelvis* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and *Franklin*, all accessaries.

But *Weston* being the principal actor, it was therefore his turn first to come to the Bar, at the *Hinstons* Court in *Guild-hall*, where beyond Judg *Cook's* expectation the man stood mute, notwithstanding all allurements and threats that could be used, and so was returned to Prison; *Cook* informs the King, that unless the principal be convict, the accessaries could not be tried; but by continual cunning, and some fair promises of pardon, *Weston* put himself upon his Countrey and was cast, condemned and hanged: *Cook* not content with that, gets knowledg under-hand that Serjeant *Yelverton* an obliged Servant to the House of *Howards*, had advised this Counsellor for *Weston*, not to betray any parties. And this Tale was told by Sir *Robert Cook* from his fathers confession.

After all comes *Somerset* and his Countess, and both condemned: some that were then at their Trial, and not partial, conceived in conscience, he might have been spared that Sentence, and as himself says to the King, *That he fell rather for want of well defending, than by force of proofs, for I so far (says he) forsook my self and my cause, as that I might be more condemned for that, than for the matter.*

And because it was a story of evil fame, near and far off, I shall put it to the test, in a brief Narratory, being pleaded before the Lord *Elsmore*, Chancellour and High Steward for the Day, and most of the Peers at *Westminster Hall*, May 1616. in this manner.

A Peer of the Land hath this Privilege upon *Treason* or *Felony*, indicted, to be tried by his Peers: the King by *Letters Patents* assigns some sage Lord of the Parliament to be High Steward of England, for that Day of his *Arreignment*, who before that time makes Precept to his *Serjeant at Arms*, to warn

Somersets ar-
reignment.

The manner
of arreigning
Peers of this
Realm.,

warn to appear before him a certain number of *Lords* of the *Parliament*, twelve at the least upon that Day at *Westminster*. At which time the *High Steward* shall sit under the *Cloath* of *State*, and causeth his *Commission* to be read, the same *Serjeant* returns his *Precept*, and calls the *Lords*, who appearing by name, and set, the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* is called, and brings his *Prisoner* into the *Court* to the *Bar*; the *High Steward* then declares to the *People* the cause, why the King hath assembled those *Lords* and the *Prisoner*, and perswades him to answer without fear freely, and commands the *Clerk* of the *Crown* to read the *Indictment* unto him, and to ask him if he be *guilty* or not? to which he usually answers, *Not guilty*; and to be tried by *God* and his *Peers*. Then the *Kings Attorney* and *Serjeants* at *Law* give *Evidence* against him; whereto, when he hath given answer, the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* is commanded to return with the *Prisoner* from the *Bar*, whilst the *Lords* do secretly confer in the *Court* together, and then the *Lords* rise out of their places, and consult among themselves, and what they affirm, shall be done upon their *Honour* without *Oath*.

And being so agreed, (or the greatest number) they return and take their places again in *Court*; and the *High Steward* demands of the youngest *Lord* first, if he that is *arreigned* be *guilty* or not? and so the next in order, and the rest, each one, answering, *I* or *No*. Then the *Prisoner* is sent for to the *Bar*, to whom the *High Steward* recites the *Verdict* of the *Peers*, and doth give *Judgment* accordingly, *Stanford Pleas del Corona, lib. 3. Poult. 188.*

The antiquity of this kinde of Trial by their opinion is grounded from *Magna Charta*, but others take it to be more ancient, though there inserted *Henry 3.* but was brought in by the *Conquerour*, being answerable to the *Norman* and *French* Laws, and agreeable with the *Customes Feudal*, where almost all controversies arising between the *Sovereign* and his *Vassals*, are tried *per judicium parvum suorum*.

And if a *Peer* upon his *Arreignment* of *Treason* do stand mute, *Judgment* shall be given upon his *Indictment*, and yet shall not be pressed to death, but saves the forfeiture of his *Lands*, *Statut. Westm. Edw. 4. Dier 205.* But if upon *Indictment* of *Felony*, he may be mute.

The reason of *Magna Charta* aforesaid, is there expressed, where he is indicted at the *Kings Suit* of *Treason* or *Felony*, the words being, (*Nec super eum ibimus*, we will not pass or sit in judgment upon him, but by his *Peers*) but if an *Appeal* of *Murder*, or other *Felony*, be sued by any common person against a *Peer*; he shall be tried by *common persons*, and not by *Peers*, *Stan. Pleas, lib. 3. Brook Trial, 142.* But yet this *Privilege* hath some restraint.

For

Anno
1616.

The Case
pleaded.

For an *Arch-bishop* or *Bishop*, though *Lords of Parliament*, in such cases shall be tried by a *Fury* of *Knights*, and other substantial persons, upon their *Oaths*, because *Ecclesiasticks* cannot pass in like cases upon Trial of other *Peers*; for they are forbidden by the *Common* and *Ecclesiastick* Laws, to be *Judges* of *Life* and *Death*.

You see the great regard the *Law* hath to the word of a *Peer*, (heretofore) upon his honour, and yet how many ordinarily break their *Oaths* in *common*?

And thus premised, we come to the case of *Somerset* and his *Countess*.

First, therefore Sir *Thomas Overbury* for a time was known to have great interest and strait friendship with the Earl of *Somerset*, both in his meaner fortunes, and after; in so much, that he was in a kinde of oracle of direction unto him, and if you will believe his own vaunt, (being indeed of an insolent and *Thraso-nical* disposition) he took upon him, that the fortunes, reputation and understanding of this Gentleman (who is well known to have an able Teacher) proceeded from his company and counsel: and this friendship rested not onely in conversation and business at *Court*, but likewise in communication of business of *State*; for my Lord of *Somerset* exercising at that time, by his *Majesties* special favour and trust, the Office of *Secretary*, did not forbear to acquaint *Overbury* with the Kings *Packets* and *Dispatches* from all parts of *Spain*, *France*, and the *Low-countreys*; and this not by glympses, or now and then rounding in the ear for a favour, but in a settled manner: *Packets* were sent, sometimes opened by my Lord, sometimes unbrokened, unto *Overbury*, who perused them, copied them, registred them, made Table-talk of them, as he thought good: so, the time was, when *Overbury* knew more of the secrets of *State*, than the *Council-table* did, nay, they were grown to such inwardness, as they made a play of all the world besides themselves, so as they had *cyphers* and *Furgons* for the *King* and *Queen*, and great men of the *Realm*; things seldom used, but either by *Princes* or their confederates, or at the *Court*, or at the least by such, as practice and work against, or (at least) upon *Princes*.

But as it is a *Principle* in *Nature*, that the best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest Wine makes the sowrest Vineger, so it fell out with them, that this excess, as I may say of friendship, ended in mortal hatred, on my Lord of *Somerset's* part.

It hath been said, that *Frost* and *Fraud* ends foul; and I may add a third, and that is the friendship of ill men, which is truly said to be conspiracy, and not friendship; for it happened, that the Earl of *Somerset* fell into an unlawfull love, towards that un-
fortunate

Anno
1616.

fortunate Lady the Countess of Essex, and to proceed to a Marriage with her; this Marriage and purpose did Overbury mainly impugn, under pretence to do the true part of a Friend, for that he accounted her an unworthy woman; but the truth is, Overbury, (who (to speak plainly) had little that was solid for Religion or moral virtue, but was wholly possess'd with ambition and vain-glory) was loath to have any partners in the favour of my Lord of Somerset, and especially not any of the House of Howards, against whom he had profess'd hatred and opposition.

And that this is no sinister construction, will appear, when you shall hear, that Overbury made his brags, that he had won him the love of the Lady by his Letters and industry; so far was he from cases of conscience in this point.

And certainly, howsoever the tragical misery of that poor Gentleman Overbury, might somewhat obliterate his faults, yet because we are not upon point of civility, but to discover the face of Truth, for that it is material to the true understanding of the state of this cause, Overbury was naught and corrupt: in his commendation the Ballads must be mended for that point, which paint him out other, and partiality must be blamed, which now a days favour him, in malice to the memory of the ministers of these Times.

But to proceed, when Overbury saw that he was like to be dispossessed of my Lords grace, which he had possessed so long, and by whose greatness he had promised himself to do wonders; and being a man of an unbounded and impudent spirit, he began, not onely to dissuade, but to deter him, from the love of that Lady; and finding him fixed, thought to finde a strong Remedy; and supposing that he had my Lord's head under his Girdle, in respect of communication of secrets of State, (as he calls them himself) secrets of Nature, and therefore dealt violently with him to make him desist, with menaces of discovery, and the like: hereupon grew two streams of hatred upon Overbury; the one from the Lady, in respect that he crossed her love, and abused her Name, (which are Furies in women) the other of a more deep nature, from my Lord of Somerset himself, who was afraid of Overbury's nature; and if he did break from him and fly out, he would winde into him, and trouble his whole fortunes; so as certainly it was resolved that Overbury must dy.

That was too weak, and they were so far from giving way to it, as they crossed it; there rested but two ways of quarrel, Assault and Poyson.

For that of Assault, after some proposition and attempt they passed from it, as a thing too open and subject to more variety of shame.

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That

Anno
1616.

That of *Poyson* likewise was an hazardous thing, and subject to many preventions and caution, especially to such a working and jealous brain as *Overbury* had, except he was first in their hands; therefore the way was, first to get him sent over Seas, or into a Trap, and lay him up, and then they could not miss the mark; and therefore in execution of this Plot, it was concluded, that his pride should be designed to some honourable imployment in forein parts, and should under-hand by himself my Lord of *Somerset* be encouraged to refuse it, and so upon contempt he should be laid Prisoner in the Tower, and then they thought he should be close, and Death should be his Bail.

Yet were they not at their end, for they considered, that if there were not a fit Lieutenant of the Tower for that purpose, and likewise a fit Under-keeper of *Overbury*;

First, they should meet with many impediments in the giving and exhibiting of the *Poyson*.

Secondly, they should be exposed to note and observation, that might discover them.

And thirdly, *Overbury* in the mean time might write clamorous and furious Letters to his Friends, and so all might be disappointed.

And therefore the next Link of the Chain was, to displace the then Lieutenant *Wade*, and to place *Yelvis*, a principal abetter in the impoysonment; to displace *Carew*, that was under-keeper in *Wade*'s time, and to place *Weston* that was the Actor in the impoysonment.

And this was done in such a while, that it may appear to be done, as it were in a breath.

Then when they had this poor Gentleman in the Tower, where he could not escape nor stir; where he could not feed, but by their hands; where he could not speak, or write, but through their trunks; then was the time, to act the last Day of his Tragedy.

Then must *Franklin* the Purveyor of the *Poyson*, in May 1613. procure five, six, seven several *Poysons*, to be sure to hit his complexion; then must Mistris *Turner* the lay-mistris of the *Poysons*, advise, what works at present, and what at distance. Then must *Weston* be the Tormentor, and chace him with *Poyson*, after *Poyson*, *Poyson* in salt meats, *Poyson* in sweet meats, *Poyson* in Medicines and Vomits, untill at last his body was almost come by use of *Poysons* to the state of *Mithridates* body, by the use of Treacle and preservatives, that the force of the *Poysons* was blunted upon him; *Weston* confessing, That when he was chid for not dispatching, that he had given him enough to poyson twenty men.

And

And because all this asked time, impoysoning from *March 9.* to *September 14.* courses were taken by *Somerset* both to divert all the true means of *Overbury's* delivery, and to entertain him with continual *Letters*, partly with hopes and protestations, for his delivery, and partly with other fables and negotiations, somewhat like some kinde of persons, which keep in a Tale of fortune-telling, when they have a felonious intent to pick their Pockets and Purses. Untill at last, they hastened his destruction by an impoysoned *Glyster*, which wrought into his intrails, and soon dispatcht him. And this is the Narration of this Art, which I have summarily recited.

Then comes his *Countess* to her Trial, guilty of too much contrivance and practice, though in Murder it be crime enough; yet she confessed, that which could not be proved; and at her Trial, she seemed drown'd in a deluge of grief, being therein beholden to Nature, that she could vent her self in tears; seeing that sorrow which cannot bleed in the eys does often fester in the heart, and so it appeared in her excess; women can hardly do any thing without over-doing; feminine passions must either not be full, or overflow: and indeed, she could not utter one word in her own defence, which begat relenting, even in the *Council* that pleaded against her, who otherwise take pride to force *Arguments*, making their Tongues their Ware, and Eloquence their Trade. But her sorrowfull silence needed the less *Rhetorick* in them, to urge her guilt; or in her Judges, to consult the weight of her crime.

These considerations moved the *Lord Steward* and *Peers* joyntly, to move his *Majesty* for mercy, and for the present procured their *Reprieve*, back to the *Tower*; but indeed, she was dead whilest living, being almost drown'd in despair, to work out her *Repentance*, for which cause principally her *life* and *his* were enlarged, as conceiving it the worst of *Justice* to kill both body and soul; and after long *imprisonment* and true and hearty *penance* nine or ten years together, and no doubt *Repentance* also, they had liberty out of the *Tower* in *January 1621.* and confined to the *Country*, and at last their *Pardons* were procured, which in truth, notwithstanding her great Family and deserving Friends, was to my knowledg got but by inches, four moneths before the *Kings* death, which was *Anno 1624.*

But in the whole *Execution*, where so many suffered, let the Pretacer to the Pamphlet of Fables, *The Court and Character of King James*, pick out a greater *President* in any History more remarkable for exquisite justice, than this of the *King*; wherein by the way, he may be allowed his own even *conscience* for justice and *mercy* both, which no doubt hath found acceptance at God his *Tribunal* in his behalf; and his Posterity in due time by our

Anna
1616.

The Countess
araigned,

and both of
them con-
demned, re-
prieved, and

after pardon-
ed.

See the Pre-
face, Court
and Charact.
King James.

The Reign and Death of

Saviours merit shall be gathered together in the mystery of man's *Redemption*.

And for the other *Historian*, let his memory be blamed for recounting so many untruths, and yet hypocritically closes with this Gloss, [*Pardon* (says he) *the sharpness of these expressions, for they are for the glory of God.*]

I could say more in this and other unfortunate stories of backward times, but I delight not ambitious pains in an useless description of miseries; I had rather shew you what *Somerfet* could say for himself, concerning his *Land*, much more in doubt for his *life*, it being a piece of charity to the distressed, and to the memory of the deceased: I shall not therefore conceal it, and the length thereof.

May it please your Majesty,

BY this Gentleman your Majesties Lieutenant, I understand of some halt you made, and the cause of it, at such time as he offered to your Majesty my Letters; but soon after, your Majesty could resolve your self, and behold me nothing so diffident of you, but in humble language petitioning your favour; for I am in hope, that my condition is not capable of so much more misery, as I need make my passage to you, by such way of intercession.

This which follows after, I offer your Majesty, though not as to your self, for upon less motive you can finde favour for me.

Now I need onely move, not plead, before your Majesty, as my case doth stand; for what I seek to have done, follows, upon what you have already done, as a consequence and succeeding growth of your own act.

But to the effect, that your Majesty may see, that there is enough to answer those, (if any such there be) as do go about to pervert the exercise of your Power, and to turn it from its own clear excellency, for to minister unto their passions. I have presumed to this end to awake your Majesties own conceit, upon this subject, which can gather to it self better and more able defences in my behalf upon this view; for though the Acts of your Mercy, which are not communicable, nor the causes of them with others, as derived from those secret motives, which are onely sensible and privy to your own heart, and admit of no search or discovery, to any general satisfaction; and that under this protection, I might guard my particular sufficiently; yet, my case needs not hide it self, but attend the dispute with any, that would put upon it a monstrous and heavy shape; though that I must acknowledg, that both Life and Estate are forfeited to you, by Law; yet so forfeited, that the same Law gives you the same power to preserve as it doth to punish; whereby your Majesties higher Prerogative doth not wrestle with it, nor do you infringe those grounds, by which you have ever

Somerfet's
Letter to the
King.

Cabala, p. 1.

Anno

1616

governed; so as the resistance is not great, that your Majesty hath for to give Life, and which is less in the gift of Estate; for that, the Law casts wholly upon your self, and yields it as fit matter, for exercise of your goodness. Once it was your Majesties gift to me, so it may be better not taken, than a second time given; for it is common to all men, for to avoid to take that, which hath been once their own. And I may say farther, that Law hath not been so severe, upon the ruine of innocent posterity, nor yet cancelled, nor cut off the merits of Ancestors, before the politick hand of State had contrived it into these several forms, as fitted to their ends and government.

To this I may add, that that whereupon I was judged, even the crime it self, might have been none, if your Majesties hand had not once touched upon it, by which, all access unto your favour was quite taken from me. Yet as it did at length appear, I fell rather for want of well defending, than by the violence or force of any proofs; for I so far forsook my self and my cause, as that it may be a question, whether I was more condemned for that, or for the matter it self, which was the subject of that days controversie.

Then thus far, nothing hath appeared wherein your Majesty hath extended for me your power, beyond the reasonable bound, neither doth any thing stand so in the way of your future proceedings, but rather make easie your Majesties favour for my relief.

What may then be the cause that malice can pitch upon, wherefore your Majesty should not proceed to accomplish your own work? Aspersions are taken away by your Majesties letting me loose, to the utmost power of Law, with the lives of so many offenders, which yieldeth the world subjects of sorrow, rather than appetite to more blood; but truth and innocency protect themselves in poor men, much more in Kings. Neither ever was there such aspersion, (God knows) in any possibility, towards your Majesty; but among those, who would create those pretences, to mislead your Majesty, and thereby make me miserable. If not this (whereof the virtue and use was in the former time and now determined) there is not any but your pleasure.

It is true, I am forfeited to your Majesty, but not against you, by any treasonable or unfaithfull act; besides, there is to be yielded a distinction of men, as in faults; in which I am of both, under the nearest degrees of exception.

Yet your Majesty hath pardoned Life and Estate to Traitors, and to strangers sometimes the one, sometimes the other; nay, to some concerned in this business, wherein I suffer; you have pardoned more unto them than I desire; who (as it is reputed) if they had come to the test, had proved Copper, and should have drunk of the bitter cup as well as others.

But I do not by this, envy your favours to any persons, nor seek I to draw them into the yoke with my self, but applaud your Majesties goodness, being in that respect, in a nearer possibility to come at me.

Besides

Anno
1616.

Sir W. Elvish.

Sir Lewis
Tresham.

Besides this, to Elvish your Majesty hath given Estate, which is a greater gift than Life, because it extends to posterity, who was the worst deserwer in this business, an unoffended instrument, might have prevented, all after-mischief, who for his own ends suffered it, and by the like arts afterwards, betraid it.

To this I may add, Tresham in the Powder Treason, upon whose Successors I do not cast any of his infamy, yet he preserved himself to posterity; so as what he or others such as he, have defrauded by the arts of Law, and whom their own unfaithfulness made safe, I have much ado to hold by ingenuity and confidence. How may it be, because I distrusted not your Majesty, or because it returned in your power from whom I had it? is it in danger to be broken or dismembred? Let me hope that there is nothing which by favour may be excused, or by industry might have been avoided, that will fail me, where your Majesty is to determine. It is not I that thus put your Majesty in minde opportunely; it is he that was your creature, it is Somerset with all your honours, and envious greatness, that is now in question. Kings themselves are protected from the breach of Law, by being favourites and Gods Anointed; which gives your Majesty like privilege over yours as I took from Doctor Dun in his Sermon, that the goodness of God is not so much acknowledged by us in being our Creator, as in being our Redeemer, nor in that he hath chosen us, as that nothing can take us out of his hand: which in your Majesties remembrance let me challenge and hope for; for the first accesses of favour, they may be ascribed unto ones own pleasing themselves; but that appears to be for our sakes, and for our good, when the same forsakes not our civil desires.

This Redemption I crave, not as to my own person, but with your benefits once given; nor do I assume them very deep, for I have voluntarily departed from the hopes of my Pension, Place, Office; I onely cleave to that, which is so little as that it will suffer no paring or diminution.

And as in my former Letters, so by this, I humbly crave of your Majesty, not to let the practices of Court, work upon your Son the Prince; not fearing the sufferance of my loss in that particular, so much (for I cannot lose it, but willingly all with it) as for to take off the stage, that which in the attempt may prove inconvenient.

And consider, I pray your Majesty, that my hope in desiring to pass these bad times, was to be restored to my fortunes; others are made unhappy by me, if otherwise; and then I lose my end: I speak of impairing, of changing, or supplying, as of any other way, all such alterations and ruine are alike, without I be worthy of your gift, and that I can be worthy of all, that Law can permit you to give, or cast upon your Majesty by a more nearer Title, as it doth by this; I shall account them equal evils, that leave nothing, or a patched and proportioned one, changed, or translated from one thing to another.

But

Anno

1616.

But if your Majesty have any respects to move you, to suspend your good towards me, let that which is mine rest in your own hands, till that you finde all opposite humours conformed to your purpose.

I have done wrong to my self, thus to entertain such a doubt of your Majesty; but the unrelenting of adversaries, which when you will have them, will sooner alter, and that all this while, I have received nothing of present notice for direction, or to comfort me from your Majesty, hath made me to expostulate with my self thus hardly; for God is my Judg, Sir, I can never be worthy to be, if I have these marks put upon me of a Traitor, as that tumbling and disordering of that estate, would declare the divorce from your presence, laies too much upon me; and this would upon both.

I will say no further, neither in that, which your Majesty doubted my aptness to fall into; for my cause nor my confidence is not in that distress, as for to use that mean of intercession, nor of anything besides, but to remember your Majesty, that I am the workmanship of your hands, and bear your stamp deeply imprinted in all the characters of favour; that I was the first Plant ingrafted by your Majesties hand in this place; therefore not to be unrooted by the same hand, lest it should taint all the same kinde, with the touch of that fatalness: and that I was even the Son of a Father, whose Services are registred in the first Honours and impressions I took of your Majesties favour, and laid there as a Foundation-stone of that building.

These, and your Majesties goodness, for to receive them, is that I rely upon; praying for your Majesties prosperity. I am in all humbleness,

Your Majesties loyal Servant and Creature,
R. Somerset.

I should not trouble you with the Marriage of the Lady Arabella Stuart and Sir William St: Maure or Seymer, both of kin to the Crown, she by the Earl of Lenox in Scotland, (as I have before said 1577.) and he Grandchilde to the third Son and the Heir of the Earl of Hartford, created by Henry 8. whose Sister he married 1537. and by Edward 6. made Duke of Somerset, and his Protector, who stiled himself, [Edward by the grace of God Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hartford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord Seymer, Uncle to the Kings Highness of England, Governour of the Kings Person, Protector of all his Realms, Dominions and Subjects, Lieutenant General of his Majesties Armies both by Sea and Land, Lord high Treasurer, and Earl Marshal of England, Governour of the Isles of Gernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter, and bears Gules, two Wings conjoynd in Fess Or.] Yet all these Honours rather helped him forwards to hop headless for Felony.

His third Son Edward was restored to the Earldom 1 Eliz.
and

Lady Arabel-
la's marriage
with Seymer.

Anno
1616.

Hist. Gr. Br.
p. 90.

The Case of
the Kings
right to Com-
mendams.

Sir Fr: Bacon.

and this *William* his Heir. And thus near the *Crown*, in all *Sovereignties* are needfull to be narrowly lookt into for Marriage.

Queen Elizabeth did so, at a farther distance of danger, and her Father made it *Treason* in his time; I say, I should forbear more mention, but that our Detractor begins at her Death in the *Tower*, (where she was imprisoned, though her Husband escaped) and says, [*That it set mens tongues and fears a work, that she went the same way*] having almost in his last words before, told the story of *Overbury* impoysoned in the *Tower*, by which he now enforces belief, [*That her Death was so done for the Kings interest*] when in truth she died a year before, in *September 1615*.

There happened occasion at *Common Pleas* to dispute the Kings power in *Commendams*. The Church being void, and in his gift, whether he might give a *Commendam* to a *Bishop* (either before or after his *Consecration*) during life or for years?

It was argued by *Serjeant Chibborn* against the King,

That the translation of Bishops was against the Common Law, his Text was the Canons of the Council of Sardis.

That the King had no power to grant Commendams, but necessitate.

That there would be no necessity, because no need of augmentation of Livings. No man being bound to be more hospitable than his means afforded.

And much more argument tending to overthrow the Kings Prerogative in cases of *Commendams*.

This case was to be farther argued in the Kings absence by all the Judges, which he thought to protract, untill they consulted with him; and so commanded his *Attourney General* to signifie by Letters his pleasure to all the Judges.

The Judges notwithstanding, at the day argue the Case, and return answer by Letter to the King, That they held those Letters to be contrary to Law, and such as they could not obey by Oath, and therefore had proceeded at the day appointed, setting down the Case to be upon construction of two Acts of Parliament, 25 *Edward 3.* and of 25 *Henry 8.* and now between Subjects for private interest and Inheritance. That their Oath is, *That in case any Letter come to them contrary to Law, they are not to obey them, but to proceed to Justice.* And so they did the last Term, 27. April, 1616. The Judges subsign, *Cook, Hobert, Tanfield, Warburton, Snig, Altham, Bromley, Crook, Winch, Dodderidg, Nicols and Houghton.*

The King returns them answer by Letter, Reporting himself to their own knowledg, his princely care for justice to be duly administered to his Subjects with all expedition, and how far he was from crossing or delaying the interests of private persons. But on the other side, where the case concerned the high Powers and Prerogatives of his

Anno

1616.

his Crown, he would not indure to have them wounded through the sides of a private person; admonishing them of an ordinary custome lately entertained, boldly to dispute the high points of his prerogative in a popular and unlawful way of Argument, not heretofore usual. Making them senceable, how weak and impertinent the pretence of their Oath was in a case of this nature; as if the Founders of their Oath, His Predcessors, were so intent in their zeal to be uncharitable to make a weapon to wound their Successors, being an ordinary course to put off Hearings and Determinings, amongst private persons Termly. And commands them peremptorily not to proceed further in that Plea, till his return to London; there to receive his further pleasure by himself; Your Oath being only for avoiding importunities to the Prince of Suiters in their own particular.

The King come to London, convenes them all to the Council Table; and himself takes in sunder the parts of the Judges Letter, and their Errors in proceeding; both in matter and manner. In matter, by way of omission, as commission.

The King & Judges meet, and examines their Letter.

When the Counseller shall presume to argue his Supremacy at the Bar, and they not reprove his Insolency. Himself observing since his coming to this Crown, the popular Sort of Lawyers most affrontingly in all Parliaments have troden upon his Prerogative; though neither Law nor Lawyer can be respected, if the King be not revered; And therefore it became the Judges to bridle their impudencies in their severall Benches; especially the Courts of Common-Law, who had incroached upon all other Courts, High Commission, Councils in Wales, and at York, and Courts of Requests.

For the Commission in Matter, whereas their Letter excepted against his Majesties command to be against the Law, and their Oath. He tells them, deferring upon just and necessary cause is not denying or delaying of Justice, but rather wisdom and maturity. Nothing more proper than to consult with the King where it concerns the Crown.

As for the Manner; The Kings absence before the Argument, and yet his resolved return speedily; and the case, though lately argued could not receive Judgement till Easter Term after, as the Judges confessed.

And for them to say, that the case was private interest of party and party; One of the Parties is a Bishop, that pleads for the Commendam onely by vertue of his Majesties Prerogative. And that they could not prove any Solicitation of either Parties for expedition.

And for the form of the Letter, it was undecent; besides to proceed, and to return a bare Certificate, without giving reasons therefore

Anno

1616.

Upon this all the Judges fell down on their knees, acknowledging their Errour, and craving Pardon.

But for the Matter, the Chief Justice Cook entered into a Defence, That the stay by his Majesty, was a delay of Justice, and therefore against Law and their Oath, that as they meant to handle the Pleading, it should not concern the King's Prerogative.

To which the King told him, That for them to discern the concernment of his Prerogative without consult with him, was preposterous. And for those of Law and Oath, he had said sufficient before. Therefore he required the Lord Chancellour's opinion herein, whether against Law and their Oath?

The Chancellour excused himself as to that of Law, referring it to the opinion of the King's Council; whereupon the Attourney General Bacon said,

That to put off the Day was no Delay of Justice, nor endangered their Oath; for the King's Reasons were onely, that it concerned his Prerogative, and required therefore a stay for a small time; and advised the Judges, whether this refusal of their did not rather endanger their Oath; which was, *To counsel the King when they are called*: but to counsel after the matter is past, was a simple refusal to give him Counsel at all. And all the rest of the Council concluded with him.

The Chief Justice Cook excepted, That the King's Council should plead against the Judges; being their duties to plead before them, not against them.

Whereunto the Attourney replied, That the King's Council were by Oath and Office, not onely to plead, proceed, and declare against the greatest Subject, but also against any body of Subjects or persons, nay, were they Judges or Courts, or House of Commons in Parliament; and concluded, That the Judges challenge was a wrong to their Places, and appealed to the King, who was firm for them.

The Chief Justice replied, He would not dispute it with his Majesty. The King replied, Nor with my Council. So then whether you do well or ill, it may not be disputed.

The Chancellour gave his opinion with the King, and his Council.

Hereupon the positive Question was put by all the Lords, Whether in a Case depending, which the King might conceive himself concerned in power or profit, and requiring to consult with them they ought not to stay proceedings?

All the Judges submitted thereto, onely the Chief Justice excepted, saying, When that Case should be, then he would do his duty.

But the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas said, For his part, He would always trust the justice of the King's command.

But the Day drawing nigh, the next Saturday, for arguing the

the *Commendams*, the King desired the Judges to exprefs, *Whether they would then argue upon the Kings general power of granting Commendams, yea or no.*

Anno
1616.

They all concluded, Not to draw into doubt his power, but to infist upon the point of *Lapse*, which they conceived to be of a form different from former *Commendams*; and concluded to correct the insolencies of bold arguing the Prerogative.

Judge *Doderidge* concluded for the King, That the Church was void, and in his gift, and might give a *Commendam* to a Bishop, either before or after Consecration, during Life or years.

The Judges being gone, the privy Council resolved that the Kings desire was not against the Judges Oath, nor against the Common Law to require; and all of them subscribed to the same.

This Dispute was publicquely scanned and censured in favour of the Judges, and on the contrary for the King, but the truth I have really extracted out of the Records of the Council Table; That you may thereby see the true scope of those times.

The State of *Spain* having little to do in Martial affairs; K. *Philip* the third, now in peace, thought to spend some time in *Treaties*, wherein he seldom failed of advantage. The late *French* King *Henry* the fourth, had 3. daughters; the one married to the Duke of *Savoy*; which the *Spaniard* misliking to have those Neighbours lately so great Enemies, now to be linkt in love without his Interest, conceived it good policy to indeer the young King *Lewis* of *France* in a cross Match, to his Daughter *Infanta Anna*, and to marry his son *Philip* to the *Princess Elizabeth*; the second daughter of *Henry* the fourth.

Spain and
France cross
Mariage with
Savoy.

And thus those cross Nuptials might seem to cement the affections of the three States, lately so imbroyled in War, which no doubt either of them had good cause to accept; though it was said *S. P. Q. R.* *Spain*, *Pope*, *Queen-Regent* had the chief hand, to undo the young King.

For the Father *Henry* the fourth, had made Wars upon the Duke of *Savoy* to recover the *Marquisate* of *Saluses*, and this King of *Spain* under colour to aid the Duke (his Brother in Law) sent him Horse and foot of *Spaniards*. But the peace concluded, by exchange of *Saluses*, with the Countries of *Bresse* and *Gex*; the *Spanish Auxillaries*, being muzled in warm quarters, at *Carboniers*, *Montemellion*, *Savillan*, and *Pignorell* (the best places of *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*) would not budge; no! though the Duke begg'd of them to be gone; but were absolutely commanded the contrary by Count *Fuentes*, *Viceroy* of *Millain*,
and

Anno

1615.

Overburies
death disco-
vered.

The Earl of *Suffolk* succeeding *Salisbury* in the Treasurership yielded his Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household to his Son in Law *Somerset*, as aforesaid, and he the Place of *Secretary* unto Sir *Ralph Winwood*, lately returned from the *Netherlands*, where he had been *Ambassadour Lieger* of a long time.

The Summers Progres returns the King to *London*, where had been some muttering of *Overbury's* death in the *Tower*, discovered beyond the Seas by the Apothecary's Boy that impoysoned the *Glyster*, and having his Reward was sent out of the way to *Flushing*, where he told the Tale to *Trimball* the Kings Agent there, by whom it came to *Winwood's* knowledg, and so to the King, and by degrees to particular *Examinations*, *Confessions* and *Executions* of all these, *Weston* an Apothecary, Mistris *Turner* a Doctor of Phyfick's widow, Sir *Fervis Yelvis* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and *Franklin*, all accessaries.

But *Weston* being the principal actor, it was therefore his turn first to come to the Bar, at the *Hinstons* Court in *Guild-hall*, where beyond Judg *Cook's* expectation the man stood mute, notwithstanding all allurements and threats that could be used, and so was returned to Prison; *Cook* informs the King, that unless the principal be convict, the accessaries could not be tried; but by continual cunning, and some fair promises of pardon, *Weston* put himself upon his Countrey and was cast, condemned and hanged: *Cook* not content with that, gets knowledg under-hand that Serjeant *Yelverton* an obliged Servant to the House of *Howards*, had advised this Counsel for *Weston*, not to betray any parties. And this Tale was told by Sir *Robert Cook* from his fathers confession.

Somersets ar-
reignment.

After all comes *Somerset* and his Countess, and both condemned: some that were then at their Trial, and not partial, conceived in conscience, he might have been spared that Sentence, and as himself says to the King, *That he fell rather for want of well defending, than by force of proofs, for I so far (says he) forsook my self and my cause, as that I might be more condemned for that, than for the matter.*

And because it was a story of evil fame, near and far off, I shall put it to the test, in a brief Narratory, being pleaded before the Lord *Elsmore*, Chancellour and High Steward for the Day, and most of the Peers at *Westminster Hall*, May 1616. in this manner.

The manner
of arreigning
Peers of this
Realm.,

A Peer of the Land hath this Privilege upon *Treason* or *Felony*, indicted, to be tried by his Peers: the King by *Letters Patents* assigns some sage Lord of the *Parliament* to be *High Steward of England*, for that Day of his *Arreignment*, who before that time makes Precept to his *Serjeant at Arms*, to warn

warn to appear before him a certain number of *Lords* of the *Parliament*, twelve at the least upon that Day at *Westminster*. At which time the *High Steward* shall sit under the *Cloath of State*, and causeth his *Commission* to be read, the same *Serjeant* returns his *Precept*, and calls the *Lords*, who appearing by name, and set, the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* is called, and brings his *Prisoner* into the *Court* to the *Bar*; the *High Steward* then declares to the *People* the cause, why the King hath assembled those *Lords* and the *Prisoner*, and perswades him to answer without fear freely, and commands the *Clerk* of the *Crown* to read the *Indictment* unto him, and to ask him if he be *guilty* or not? to which he usually answers, *Not guilty*; and to be tried by *God* and his *Peers*. Then the *Kings Attorney* and *Serjeants* at *Law* give *Evidence* against him; whereto, when he hath given answer, the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* is commanded to return with the *Prisoner* from the *Bar*, whilst the *Lords* do secretly confer in the *Court* together, and then the *Lords* rise out of their places, and consult among themselves, and what they affirm, shall be done upon their *Honour* without *Oath*.

And being so agreed, (or the greatest number) they return and take their places again in *Court*; and the *High Steward* demands of the youngest *Lord* first, if he that is *arreigned* be *guilty* or not? and so the next in order, and the rest, each one, answering, *I* or *No*. Then the *Prisoner* is sent for to the *Bar*, to whom the *High Steward* recites the *Verdict* of the *Peers*, and doth give *Judgment* accordingly, *Stanford Pleas del Corona, lib. 3. Poult. 188.*

The antiquity of this kinde of Trial by their opinion is grounded from *Magna Charta*, but others take it to be more ancient, though there inserted *Henry 3.* but was brought in by the *Conquerour*, being answerable to the *Norman* and *French* Laws, and agreeable with the *Customes Feudal*, where almost all controversies arising between the *Sovereign* and his *Vassals*, are tried *per iudicium parvum suorum*.

And if a *Peer* upon his *Arreignment* of *Treason* do stand mute, *Judgment* shall be given upon his *Indictment*, and yet shall not be pressed to death, but saves the forfeiture of his *Lands*, *Statut. Westm. Edw. 4. Dier 205.* But if upon *Indictment* of *Felony*, he may be mute.

The reason of *Magna Charta* aforesaid, is there expressed, where he is indicted at the *Kings Suit* of *Treason* or *Felony*, the words being, (*Nec super eum ibimus*, we will not pass or sit in judgment upon him, but by his *Peers*) but if an *Appeal* of *Murder*, or other *Felony*, be sued by any common person against a *Peer*; he shall be tried by *common persons*, and not by *Peers*, *Stan. Pleas, lib. 3. Brook Trial, 142.* But yet this *Privilege* hath some restraint.

For

Anno
1616.

The Case
pleaded.

For an *Arch-bishop* or *Bishop*, though *Lords of Parliament*, in such cases shall be tried by a *Fury of Knights*, and other substantial persons, upon their *Oaths*, because *Ecclesiasticks* cannot pass in like cases upon Trial of other *Peers*; for they are forbidden by the *Common* and *Ecclesiastick* Laws, to be *Judges of Life and Death*.

You see the great regard the *Law* hath to the word of a *Peer*, (heretofore) upon his honour, and yet how many ordinarily break their *Oaths in common*?

And thus premised, we come to the case of *Somerset* and his *Countess*.

First, therefore Sir *Thomas Overbury* for a time was known to have great interest and strait friendship with the Earl of *Somerset*, both in his meaner fortunes, and after; in so much, that he was in a kinde of oracle of direction unto him, and if you will believe his own vaunt, (being indeed of an insolent and *Thraso-nical* disposition) he took upon him, that the fortunes, reputation and understanding of this Gentleman (who is well known to have an able Teacher) proceeded from his company and counsel: and this friendship rested not onely in conversation and business at *Court*, but likewise in communication of business of *State*; for my Lord of *Somerset* exercising at that time, by his *Majesties* special favour and trust, the Office of *Secretary*, did not forbear to acquaint *Overbury* with the Kings *Packets* and *Dispatches* from all parts of *Spain*, *France*, and the *Low-countries*; and this not by glympses, or now and then rounding in the ear for a favour, but in a settled manner: *Packets* were sent, sometimes opened by my Lord, sometimes unbrokened, unto *Overbury*, who perused them, copied them, registred them, made Table-talk of them, as he thought good: so, the time was, when *Overbury* knew more of the secrets of *State*, than the *Council-table* did, nay, they were grown to such inwardness, as they made a play of all the world besides themselves, so as they had *cyphers* and *Furgons* for the *King* and *Queen*, and great men of the *Realm*; things seldom used, but either by *Princes* or their confederates, or at the *Court*, or at the least by such, as practice and work against, or (at least) upon *Princes*.

But as it is a *Principle in Nature*, that the best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest Wine makes the sowrest Vineger, so it fell out with them, that this excess, as I may say of friendship, ended in mortal hatred, on my Lord of *Somerset's* part.

It hath been said, that *Frost and Fraud ends foul*; and I may add a third, and that is *the friendship of ill men*, which is truly said to be conspiracy, and not friendship; for it happened, that the Earl of *Somerset* fell into an unlawfull love, towards that un-
fortunate

Anno
1616.

fortunate Lady the Countess of Essex, and to proceed to a Marriage with her; this Marriage and purpose did Overbury mainly impugn, under pretence to do the true part of a Friend, for that he accounted her an unworthy woman; but the truth is, Overbury, (who (to speak plainly) had little that was solid for Religion or moral virtue, but was wholly possess'd with ambition and vain-glory) was loath to have any partners in the favour of my Lord of Somerset, and especially not any of the House of Howards, against whom he had profess'd hatred and opposition.

And that this is no sinister construction, will appear, when you shall hear, that Overbury made his brags, that he had won him the love of the Lady by his Letters and industry; so far was he from cases of conscience in this point.

And certainly, howsoever the tragical misery of that poor Gentleman Overbury, might somewhat obliterate his faults, yet because we are not upon point of civility, but to discover the face of Truth, for that it is material to the true understanding of the state of this cause, Overbury was naught and corrupt: in his commendation the Ballads must be mended for that point, which paint him out other, and partiality must be blamed, which now a days favour him, in malice to the memory of the ministers of these Times.

But to proceed, when Overbury saw that he was like to be dispossessed of my Lords grace, which he had possessed so long, and by whose greatness he had promised himself to do wonders; and being a man of an unbounded and impudent spirit, he began, not onely to dissuade, but to deter him, from the love of that Lady; and finding him fixed, thought to finde a strong Remedy; and supposing that he had my Lord's head under his Girdle, in respect of communication of secrets of State, (as he calls them himself) secrets of Nature, and therefore dealt violently with him to make him desist, with menaces of discovery, and the like: hereupon grew two streams of hatred upon Overbury; the one from the Lady, in respect that he crossed her love, and abused her Name, (which are Furies in women) the other of a more deep nature, from my Lord of Somerset himself, who was afraid of Overbury's nature; and if he did break from him and fly out, he would winde into him, and trouble his whole fortunes; so as certainly it was resolved that Overbury must dy.

That was too weak, and they were so far from giving way to it, as they crossed it; there rested but two ways of quarrel, Assault and Poyson.

For that of Assault, after some proposition and attempt they passed from it, as a thing too open and subject to more variety of shame.

K k k

That

Anno

1616.

That of *Poyson* likewise was an hazardous thing, and subject to many preventions and caution, especially to such a working and jealous brain as *Overbury* had, except he was first in their hands; therefore the way was, first to get him sent over Seas, or into a Trap, and lay him up, and then they could not miss the mark; and therefore in execution of this Plot, it was concluded, that his pride should be designed to some honourable employment in forein parts, and should under-hand by himself my Lord of *Somerset* be encouraged to refuse it, and so upon contempt he should be laid Prisoner in the Tower, and then they thought he should be close, and *Death* should be his Bail.

Yet were they not at their end, for they considered, that if there were not a fit Lieutenant of the Tower for that purpose, and likewise a fit Under-keeper of *Overbury*;

First, they should meet with many impediments in the giving and exhibiting of the *Poyson*.

Secondly, they should be exposed to note and observation, that might discover them.

And thirdly, *Overbury* in the mean time might write clamorous and furious Letters to his Friends, and so all might be disappointed.

And therefore the next Link of the Chain was, to displace the then Lieutenant *Wade*, and to place *Yelvis*, a principal abetter in the impoysonment; to displace *Carew*, that was under-keeper in *Wade*'s time, and to place *Weston* that was the Actor in the impoysonment.

And this was done in such a while, that it may appear to be done, as it were in a breath.

Then when they had this poor Gentleman in the Tower, where he could not escape nor stir; where he could not feed, but by their hands; where he could not speak, or write, but through their trunks; then was the time, to act the last Day of his Tragedy.

Then must *Franklin* the Purveyor of the *Poyson*, in May 1613. procure five, six, seven several *Poysons*, to be sure to hit his complexion; then must Mistris *Turner* the lay-mistris of the *Poysons*, advise, what works at present, and what at distance. Then must *Weston* be the Tormentor, and chace him with *Poyson*, after *Poyson*, *Poyson* in salt meats, *Poyson* in sweet meats, *Poyson* in Medicines and Vomits, untill at last his body was almost come by use of *Poysons* to the state of *Mithridates* body, by the use of Treacle and preservatives, that the force of the *Poysons* was blunted upon him; *Weston* confessing, That when he was chid for not dispatching, that he had given him enough to poyson twenty men.

And

And because all this asked time, impoysoning from *March 9.* to *September 14.* courses were taken by *Somerſet* both to divert all the true means of *Overbury's* delivery, and to entertain him with continual *Letters*, partly with hopes and protestations, for his delivery, and partly with other fables and negotiations, somewhat like some kinde of persons, which keep in a Tale of fortune-telling, when they have a felonious intent to pick their Pockets and Purſes. Untill at laſt, they haſtened his deſtruction by an impoyſoned *Glyſter*, which wrought into his intrails, and ſoon diſpatcht him. And this is the Narration of this Art, which I have ſummarily recited.

Then comes his *Counteſs* to her Trial, guilty of too much contrivance and practice, though in Murder it be crime enough; yet ſhe confeſſed, that which could not be proved; and at her Trial, ſhe ſeemed drown'd in a deluge of grief, being therein beholden to Nature, that ſhe could vent her ſelf in tears; ſeeing that ſorrow which cannot bleed in the eys does often feſter in the heart, and ſo it appeared in her exceſs; women can hardly do any thing without over-doing; feminine paſſions muſt either not be full, or overflow: and indeed, ſhe could not utter one word in her own defence, which begat relenting, even in the *Council* that pleaded againſt her, who otherwiſe take pride to force *Arguments*, making their Tongues their Ware, and Eloquence their Trade. But her ſorrowfull ſilence needed the leſs *Rhetorick* in them, to urge her guilt; or in her Judges, to conſult the weight of her crime.

Theſe conſiderations moved the *Lord Steward* and *Peers* joyntly, to move his *Majeſty* for mercy, and for the preſent procured their *Reprieve*, back to the *Tower*; but indeed, ſhe was dead whileſt living, being almoſt drown'd in deſpair, to work out her *Repentance*, for which cauſe principally her *life* and *his* were enlarged, as conceiving it the worſt of *Juſtice* to kill both body and ſoul; and after long *imprisonment* and true and hearty *penance* nine or ten years together, and no doubt *Repentance* alſo, they had liberty out of the *Tower* in *January 1621.* and confined to the *Country*, and at laſt their *Pardons* were procured, which in truth, notwithſtanding her great Family and deſerving Friends, was to my knowledg got but by inches, four moneths before the *Kings* death, which was *Anno 1624.*

But in the whole *Execution*, where ſo many ſuffered, let the Pretacer to the Pamphlet of Fables, The Court and Character of King *James*, pick out a greater *Preſident* in any Hiſtory more remarkable for exquisite juſtice, than this of the *King*; wherein by the way, he may be allowed his own even *conſcience* for juſtice and *mercy* both, which no doubt hath found acceptance at God his *Tribunal* in his behalf; and his Poſterity in due time by our

Anno

1616.

The Counteſſes arreigned,

and both of them condemned, reprieved, and

after pardoned.

See the Preface, Court and Character of King James.

The Reign and Death of

Saviours merit shall be gathered together in the mystery of man's *Redemption*.

And for the other *Historian*, let his memory be blamed for recounting so many untruths, and yet hypocritically closes with this Gloss, [*Pardon* (says he) *the sharpness of these expressions, for they are for the glory of God.*]

I could say more in this and other unfortunate stories of backward times, but I delight not ambitious pains in an useless description of miseries; I had rather shew you what *Somerſet* could say for himself, concerning his *Land*, much more in doubt for his *life*, it being a piece of charity to the distressed, and to the memory of the deceased: I shall not therefore conceal it, and the length thereof.

May it please your Majesty,

BY this Gentleman your Majesties Lieutenant, I understand of some halt you made, and the cause of it, at such time as he offered to your Majesty my Letters; but soon after, your Majesty could resolve your self, and behold me nothing so diffident of you, but in humble language petitioning your favour; for I am in hope, that my condition is not capable of so much more misery, as I need make my passage to you, by such way of intercession.

This which follows after, I offer your Majesty, though not as to your self, for upon less motive you can finde favour for me.

Now I need onely move, not plead, before your Majesty, as my case doth stand, for what I seek to have done, follows, upon what you have already done, as a consequence and succeeding growth of your own act.

But to the effect, that your Majesty may see, that there is enough to answer those, (if any such there be) as do go about to pervert the exercise of your Power, and to turn it from its own clear excellency, for to minister unto their passions. I have presumed to this end to awake your Majesties own conceit, upon this subject, which can gather to it self better and more able defences in my behalf upon this view; for though the Acts of your Mercy, which are not communicable, nor the causes of them with others, as derived from those secret motives, which are onely sensible and privy to your own heart, and admit of no search or discovery, to any general satisfaction; and that under this protection, I might guard my particular sufficiently; yet, my case needs not hide it self, but attend the dispute with any, that would put upon it a monstrous and heavy shape; though that I must acknowledg, that both Life and Estate are forfeited to you, by Law, yet so forfeited, that the same Law gives you the same power to preserve as it doth to punish; whereby your Majesties higher Prerogative doth not wrestle with it, nor do you infringe those grounds, by which you have ever

Somerſet's
Letter to the
King.

Cabala, p. 1.

governed; so as the resistance is not great, that your Majesty hath for to give Life, and which is less in the gift of Estate; for that, the Law casts wholly upon your self, and yields it as fit matter, for exercise of your goodness. Once it was your Majesties gift to me, so it may be better not taken, than a second time given; for it is common to all men, for to avoid to take that, which hath been once their own. And I may say farther, that Law hath not been so severe, upon the ruine of innocent posterity, nor yet cancelled, nor cut off the merits of Ancestors, before the politick hand of State had contrived it into these several forms, as fitted to their ends and government.

To this I may add, that that whereupon I was judged, even the crime it self, might have been none, if your Majesties hand had not once touched upon it, by which, all access unto your favour was quite taken from me. Yet as it did at length appear, I fell rather for want of well defending, than by the violence or force of any proofs; for I so far forsook my self and my cause, as that it may be a question, whether I was more condemned for that, or for the matter it self, which was the subject of that days controversie.

Then thus far, nothing hath appeared wherein your Majesty hath extended for me your power, beyond the reasonable bound, neither doth any thing stand so in the way of your future proceedings, but rather make easie your Majesties favour for my relief.

What may then be the cause that malice can pitch upon, wherefore your Majesty should not proceed to accomplish your own work? Aspersions are taken away by your Majesties letting me loose, to the utmost power of Law, with the lives of so many offenders, which yieldeth the world subjects of sorrow, rather than appetite to more blood; but truth and innocency protect themselves in poor men, much more in Kings. Neither ever was there such aspersion, (God knows) in any possibility, towards your Majesty; but among those, who would create those pretences, to mislead your Majesty, and thereby make me miserable. If not this (whereof the virtue and use was in the former time and now determined) there is not any but your pleasure.

It is true, I am forfeited to your Majesty, but not against you, by any treasonable or unfaithfull act; besides, there is to be yielded a distinction of men, as in faults; in which I am of both, under the nearest degrees of exception.

Yet your Majesty hath pardoned Life and Estate to Traitors, and to strangers sometimes the one, sometimes the other; nay, to some concerned in this business, wherein I suffer; you have pardoned more unto them than I desire; who (as it is reputed) if they had come to the test, had proved Copper, and should have drunk of the bitter cup as well as others.

But I do not by this, envy your favours to any persons, nor seek I to draw them into the yolk with my self, but applaud your Majesties goodness, being in that respect, in a nearer possibility to come at me.

Besides

Anno
1616.

Sir W. Elvish.

Sir Lewis
Tresham.

Besides this, to Elvish your Majesty hath given Estate, which is a greater gift than Life, because it extends to posterity, who was the worst deserwer in this business, an unoffended instrument, might have prevented, all after-mischief, who for his own ends suffered it, and by the like arts afterwards, betraid it.

To this I may add, Tresham in the Powder Treason, upon whose Successors I do not cast any of his infamy, yet he preserved himself to posterity; so as what he or others such as he, have defrauded by the arts of Law, and whom their own unfaithfulness made safe, I have much ado to hold by ingenuity and confidence. How may it be, because I distrusted not your Majesty, or because it returned in your power from whom I had it? is it in danger to be broken or dismembred? Let me hope that there is nothing which by favour may be excused, or by industry might have been avoided, that will fail me, where your Majesty is to determine. It is not I that thus put your Majesty in minde opportunely; it is he that was your creature, it is Somerset with all your honours, and envious greatness, that is now in question. Kings themselves are protected from the breach of Law, by being favourites and Gods Anointed; which gives your Majesty like privilege over yours as I took from Doctor Dun in his Sermon, that the goodness of God is not so much acknowledged by us in being our Creator, as in being our Redeemer, nor in that he hath chosen us, as that nothing can take us out of his hand: which in your Majesties remembrance let me challenge and hope for; for the first accesses of favour, they may be ascribed unto ones own pleasing themselves; but that appears to be for our sakes, and for our good, when the same forsakes not our civil desires.

This Redemption I crave, not as to my own person, but with your benefits once given; nor do I assume them very deep, for I have voluntarily departed from the hopes of my Pension, Place, Office; I onely cleave to that, which is so little as that it will suffer no paring or diminution.

And as in my former Letters, so by this, I humbly crave of your Majesty, not to let the practices of Court, work upon your Son the Prince; not fearing the sufferance of my loss in that particular, so much (for I cannot lose it, but willingly all with it) as for to take off the stage, that which in the attempt may prove inconvenient.

And consider, I pray your Majesty, that my hope in desiring to pass these bad times, was to be restored to my fortunes; others are made unhappy by me, if otherwise; and then I lose my end: I speak of impairing, of changing, or supplying, as of any other way, all such alterations and ruine are alike, without I be worthy of your gift, and that I can be worthy of all, that Law can permit you to give, or cast upon your Majesty by a more nearer Title, as it doth by this; I shall account them equal evils, that leave nothing, or a patched and proportioned one, changed, or translated from one thing to another.

But

Anno
1616.

But if your Majesty have any respects to move you, to suspend your good towards me, let that which is mine rest in your own hands, till that you finde all opposite humours conformed to your purpose.

I have done wrong to my self, thus to entertain such a doubt of your Majesty; but the unrelenting of adversaries, which when you will have them, will sooner alter, and that all this while, I have received nothing of present notice for direction, or to comfort me from your Majesty, hath made me to expostulate with my self thus hardly; for God is my Judg, Sir, I can never be worthy to be, if I have these marks put upon me of a Traitor, as that tumbling and disordering of that estate, would declare the divorce from your presence, laies too much upon me; and this would upon both.

I will say no further, neither in that, which your Majesty doubted my aptness to fall into; for my cause nor my confidence is not in that distress, as for to use that mean of intercession, nor of anything besides, but to remember your Majesty, that I am the workmanship of your hands, and bear your stamp deeply imprinted in all the characters of favour; that I was the first Plant ingrafted by your Majesties hand in this place; therefore not to be unrooted by the same hand, lest it should taint all the same kinde, with the touch of that fatallness: and that I was even the Son of a Father, whose Services are registred in the first Honours and impressions I took of your Majesties favour, and laid there as a Foundation-stone of that building.

These, and your Majesties goodness, for to receive them, is that I rely upon; praying for your Majesties prosperity. I am in all humbleness,

Your Majesties loyal Servant and Creature,
R. Somerset.

I should not trouble you with the Marriage of the Lady Arabella Stuart and Sir William St. Maure or Seymer, both of kin to the Crown, she by the Earl of Lenox in Scotland, (as I have before said 1577.) and he Grandchilde to the third Son and the Heir of the Earl of Hartford, created by Henry 8. whose Sister he married 1537. and by Edward 6. made Duke of Somerset, and his Protector, who stiled himself, [Edward by the grace of God Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hartford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord Seymer, Uncle to the Kings Highness of England, Governour of the Kings Person, Protector of all his Realms, Dominions and Subjects, Lieutenant General of his Majesties Armies both by Sea and Land, Lord high Treasurer, and Earl Marshal of England, Governour of the Isles of Gernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter, and bears Gules, two Wings conjoyned in Fess Or.] Yet all these Honours rather helped him forwards to hop headless for Felony.

His third Son Edward was restored to the Earldom 1 Eliz.
and

Lady Arabel-
la's marriage
with Seymer.

Anno
1616.

Hist. Gr. Br.
p. 90.

The Case of
the Kings
right to Com-
mendams.

Sir Fr: Bacon.

and this *William* his Heir. And thus near the *Crown*, in all *Sovereignties* are needfull to be narrowly lookt into for Marriage.

Queen *Elizabeth* did so, at a farther distance of danger, and her Father made it *Treason* in his time; I say, I should forbear more mention, but that our Detractor begins at her Death in the *Tower*, (where she was imprisoned, though her Husband escaped) and says, [*That it set mens tongues and fears a work, that she went the same way*] having almost in his last words before, told the story of *Overbury* impoysoned in the *Tower*, by which he now enforces belief, [*That her Death was so done for the Kings interest*] when in truth she died a year before, in *September 1615*.

There happened occasion at *Common Pleas* to dispute the Kings power in *Commendams*. The Church being void, and in his gift, whether he might give a *Commendam* to a *Bishop* (either before or after his *Consecration*) during life or for years?

It was argued by Serjeant *Chibborn* against the King,

That the translation of Bishops was against the Common Law, his Text was the Canons of the Council of Sardis.

That the King had no power to grant Commendams, but necessitate.

That there would be no necessity, because no need of augmentation of Livings. No man being bound to be more hospitable than his means afforded.

And much more argument tending to overthrow the Kings Prerogative in cases of *Commendams*.

This case was to be farther argued in the Kings absence by all the Judges, which he thought to protract, untill they consulted with him; and so commanded his *Attourney General* to signifie by Letters his pleasure to all the Judges.

The Judges notwithstanding, at the day argue the Case, and return answer by Letter to the King, That they held those Letters to be contrary to Law, and such as they could not obey by Oath, and therefore had proceeded at the day appointed, setting down the Case to be upon construction of two Acts of Parliament, 25 *Edward 3.* and of 25 *Henry 8.* and now between Subjects for private interest and Inheritance. That their Oath is, *That in case any Letter come to them contrary to Law, they are not to obey them, but to proceed to Justice.* And so they did the last Term, 27. April, 1616. The Judges subsign, *Cook, Hobert, Tanfield, Warburton, Snig, Altham, Bromley, Crook, Winch, Dodderidg, Nicols and Houghton.*

The King returns them answer by Letter, Reporting himself to their own knowledg, his princely care for justice to be duly administered to his Subjects with all expedition, and how far he was from crossing or delaying the interests of private persons. But on the other side, where the case concerned the high Powers and Prerogatives of his

Anno

1616.

his Crown, he would not indure to have them wounded through the sides of a private person; admonishing them of an ordinary custome lately entertained, boldly to dispute the high points of his prerogative in a popular and unlawful way of Argument, not heretofore usual. Making them senceable, how weak and impertinent the pretence of their Oath was in a case of this nature; as if the Founders of their Oath, His Predcessors, were so intent in their zeal to be uncharitable to make a weapon to wound their Successors, being an ordinary course to put off Hearings and Determinings, amongst private persons Termly. And commands them peremptorily not to proceed further in that Plea, till his return to London; there to receive his further pleasure by himself; Your Oath being only for avoiding importunities to the Prince of Suiters in their own particular.

The King come to London, convenes them all to the Council Table; and himself takes in sunder the parts of the Judges Letter, and their Errors in proceeding; both in matter and manner. In matter, by way of omission, as commission.

The King & Judges meet, and examines their Letter.

When the Counseller shall presume to argue his Supremacy at the Bar, and they not reprove his Insolency. Himself observing since his coming to this Crown, the popular Sort of Lawyers most affrontingly in all Parliaments have troden upon his Prerogative; though neither Law nor Lawyer can be respected, if the King be not revered; And therefore it became the Judges to bridle their impudencies in their several Benches; especially the Courts of Common-Law, who had incroached upon all other Courts, High Commission, Councils in Wales, and at York, and Courts of Requests.

For the Commission in Matter, whereas their Letter excepted against his Majesties command to be against the Law, and their Oath. He tells them, deferring upon just and necessary cause is not denying or delaying of Iustice, but rather wisdom and maturity. Nothing more proper than to consult with the King where it concerns the Crown.

As for the Manner; The Kings absence before the Argument, and yet his resolved return speedily; and the case, though lately argued could not receive Iudgement till Easter Term after, as the Judges confessed.

And for them to say, that the case was private interest of party and party; One of the Parties is a Bishop, that pleads for the Commendam onely by vertue of his Majesties Prerogative. And that they could not prove any Solicitation of either Parties for expedition.

And for the form of the Letter, it was indecent; besides to proceed, and to return a bare Certificate, without giving reasons therefore

Anno

1616.

Upon this all the Judges fell down on their knees, acknowledging their Errour, and craving Pardon.

But for the Matter, the Chief Justice Cook entered into a Defence, That the stay by his Majesty, was a delay of Justice, and therefore against Law and their Oath, that as they meant to handle the Pleading, it should not concern the King's Prerogative.

To which the King told him, That for them to discern the concernment of his Prerogative without consult with him, was preposterous. And for those of Law and Oath, he had said sufficient before. Therefore he required the Lord Chancellour's opinion herein, whether against Law and their Oath?

The Chancellour excused himself as to that of Law, referring it to the opinion of the King's Council; whereupon the Attourney General Bacon said,

That to put off the Day was no Delay of Justice, nor endangered their Oath; for the King's Reasons were onely, that it concerned his Prerogative, and required therefore a stay for a small time; and advised the Judges, whether this refusal of their did not rather endanger their Oath; which was, *To counsel the King when they are called*: but to counsel after the matter is past, was a simple refusal to give him Counsel at all. And all the rest of the Council concluded with him.

The Chief Justice Cook excepted, *That the King's Council should plead against the Judges; being their duties to plead before them, not against them.*

Whereunto the Attourney replied, *That the King's Council were by Oath and Office, not onely to plead, proceed, and declare against the greatest Subject, but also against any body of Subjects or persons, nay, were they Judges or Courts, or House of Commons in Parliament; and concluded, That the Judges challenge was a wrong to their Places, and appealed to the King, who was firm for them.*

The Chief Justice replied, *He would not dispute it with his Majesty.* The King replied, *Nor with my Council.* So then whether you do well or ill, it may not be disputed.

The Chancellour gave his opinion with the King, and his Council.

Hereupon the positive Question was put by all the Lords, *Whether in a Case depending, which the King might conceive himself concerned in power or profit, and requiring to consult with them they ought not to stay proceedings?*

All the Judges submitted thereto, onely the Chief Justice excepted, saying, *When that Case should be, then he would do his duty.*

But the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas said, *For his part, He would always trust the justice of the King's command.*

But the Day drawing nigh, the next Saturday, for arguing the

the *Commendams*, the King desired the Judges to expresse, *Whether they would then argue upon the Kings general power of granting Commendams, yea or no.*

Anno
1616.

They all concluded, Not to draw into doubt his power, but to insist upon the point of *Lapse*, which they conceived to be of a form different from former *Commendams*; and concluded to correct the insolencies of bold arguing the Prerogative.

Judge *Doderidge* concluded for the King, That the Church was void, and in his gift, and might give a *Commendam* to a Bishop, either before or after Consecration, during Life or years.

The Judges being gone, the privy Council resolved that the Kings desire was not against the Judges Oath, nor against the Common Law to require; and all of them subscribed to the same.

This Dispute was publicquely scanned and censured in favour of the Judges, and on the contrary for the King, but the truth I have really extracted out of the Records of the Council Table; That you may thereby see the true scope of those times.

The State of *Spain* having little to do in Martial affairs; K. *Philip* the third, now in peace, thought to spend some time in *Treaties*, wherein he seldom failed of advantage. The late *French* King *Henry* the fourth, had 3. daughters; the one married to the Duke of *Savoy*; which the *Spaniard* misliking to have those Neighbours lately so great Enemies, now to be linkt in love without his Interest, conceived it good policy to indeer the young King *Lewis* of *France* in a cross Match, to his Daughter *Infanta Anna*, and to marry his son *Philip* to the Princess *Elizabeth*; the second daughter of *Henry* the fourth.

Spain and
France cross
Mariage with
Savoy.

And thus those cross Nuptials might seem to cement the affections of the three States, lately so imbroyled in War, which no doubt either of them had good cause to accept; though it was said *S. P. Q. R.* *Spain*, *Pope*, *Queen-Regent* had the chief hand, to undo the young King.

For the Father *Henry* the fourth, had made Wars upon the Duke of *Savoy* to recover the *Marquisate* of *Saluses*, and this King of *Spain* under colour to aid the Duke (his Brother in Law) sent him Horse and foot of *Spaniards*. But the peace concluded, by exchange of *Saluses*, with the Countries of *Bresse* and *Gex*; the *Spanish Auxillaries*, being muzled in warm quarters, at *Carboniers*, *Montemellion*, *Savillan*, and *Pignorell* (the best places of *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*) would not budge; no! though the Duke begg'd of them to be gone; but were absolutely commanded the contrary by Count *Fuentes*, *Viceroy* of *Millain*,

The Reign and Death of

and so staid, until that valiant Duke, in this danger very desperate, cut all their throats.

Spain, in policy to revenge, pieces with *France* to disjoyn *Savoy*; upon whom he had afterward many Treacherous Designs, as that Plot upon his Castle of *Nice* (the Key of his Counties) when his *Spanish Gallies* lay at *Villa Franca* to have seized all *Savoys Issue*.

And as it was usual with *Princes* in *Peace* and *Amitie*, to congratulate Nuptials; The *Lord Hay* was looked upon, as the most proper for this Errand into *France*. In some measure, he had the Kings favour, his affection not at all. For Wise Kings know how to do the *One*, and yet hide the *Other*; so mysticall things are Courts; this makes many men misjudge, That the Kings friendships made every one a Favourite; and by often changing their Persons, was therefore held inconstant in his passions.

This Lord, born a Gentleman in *Scotland* by his bearing of Cote-Arms, *Argent three Escacheons Gules*; Supported two countrie Swains, armed Plough Trails, The crest, a Dove volant proper. His story was; that his Ancestors at Plough with those Instruments their Geer, flew *Malton* an *High-land Rebel*, and discomfited his Train; for which service, had so much Land, (barren Rocks) as a *Pigeon*, cast off the fist, flew over, till she rested. And all this great purchase could not keep him from seeking livelyhood in *France*; where he was bred no other than a *Gens d' Arms* unto *Henrie* the fourth, but quitted that service in hopes of better preferment of his own Sovereign.

And over he comes to meet the King at his entrance into *England*, upon recommendation of the *French Lieger* in *Scotland*, who continued so here; and presented Haies upon former knowledge in *France*. This, and his other good parts (being well accomplished) hastened him higher in esteem, than others of his Countrey, whose neerer attendance had merited more.

But, to boot, he sought out a good Heir (*Gup my Ladie Dorothy*) sole Daughter to the *Lord Dennie*, and to fit him forward, after Knighthood he had honour; and was made a Lord, for reasonable riches his wife brought with her.

In grateful acknowledge of his first preferment, he feasted the former *Embassadour* (being lately returned extraordinary to this King) wherein he exceeded the limits of an Entertainment which for that time was excused, as a grateful Ceremony of a large Dinner.

The *Scots* were never very eminent with neighbour Nations; what credit they had, came by the *French* to keep ballance with Them and *England*; the increase might heretofore be hoped for, when

K. James congratulates
their Nuptials
by Lord Hay.

Lord Hay his
Birth and breeding.

Anno

1616

Ambassadour
into France.

when the union of these Crowns, should afford the means to set them forth. And it was prudential in the King to pick out one of his Own, to splendour that Nation in our way of Peace and Courtship; especially, when all was done at the Masters cost. For *Haies* was ever reasonable poor, unless by repute of his first Match, which was not much while her Father lived; and by his last, he had less; the great spirit of *Peircie Earl of Northumberland*, though a Prisoner then in the Tower, disdaining the Mariage, denied her a Groat to a beggerlie Scot, as he called him.

This first Embassie was for no other end, than to congratulate; for certainly he had no Commission nor Credential to make scrutiny for matching our Prince with the other Sister, she being then too young, and overtures were then thought on with Spain, and so it was advertised from Sir *Dudley Charlton*, Ambassadour at the *Hague*, that there was a fame spread of such as desire to weaken the Kings correspondence with that State, *That his Majestie was on neer terms of matching our Prince with Spain*, and by an Advise out of Spain, *That this match had been there debated in the Inquisition, and judged necessarie*.

Hist. Gr. Brit.
p. 92.

And in truth the Lord *Ross* was sent Ambassadour thither (partly for that purpose) at this time also, upon the like errand, to give joy to that King, for the counter-match of his Son, and had his Instructions to feel the pulse of that Court concerning the same, (for I waited on him neerer in his affairs, than any of his Train) and both these Ambassadors sent away at the same time. It was remarkable how each of them strove for the prize to out-vy in the vanity of these Voyages; the *Baron* to his utter undoing, having no other helps but his own, when the other had it from the Kings purse, and in truth, for this purpose to put down the *English*, as in that great Feast at *Essex-House*, and many his *Masqueradoes* afterwards at Court, for he medled not with the Tilt, as being no Swordman; but in the other and such like, he never scaped to act his part.

L. Ross sent
into Spain.

Amongst many others that accompanied *Haies* Expedition, was Sir *Henrie Rich*, Knight of the *Bath*, and *Baron of Kensington*, afterwards Earl of *Holland*, natural son to the then Earl of *Warwick*; He took his initiation of expence, from this journey, and continued the practice afterwards to the weakning of his (long time) unsettled fortunes, being forced through custom of the Court to follow the other in all his fashions; and which infection, by after-custome, became his disease also, and almost (not over-mastering) yet over-shadowing his natural eminent parts, with which his inside was habited, and perspicuous to such as afterwards knew him.

Sir H. Rich
Baron of Ken-
sington, his
birth and bre-
ding.

Thus much I had occasion to say heretofore, to which hath been

Anno
1616.

been exception; as if I undertook him besides the Text, in a wanton pleasure of my own pen to blazon his memory with the foyl of his friend.

Truly, it was not so! by any *unequal disparity to pride out the other*: For, let me here take the freedom to speak more of him; who from henceforth being received into publick, and coming in by his own endeavours to the place of Cap. of the Band of Yeomen of the Guard to the Kings person, a place of honour and profit; and increasing with years and experience into some favour now, and afterwards in high grace and esteem with the succeeding Sovereign; was yet (I must confess) in the fate of State and Court, circumvested now and then with some prejudice.

And it may be uneasy for a stranger (not for me) to research with due distinction into the Actions of his whole life succeeding (not to enliven him by a line) whom envy heretofore, and now malice after his decease, have endeavoured to blemish more than his own former felicity did, or could any way corrupt.

If we deduce him from his Cradle, we shall find him, as it were, begotten to an inheritance of true Nobleness and Court-like grace, in more real splendour than others, that seemed to appear compatible with him, they being onely made so by hand.

His life indeed was intricate, sometime struggling with the by-paths of Sovereign-favour, and afterwards of State-affairs. Which at last (and at worst) infected him with the disease of the times, more malignant in his Counsellors, and other his Confidents, then in his own conscience or inclination; and so drew him on by various disguises of subtilty, with the composition of his good nature, till the remain of his life was involved into Ingagements unstable; the effects whereof smothered him in the uncouth deluge of destruction.

I have no adverse aim or end, on either side of these two Lords to embase the freedom of my Opinion or Judgement, being tryed into some purity of truth by my own knowledge of the former. and of this other by more exact account, than by most men, or by any other pen may be expected.

But I am not delighted to urge out this story of the Lord Haies, as not willing to speak evilly of any person of his Honour, unlike Our Adversaries that spare none; For we should know that virtue and vice are inherent in Man.

And as it becomes us to tell truth when we speak of their virtues, so with modesty and compassion to discover their vices. Either of them being examples for the future, that to imitate, this to shun. And I cannot but with compunction remind, that the

the monstrous excess of the Belly and the Back, by his first President, became then, the mode of those Times for great Persons (the most part) to follow, and for ordinary people to put in practice, even to this day, and may be feared, for ever hereafter.

The Sword being sheathed up in the Scabberd, Peace and Plenty brought the Law into esteem, the onely over-ruling power to set men (even) by the ears, and make them the more quiet ever after.

But then Cases increased so common, that Conscience was troubled to reconcile them, and made a Quarrel of Justice it self, between Sir *Edward Cook* Chief Justice of Law, and the Lord *Elsmore* Keeper of the Conscience, who had the better of the Cause, to the others ruine.

The Case was thus:

Sundry Citizens got Judgment in the Court of Common-Pleas by a juggling Trick, that staved off an opposite Witness; the Plaintiff nevertheless exhibits his Bill in *Chancery* against the Defendants, who sit out Process of Contempt, and refusing to answer, are committed to the *Fleet*. And for their Relief exhibit their Bill in *Star-chamber*, against the Lord *Chancellor Elsmore*, grounded upon the *Statute of 4 Henry 4. ca. 23.* That the Judgment, given in the Kings Court shall not be examined in *Chancery*, Parliament, or elsewhere, untill it be undone by *Attaint or Errour, &c.* and so thereby he had incurred *Præmunire*, and the Chief Justice *Cook* interposed, and encouraged the Complainants.

The *Chancellor* acquaints the King, who sends to *Bacon Attourney General*, Sir *Henry Montague*, and Sir *Randal Crue*, *Serjeants at Law*, and Sir *Henry Yelverton*, *Solicitor*; these men report back, That there hath been a strong current of practice and proceeding in *Chancery* after Judgment at *Common Law*, and many times after *Execution*, continued since *Henry the Seventh's* time to this day, in Cases where there is no other Remedy at *Common Law*; unto which the Judges are peremptorily sworn.

And with this Sentence on *Elsmore's* side, the aged Statesman leaves the Seat of deciding, and sits down himself to his devotions, leaving the Seal to be born by *Bacon*. But the manner of the dispose is mis-told by the *Pamphlet*, [who makes it the *Chancellor's* heart-break to be rid of the charge] when in truth, the Term come, and *Elsmore* sick, the King sent for the Seal, by *Secretary Winwood*, with a gracious Message; That himself would be his Deputy, and not dispose it whilst *Elsmore* lived to bear the Title of *Chancellor*, nor did any one receive it out of the King's sight till he was dead, nor long after.

And

Anno
1616.

And because we may be assured of the Kings gracious favour to that grave *Chancelour*, see what he saies to him in two Letters following, writ every word with the Kings own hand.

My Lord,

These shall first congratulate and thank God with you, for your recoverie, and growing to health again, for which I protest to God I praied everie Morn and Eve, since you was at the worst, as oft as I praied for mie self. And next you shall be herebie informed, how senseable I am of that disgrace offered to that Court of mine wherein you sit, especially at a time so unseasonable; It cannot but be a comfort to you to know, how every Man censured the pertiallity and barbarity of that action; and for my part, you maie assure your self it shall onelie be in your default of not informing me if I do not upon this occasion free my self from fascherie of any such inconvenients hereafter, I mean of such jarring betwixt my Courts of Justice; for I will whollie upon your information and advice, what course to take in the handling of this business, assuring my self, that your conscience and care for my honour and service, will set me in a course, for making such an example in this case, as may settle good Government in like Cases hereafter; and so I bid you heartilie farewell.

Febr. 25. 1615.

New-market.

James Rex.

Thus the King writes then; and continued unto this grave Statesman such gracious Favours and esteem to the last of his daies, for a twelvemonth after this letter, and not long before his death, he writes again.

To the Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Our Chancelour of England.

My Lord,

*The Letter I wrote the last year from this same Town unto you, proved so good a Cordial for your health, as I am thereby incouraged to do the like at this time; and as I both hope and praie for with the like success; I cannot but be extremelie sorrie for your want of health; but I confesse I am more sorry for the evil conceit you have of your own strength, which makes me the more to presume upon the good Operation of this Physick of mine, since, I am sure it can work more upon your mind than anie other worldlie thing. The Greatness,
of*

Anno
1616.

of your place, and the abilitie which God hath given you to discharge it, to the honour of God, and the great benefit of the Commonwealth, is a cause sufficient to stir you up to be careful of your own health, and even to fight against disease as far as you can; but when you shall remember how evil I maie want you, and what miss your Master shall have of you, I hope that reason will be predominant to make you not strive, but conquer your disease, not for your own sake but for his; of whom you maie promise your self as much love and heartie affection as might be expected from so thankful and kind a Master, to so honest and worthily deserving a Servant; and so praising God to bless this mie cure, I bid you heartilie farewell.

Febr. 9. 1616.

New-market.

James Rex.

Hereupon there was some appearance of his amendment, which the Prince congratulates under his own hand.

My Lord Chancelour,

As I was verie sorrie, having understood of your dangerous sickness, so I do much rejoyce of the good appearance of your recovery, which Thomas Murrey hath declared unto me, and of the affection and caee you have of my person and of mie Estate, for which you and yours shall ever find me most willing to give testimonie to the World, how much I respect those who are truly affected towards me. I hope bie Gods grace to give you particular bie mie self, and that God shall give you health and strength of bodie and mind, that the King, Queen, and I, with this whole Kingdom: may long enjoie the fruit of your long, wise and religious experience, which wishing from my heart, I end

New-market,

Febr. 18. 1616.

Yours,

Charles Pr.

These being the last Letters, and thus assured of the acknowledgement of his Masters favour toward his merit, he takes leave of this Life the fifteenth of March following, 14. of Jac. 1616.

The Common-pleas, or *Comunia Placita*, is the Kings Court, or *Bancus Communis*, Anno 2. Edw. 3. cap. 11. so called, *Quia Communia Placita inter subditos*, or controversies between common persons, it was now held in *Westminster-Hall*. But in antient times moveable, as appears by *Magna Charta cap. 11.* And

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that

The Reign and Death of

that upon grant of that Charter, the Court of common-pleas was erected and settled, and one place certain, viz. at *Westminster*, wheresoever the King lay, and that after that time all the Writs ran, *Quod sit coram Iusticiariis meis apud Westmonast.*

Whereas before, the party was commanded by them to appear, *Coram me vel Iustitiariis meis*, simply without addition of place; see *Glanville* and *Bracton*, the one writing in *Henrie* the seconds time, before this Court was erected; the other in *Henrie* the thirds time, who erected this Court. All Civil causes, real and personal are (or were in former times) in this Court according to the strickt Law of this Realm. And by *Fortescue* cap. 50. it seemeth to have been the only Court for real causes. The chief Judge thereof is called, *Lord Chief Justice of the Common-pleas*, accompanied with three or four Assistants or Associates, who are created by Letters pattents from the King, and are installed (as it were) upon the Bench by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice of that Court. See *Fortescue* ca. 51. who sets down all the Circumstances of their admission. The rest of the Officers are these; the *Custos Brevium*, three Proto-Notaries, or principal Notaries, called also Pregnotaries; *Chirographer*, *Filazers* in number fourteen, *Exigenters* four; *Clerk of the Warrants*, *Clerk of the Furies*, or *Furata Writs*, *Clerk of the Treasury*, *Clerk of the Kings Silver*; *Clerk of the Essoines*; *Clerk of the Out-laws*.

Lex terræ,
what?

The *Common Law* is so antient, we know not the commencement; *Lex Anglia* peculiar onely to this Land. Of long time following the Conquest, ever more quarrelled for enjoyment of antient Liberties; until *Henrie* the third allowed *English* men *English Laws*, add in his ninth year granted the great Charter, which himself infringed, and thereupon followed fourty years *Barons Warrs* (as Histories stile them) until in his fifty two year, that Charter was again reviewed and compiled, and solemnly sworn unto by succeeding Sovereigns.

The ground of which binds the King *per Legem terræ*, and what is this *Lex terræ*? *Leges Anglicanae fuerunt approbate consensu utentium & Sacramento Regum confirmatae. Lex facit Regem; attribuat igitur Rex legi, quod Lex attribuit ei, viz. dominationem & potestatem; ubi non Lex, ibi non Rex.* So then *Lex fecit Regem*. Not so neither; Kings in *England* before Lawes; but indeed *Communis Consuetudo Regni fuit Lex terræ*.

This being the Law without commencement; as the *Genius* to all, and Parliaments Statutes, Prerogatives of Princes, Customes of Counties, Cities, Burroughs, Mannors, are but the species of it. For general Customs made the Law, authorities Parliaments, Limits Prerogatives and Customes, consonant or disonant to Reason; so much for *Communis Lex*.

But

But in practice (say some) the *Chancery* is above Law, and yet duely examined, that also is allowed *per Legem terræ*, as a species of that.

The reason thus.

The *Common Law* grounded upon general Maxims, they might be too severe, or too relax; and therefore necessarily requiring Equity, *Secundum æquum & bonum, & sanam conscientiam*.

And this Chancelour notwithstanding limitted by Law and erected by Law, although it seems above Law. For

No Judge hath Jurisdiction without some grant or commissi-on out of that Court under the Great Seal, which is intrusted to the *Chancelor*.

No Judge can hold plea without an Original Writ framed in *Chancerie*, and by his appointment returnable before the Judges, and yet all these considered, the King, the Law, the *Chancery* agree together.

The *Chancerie* then must needs be erected (subsequent) by the common Law, to relieve and supply the Law in some cases, where the simple subject was cosened by craft; ignorance, also may offend, without malice.

Moses Law, in divers cases Political and Ceremonial, he could not decide (uncleanness by touching the dead) but referred it to God.

The name of this Officer is, *Dominus Cancelarius Angliæ*, a Cancelour; do but then quere what he might cancel?

Some say it is, *Cancelare Iniquom legem commnnem, fudicare secundum conscientiam*; but this is an errour; will the Law give power to deface her self that made it?

The Chancelour cannot stay the course of Law, but onely injunct the person not to follow the Law; not to cancel the Law; for notwithstanding this injunction, if the party will sit out contempt, and proceed at common Law, the Judges cannot deny him.

Indeed this Officer hath his name of *canceling* the Kings Letters pattents, so much of honour to the Law, as the other way had been dishonourable.

The nature of Letters pattents bind the King and his Successors, and all Subjects, though unfit or unjust; the Judges of Law are co judge it void, but cannot deface it nor the Seal, but the Chancelour, as a Judge of Law may, (but not by his absolute authority) by his ordinary power and course of common Law, is to judge of it, and to hold plea of it, and to call the party interessed by process of Law, and so to repeal it by Judgement; and then cancel it: which no person can do but

Anno

1616.

Cancelaria,
what?

Anno

1616.

And this was done, *Transversa linea circumducere vel conscindere aliquod Edictum decretum contra Principem, aut jus Reipublice impetrari*; which cancelling is made with Lines drawn across like *Latices*, and it is said that Judgement seats were of old compassed with *Latices*, or Barrs cross waies, to defend the Judges and Officers from the prease of people, and yet not to hinder their view. Chancells were so divided from the body of the Church, and thereupon so called.

And the Lord *Chancelour* and Lord *Keeper* have one power, by *Stat.anno 5.Eliz.*

So then you see how, and for what he hath his name.

And though his Authority be highest, yet it is given to him by the Law, and proceedeth in course of Law, not according to conscience, but Law.

That all Justice runs from the Supreme power; so by the Chancelour to all Jurisdiction.

A man complains of wrong or sues for right in Chancery; from which Bill of complaint issues a precept commanding the Defendent to appear at a Day; So then a man may not be sued before he have a *Writ* or *Breve* from the Chancelour, a singular regard to the meanest.

The very Writs of *Chancerie* are prescribed by Law, and a form registred in *Chancery*, and if not accordingly issued out, the Judges will reject them, called in Law, Abating of the Writ.

Authority in
Judging.

His Authority to judge, is of two sorts, by common Law, or Positive Law, *Potentia Ordinata*, Proesse, pleading judgement.

Potentia Absoluta; by Proesse according to the Law of Nature, *viz.* to send for the party, to answer upon Oath; to examine, if he will not answer, yet the *Chancelour* cannot condemn him in the cause for obstinacy.

Potentia Ordinata, mispleading on either part, may mar the matter, and the judgement must be according to Law, however the Equity of the case fall out.

But if the pleading be by Absolute Power, though the party misplead, if the matter be good, the Judgement must be by equity, and not as the pleading, be either formal good or bad, or as the law will in the case.

The Question followes, whether, that conscience whereby the Chancelour be *simpliciter*, and to be *simplex conscientia*, or *Regulata*? *Viz.* To be ordered by course of Court, former Presidents? and if no Presidents; whether Reason *in eodem respectu*, may take cognisance of the cause? *viz.*

A rich Father to suffer an honest son to beg; or a rich son *contrario*? the Chancelour cannot?

Here-

Hereupon we may conclude that his Authority judicial, both *Ordinata*, and *Absoluta Potestas*, are limited by the Law of the Land.

Anno
1616.

For in the *Ordinary* he is tyed to the strict rule of Law, and by the *Absolute*, he is ruled (though not by the course of law) yet he is to deal *per regulatam conscientiam*, but in any case *not to contradict what Law hath allowed*.

But to conclude; his *Absoluta Potestas*, by what means he should find out truth. Truly it is without limitation, only to be referred to his own Gifts, and the grace of God that gives Wisdom.

Sir *Francis Bacon* succeeded *Elsemere* Lord Chancelour, though a wonder to some [so mean a Man to so much preferment] he was then Attorney General, and as others by that place, and in the usual way of preferment (time beyond memory) come to high Office of Iudicature, either there, or to other Benches; and so did he. But his Mis-deeds afterwards turned him out of all, and he dyed poor and private. See *Anno 1621*.

Sir F. Bacon
succeeds chan-
celour.
Co. & ch. pa.
126.

And as his *Genesis* of preferment came to the chair of State, so the *Exodus* of the Treasurer *Suffolk* in his Office, brought him to the Star-Chamber, and the Glory of the new Chancelour, Chair-man there, to sit in censure upon him, and so to set out himself in his Matchless Eloquence; which he did then by Sentence, as the Mouth of the Court; as all others had done; Their abilities affording them several waies and manners in that Court more particular, as their Qualities concern them to distinguish.

So here also the Chief Iustice *Cook* newly revived from the sad condition of former disgrace for his too narrow inquisition upon the faults and fall of *Somerset*. He now finding the Fate of Court-policy final in this Lord, and his malice at Liberty to speak what he list; Parrallels this Lords Crimes with other such corrupt Treasurers, raking Presidents of all former Predecessors.

Even from *Randolphus de Britton*; who was sentenced to lose all lands and goods, but was restored to him, and fined 3000. l. for misusing K.H.3. Treasure.

Such another was Treasurer of *Ireland*, *Petrus de Rivallis*, and of great command also, high Chamberlain of *England* to *Edw. 1.* his Offences were Bribes, of all men, poor and rich; *Religiosis quam de Laicis*, fined and ransomed.

So did the Abbot and Moncks at *Westminster*, took out of that Kings Treasury there, *ad inestimabile Damnum Regis & Regni*; For which these privileged pretenders could not be exempt from Tryal, and the Temporalities of the Abby seized for

Anno
1616.

for satisfaction; till which time of payment they suffered Imprisonment.

Nay, *Walter de Langton* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* escapes not *Edw. 2.* This *Treasurer* took bribes then, though small, but a hundred pound of the *Earl of Montcallo*, *ut amicus in agendis negotiis versus dominum Regem*; lets him escape Prison to do his business; and given of free Will, and *ex curialitate sua*; yet in those dayes it amounted to *Extortion*.

But he had Additionalls, having indicted *John de Eugam* of *Tresgass*, for the Mannor of *Fisby*, to which the King had title, and imprisoned him; and when another Mannor was conveyed to the Bishop for *Courtesies done*, *diversas curialitates*, *Eugam* was set at liberty; but it seems the Bishops plea would not serve his turn, *That the King would rather punish by Imprisonment, than fine.*

And those good times accounted it Bribery.

Again, the Bayliff of *Oxford* was committed for arrears of one hundred pound in his accompt. and the Mannor of *Calcat* conveyed to the Bishop for satisfaction, yet because he was of *pure Devotion discharged by the Bishop*, these cases all three were condemned of *Extortion* and *Bribery*, and the Bishop soundly paid for it, by his purse and imprisonment.

In *Edw. 3.* He imprisoned *William* Lord *Latimer* with punishment and fine, being in Commission to pay off the Kings debts, he compounded for eighty *per centum*, and 30. for 40. by which saies the Record, he turned it upon the King to be a *Bankrupt Compounder*.

So did the *Baron Nevil* bought the Kings debts of the Army, and though he pleaded that they forgave him the Remainder freely, yet was he fined.

Such like as these were brought Examples to raise the Offence of this Lord Treasurer; of himself as of high birth, so most Noble, and without doubt disdaining to commit base crimes; but whether the guilt of *Sir John Dingly*, one of the Tellers in *Exchequer*, an intimate Servant to the Secrecies of *Suffolks Countess*; or some necessity to make bold to borrow such sums as his Fabrick *Awdle-End* had need of; Or the vain and monstrous expence heretofore of that family. All that could be (besides the necessity of Court-Fate) cast in his dish, was the imbezeling the monies lately paid by the States of the *Netherlands* for redemption of the cautionary Towns *Flushing* and *Bril*; and he fined thirty thousand pounds, and *Dingly* two thousand pounds, the Man deserving to pay for all, it being of his designing.

But the Treasurer was from thenceforth for some time trusted to Commissioners.

At

At *Midsummer* after the King comes to *Star-Chamber*, then intending to settle his home-affairs, for his resolved journey into *Scotland*, which began the next Spring, and therefore now the more to exalt the Seat of Justice, of which this Court was most eminent; he discharges his duty to God and his people in a most excellent Discourse, the character of his inward inclination to *Justice* and *Piety*.

HIS MAJESTIES SPEECH at his first coming to the *Star-Chamber*.

He begins with Scripture. Give thy Judgements to the King, O God, and thy righteousness to the Kings Son; the literal sense upon the Prophet David, and his Son Solomon, godly and wise; the mystical sense upon God and Christ his eternal Son, just and righteous; from which imitation all Governments, especially Monarchies, have been established. Kings are properly Judges, and sit in the Throne of God, and thence all Judgement is derived, from the King to his Magistrates, not to them Privative but Cumulative. So the Council of Jethro to Moses, the Judges were deputed for easier questions, the more profound left to Moses. So, all Christian Kings govern; whereby appears the neer Conjunction, God and the King upwards, the King and his Judges downward; the King to settle the Law of God, and his Judges, to interpret the Law of the King.

Thus a Jove principium, he comes to his Errand; 1. Why he came not to speak here in fourteen years as his Predecessors have done often, especially Henry 7. from whom the King is descended doubly to this Crown, and so desires to follow him, in his best actions? 2. Why he comes now?

For the first, Though he had been an old King, when he came hither, and well practised to Government, from twelve years of age, yet here he resolved with Pythagoras to keep silence for seven years. That Apprenticeship ended; the Impediment was the choice of some worthy Cause, betwixt King and some Subject, or Subject and Subject. The one might seem partial as for himself, the other oblique in favour of a party.

But twice seven years his whole Reign here brings him openly to speak now publickly, concerning the reformation of Judicature in *Westminster-Hall*, which heretofore he had in part delivered in private occasions.

Dividing his Charge,

1. To himself;
2. To the Judges;
3. To the Auditory.

First,

Anno
1616.

First, He protests that as Confirmation follows Baptism, so now he renews his Oath of Coronation, in Justice and Law, the common Law of the Land. He never pressed to alter, but (as in the union of his person) so he endeavoured it real, to conform Scotland to England, not this to that, anent the prophecy of his Grandfather, Henry 7. That the lesser Kingdom by marriage would follow the greater, not the greater the less; and therefore married his eldest Daughter Margaret to James the fourth, the Kings great Grandfather. And so blames that nice opinion, that the Union of Great Brittain would alter our Laws, which he ever declined, as a Maxim in matters of State and Policy, Innovation and alteration makes it worse; that he was sworn to these Laws, and to alter them had been perjury in him, Justice may be moderated by him with mercy, but in matters of Justice he will be blind to partiality: to hasten Justice, never to delay.

He distinguishes the Law; The Inheritance of King and Subject to be determined by the Common Law, set down by our Forefathers, and expounded by learned men in their Comments, and called Responsa Prudentum, or by Statute-Law, and this is Law of Inheritance.

The other Law, Gods Law, governs all, Common and Municipals as Dependents; and he complains of the neglect of Divine Laws, and disrespect to the Ministers of the Church, which is the most pure, and neerest the primitive and Apostolical Church in doctrine and discipline of any in Christendome.

Next to this is the Civil Law (the Law of Nations) It satisfies strangers, and his own subjects in matters of Piracy, Mariage, Wills, which Law he divides, Civil and Canon, and complains of the contempt upon it, and concludes his own charge, to maintain so to purge it from two corruptions. Incertainty and Novelty to cleer it to the people by advice of Judges, and to purge it of Niceties introduced by Judges themselves. And so as the Pastor takes the Sacrament himself, and then distributes, so he to them, least it be said, Turpe est Doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

The charge to the Judges consists of three parts, To do Justice, Generally; Indifferently, Fearfully. Generally, uprightly as to answer God, and the King and punishment from either. Indifferently to all parties, King and Subject, Subject and Subject, without delay partiality, clean and uncorrupt. Fearfully, Not your own conceits, for you are no Law makers, but Interpreters. Jus dicere, not Jus dare. For you have no voice in Parliament but to advise. And though some Laws are obscure and may be better known to you by Books and Presidents, yet their interpretations must be subject to common sense and reason, Ratio est anima Legis, cleer Law, or solid Reason.

But where the formality hath no place, as in Denmark, the State is

Anno

1616.

is governed by written Law, no Advocate or Proctor; only the parties plead and the Law is read, and so sentence. He complains of our curious wits; Various conceits; different actions; and several examples which breed questions in Law. But if plain, it speaks it self, if otherwise (as inventions abound) they are to interpret and draw a good Minor of natural Reason out of a Major of direct Law, and so will follow a true Conclusion; though common Law be a Mystery, and your interpretation be not understood, yet by the reason of Logick and common sense, it will be false. And as they are Judges and divided into Benches, so they must confer, debate, not single Opinions, per emendata suffragia; and thus in generall to their Office.

And as to their Limits.

First, Not to incroach upon Prerogatives of the Crown, deal not in difficult questions ere you consult with the King and Council, otherwise, is to wound the King through the sides of a Private person, and herein commends some of the Judges, that of late rebuked and blunted the sharp edge, and vain popular honour of some Pleaders at the Bar for meddling therein. The mystery of the Kings power is not lawful to be disputed, which seems to wade into the weakness of Sovereigns; diminishes the mystical reverence of them that sit in the Throne of God.

Secondly, One Judicature not to invade upon others, unfit and unlawful, and herein he enlarges himself. That besides Common-Law there are Courts of Requests, Admiralty, President and Council of Wales, of the North. High Commission, and every Bishops Court. These shall keep their limits and bounds, so the common Law shall not encroach upon them, nor they on that.

In Westminster-Hall, four Courts; Two Civil, Common-Pleas, and Exchequer; Two Criminal, Kings Bench, and Star-Chamber. The Common-pleas, is a Branch of the Kings Bench, being first in one Court, and after the Common-pleas being extracted, it was so called, as Pleas of private men. The other, the Exchequer for the Kings Revenue, the principal institution thereof, and their chief study; and as other things come orderly thither so to administer justice.

Keep you within compass, give me my right of private Prerogative, I shall acquiesce; as for the Prerogative of the Crown, it is not for a Lawyers tongue, nor lawful to be disputed. It is Atheism to dispute what God can do, his revealed Will ought to content us, so is it contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can, or cannot do; the Law is his revealed Will.

The Kings Bench is the principal Court for Criminal causes, and in some respects it deals with Civil causes.

The Chancery, a Court of Equity, and deals likewise in Civil. The Dispenser of the Kings Conscience, following the intention of

The Reign and Death of

Law and Justice, not altering Law, nor e converso; It exceeds all Courts, mixing Mercy with Justice. Other Courts are onely for Law: and where the strictness of Law might undo a subject, there the Chancery tempers it with Equity, and preserves men from destruction.

The Chancery is undependent of any other Court; only under the King Teste me ipso; from which no appeal, yet am I bound, so to maintain others, as this, not to suffer wrong.

My Chancelour that now is, I found him Keeper of the Seal, the same in substance with the other stile. He is witness, my warrant was to him, to go on according to Presidents in time of best Kings, and most learned Chancellours.

The duty of Judges is, to punish such as deprave the Kings Courts, and therefore it was an inept Speech in Westminster-Hall, to say, that a Præmunire lay against the Court of Chancery, yet it should not be boundless, the King is to correct it, and none else, and therefore the King was abused in that attempt, and now commands that none presume to sue a præmunire against it.

As all inundations are conceived Prodigious by Astrologers, so overflowings of the banks of Jurisdiction is inconvenient and Prodigious to the State; Let there be a concordance and musical accord amongst you; keep to your Presidents, authentick, not controverted, but approved by common usage of best Kings, and most learned Judges.

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prefer, being as capable of his favour, as any about him whomsoever; the farther off in distance of place, the more desert, and his providence must reach to the end of his limits; the good are industrious; the bad idle; contemplative Iustices are of no use. And for the number, as many hands make light work, so too many make slight work.

As to the charge, he will but repeat what he hath said heretofore, *Lectio lecta placet, decies repetita placebit*, anent Recusants and Papists, my grief when they increase; there are three sorts of Recusants.

The first, such as will not be themselves, but their wives and families shall be, and they shall appear at Church sometimes, enforced by Law, or for fashion; these are formal to the Law, and false to God.

The second sort are Recusants whose consciences are misled, and therefore refuse the Church, otherwise peaceable subjects.

The third are practising Recusants, they will force all persons under their power, and infect others, to be as they are Recusants; these are men of Pride and Presumption.

His opinion can bear with the person of a Papist so born and bred, but an apostate Papist he hates, such deserve severe punishment.

He is loth to hang a Priest for Religion and saying Mass, but if he refuse the Oath of Allegiance, which is meerly Civil, he leaves them to the Law, against whom it is no persecution, but Justice; and the like against those Priests that return from banishment; such also as break Prison; they can be no Martyrs that refuse to suffer for their conscience; Saint Paul would not go forth, when the doors were open, and Saint Peter came not out, till led by the Angell of God.

Then he concludes with the Ordinary charge against the numbers of Ale-houses; too frequent buildings in and about London; and also the extreme resort of the Gentry to the City; bids them countenance the religious Clergy against all Papists and Puritans, and God and the King will reward their service.

Let us remind Scotland, It was eight years since the Marquess of Huntley had been excommunicate; upon hopes from time to time of his conformity and reconciliation; but increasing insolencies was lately committed, and as soon enlarged by the Chancelour; underhand favouring too much the Papists. The Church complain hereof to the King, the Marquess posts to England to palliate his displeasure, but a Messenger meets him at Huntington with command to return him home to Justice. Yet here he staies, until he receives new authority to appear at Court, where he humbly submits and offers to communicate; But being contrary to the Canons before absolution, a great debate followed, how to hazard him to the Church of Scotland, lest

left by the way, he should recant, and indeed, the *King* evermore endeavouring to rectifie his *conscience*, and to recover him to be a *Profelyte*.

The adventure was thus pieced, the *Bishop* of *Canterbury* now at *Court*, must consent in the name of the *Scots Kirk*, for the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* to absolve him, and the Form new devised so to do, in respect of the correspondency of that *Church* with *England*.

The *Scotish Church* hears of this, and interprets that Act as an usurpation upon their *Rites*, which the *King* is fain to excuse in a long Letter to satisfie that curiosity; and lest he should seem to take upon him to palliate so great a presumption of himself only. The *Arch-bishop* also gave his *Reasons* in writing, without intrenching upon the independencies of so free, absolute, and intire *Authority* of *Scotland*.

And withall, *Huntley* come home, must supplicate that *Assembly*, now convened at *Aberdene*, for their *confirmation* and his *submission*, which was solemnly performed.

And because it was about the end of the General *Assembly*, we shall shut it up with inserting such *Articles* as may enlighten the Reader to the knowledg of the *Kings* elaborate care and wisdom, in reducing perverse Jurisdiction to this moderate issue, in conformity to the *Discipline* of the *Church* of *England*, by which we may conclude the evident signs and hopes of a full recovery in time from their peevish *Hierarchy*, which had been prosecuted in some measure, from the very time that this *King* took Government to himself, and brought it before his death to a semblable conformity with *England*, and might so have prospered to perfection, had not their and our sins since set a period to us both.

1. That for more reverence of the holy *Communion*, the same should be celebrated *Kneeling*, which always had been standing.

2. Not to be denied the Patient desperate sick in his Bed with three or four of religious conversation to communicate with him.

3. The *Sacrament* of *Baptism* not to be longer deferred, than the next Sunday after the Birth, and in necessity, in a private house by the Minister, and publication thereof the next Sunday in the Church.

4. That the inestimable benefits received from God, by our Lord *Jesus Christ*, his Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Sending down the Holy Ghost, having been commendably remembered at certain days and times by the whole Church of the world; every Minister upon these days should therefore commemorate the said benefits upon those set days, and to make choice of several pertinent Texts of Scripture to frame his Doctrine and Exhortations thereto.

And because Confirmation after Baptism stuck in their stomachs,
and

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and indeed the King was unsatisfied therein, terming it a meer Hotch-potch, and not clear to his apprehension. But yet thus much was concluded, That seeing the Act of Confirmation of Children is for their good Education most necessary, being reduced to the primitive integrity, the Minister shall catechize them after eight years old, to rehearse the Lords Prayer, the Belief and ten Commandments, with Answers to Questions in the small Catechism used in the Church. And that the Bishop in their Visitations shall bless them with Prayer for their increase of Grace and continuance of Gods heavenly gifts with them.

So much was done indeed, and presented humbly to his Majesty, with some Reasons, why the same being novel to them, were not as yet inserted with the *Canons*, which the King did not then otherwise press, as resolving to effect his desire, at his coming personally into that Kingdom, when his presence should satisfie with Reasons all scrupulous aversion.

About this time happened that difference in the Family of Sir Thomas Lake, one of the Secretaries of State, between his Wife and Daughter, and the Countess of Exeter, which involved him and his into ruine.

Sir Th: Lake
his story.

This Lake was a learned Gentleman, brought up under Sir Fr: Walsingham, (that subtil Secretary of State) as *Amanuensis* to him. And after good experience of his deserts, was recommended to Queen Elizabeth, and read to her French and Latine, in which Tongues, she would say, that he surpassed her Secretaries, and was so imployed all her time, for he was reading (as to quiet her spirits) when the Countess of Warwick told him, that the Queen was departed.

But not long before she received him Clerk of her Signet. And he was chosen by this State, in that Place, to attend King James, from Berwick. And so sufficient he was, that the King made use of his present service, in some French dispatches by the way that he came hither; which indeed Secretary Cecil had reason to resent, as too much trenching on his Office.

And therefore craveed leave of the King, that he might not attend, beyond his Moneth, to prejudice the other Clerks, which was excused, and he kept still at Court.

These sufficiencies of his, enabled him in these times of gaining with much repute and direct honesty to purchase large possessions.

And now the place of Secretary was joyned in two Principals, Sir Ralph Winwood and him, and so he continued with honourable esteem untill malice and revenge, two violent passions over-ruling the weaker sex, concerning his Wife and Daughter, involved him into their quarrel, the chief and onely cause of his ruine.

He

He had by his Wife Sons and Daughters; his eldest married unto Baron *Rosse* (in right of a Grand-mother) the Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Exeter*, by a former venter; this *Baron* therefore and upon *Lake's* credit, was sent *Ambassadour Extraordinary* into *Spain*, Anno 1611. in a very gallant equipage, with hopes of his own to continue *Liege*, to save charges of transmitting any other.

In his absence, here fell out a deadly feud, ('tis no matter for what) between the Lady *Lake* and her Daughters Step-mother the Countess of *Exeter*, which was particularly described in a Letter, and sent from *England* to me at *Madrid* in *Spain*, and because of my near relations in that Ambassie, I shewed the same to my Lord *Ambassadour*.

A youthfull Widow this Countess had been and virtuous, the relict of Sir *Thomas Smith* Clerk of the Council, and Register of the *Parliament*; and so she became Bed-fellow to this aged, gouty, diseased, but noble *Earl*, and that preferment had made her subject to envy and malice.

Home comes the Lord *Rosse* from his Ambassie, when he fell into some neglect of his Wife and her kindred, upon refusing to increase allowance to her settlement of Jointure, which was promised to be compleated at his Return.

Not long he stays in *England*, but away he gets into *Italy*, turn'd a professed *Roman Catholick*, being cozened into that Religion here by his publick confident *Gondamore*.

In this his last absence, never to return, the Mother and Daughter accuse the Countess of former incontinency with the Lord *Rosse*, whilst he was here, and that therefore upon his Wifes discovery, he was fled from hence and from her Marriage-bed, with other devised Calumnies, by several Designs and Contrivement, to have impoysoned the Mother and Daughter.

This quarrel blazened at Court, to the Kings ear, who as privately as could be, singly examines each party. The Countess with tears and imprecations professes her innocency; which to oppose, the Mother and Daughter counterfeit her hand to a whole sheet of paper; wherein they make her with much contrition to acknowledg her self guilty, craves pardon for attempting to impoyson them, and desires friendship for ever with them all.

The King gets sight of this, as in favour to them, and demands the time, place, and occasion, when this should be writ? They tell him, that all the parties met in a Visit at *Wimbleton*, (the Earl of *Exeter's* house) where in dispute of their differences she confessed her guilt, desirous of absolution and friendship, consents to set down all under her own hand, which presently she writ at the Window,

Anno
1616.

Window, in the upper end of the great Chamber at Wimbleton, in presence of the Mother and Daughter, the Lord Rosse, and one Diego a Spaniard, his confiding Servant.

But now they being gone, and at Rome, the King forthwith sends Master Dendy (one of his Serjeants at Arms, sometime a Domestick of the Earl of Exeter, an honest and worthy Gentleman) post to Rome, who speedily returns with Rosse and Diego's hands, and other Testimonials, That all the said accusation, confession, suspicions and Papers concerning the Countess, were notorious false and scandalous, and confirm it by receiving their Eucharist, in assurance of her honour and his innocency.

Besides several Letters of her hand, compared with this writing, concluded it counterfeit.

Then the King tells the Mother and Daughter, that this writing being denied by her, their testimonies as parties would not prevail, without additional witness.

They then adjoyn one Sarah Wharton their Chamberers, who they affirm, stood behinde the Hangings, at the entrance of the Room, and heard the Countess reade over what she had writ. And to this she swears before the King.

But after a Hunting at New Park, the King entertained at Wimbleton, and in that Room, he observes the great distance from the Window to the lower end, and placing himself behinde the Hanging, (and so other Lords in turn) they could not hear a loud voice from the Window; besides the Hangings wanted two foot of the ground, and might discover the Woman if hidden behinde. The King saying, Oaths cannot deceive my sight. And the Hangings had not been removed that Room in thirty years before.

Nay, more than all these, the Mother and Daughter counterfeit a Confession in writing of one Luke Hotton, that for forty pounds the Countess should hire him to poyson them, which man, with wonderfull providence was found out, and privately denies it to the King.

And thus prepared, the King sends for Lake, whom in truth he valued, tells him the danger to imbarque himself in this quarrel, advising him to leave them to the Law, (being ready for a Star-chamber business.)

He humbly thanked his Majesty, but could not refuse to be a Father and a Husband, and so puts his Name with theirs in a Cross Bill, which at the Hearing took up five several Days, the King sitting in Judgment. But the former Testimonies and some private confessions of the Lady Rosse, and Sarah Wharton, which the King kept in secret, made the Cause for some Days of Triall, appear doubtfull to the Court, untill the Kings discovery, which concluded the Sentence, pronounced upon several Censures, Lake and

Anno

1617.

and his *Lady* fined ten thousand pounds to the *King*, five thousand pounds to the *Countess*, fifty pounds to *Hutton*, *Sarah Wharton* to be whipt at a Carts-tail about the streets, and to do *Penance* at *St. Martin's Church*. The *Lady Rosse* for confessing the truth and *Plot*, in the midst of the *Trial*, was pardoned by the most voices, from *penal Sentence*.

The *King* (I remember) compar'd their *Crimes* to the first *Plot* of the first sin in *Paradise*, the *Lady* to the *Serpent*, her *Daughter* to *Eve*, and *Sir Thomas* to poor *Adam*, whose love to his *Wife* (the old sin of our *Father*) had beguiled him; I am sure he paid for all, which as he told me, cost him thirty thousand pounds, the loss of his *Master's* favour, and *Offices* of *honour* and *gain*; but truly, with much pity and compassion at *Court*, he being held an honest man.

Discontent among the *Roman Prelates* put the *Ach-bishop* of *Spalato*, *Mark Antonio de Dominis*, to seek his peace against that *Sea*, by sundry overtures unto several *Princes* in *Italy*, and other-where, *Spanish* and *French*; at last, he becomes tainted with some opinions *heretical* to them, which either he believed, or took up such *Tenents* for the present time, to prepare him a fitter *Profelyte* hereafter: and finding no safe footing from the fury of the *Pope* and *Conclave*, he steals over into *England*, and to please the *King*, pretends *Conversion* by his *Majesties Works* of *Controversie*, and quarrels with *Bellarmino*; however, it was thought fit to bid him welcome, and to prefer him to a *Deanery* of *Windsor*, and for better support, with the *Mastership* of the *Savoy*.

Bishop of
Spalato comes
into England,
flies back
again and dies
miserable.

This next Count *Gondomere*, the *Spanish* Lieger, who intending to tempt him, (as the *Devil* does his creatures) with a bosom sin, that which they love, had intelligence of his innate disposition to *avarice*, with this he tampers afar off, and with leave of his *Master*, invites him to turn again, from this so mean allowance, and take *preferment* in the *Conclave*, to be *Spain's* *Pensioner* there, (as almost all are) with this assurance of the *Cardinal's Cap*, he was cozened into the *Court* of *Inquisition*, and so to the *Gaol*, where he ended his days with grief, and died a *Protestant Professor*, in malice to the *Papist*, or rather of no *Religion*.

The late sudden *Murther* aforesaid of *Henry 4.* of *France*, left the *Sovereignty* to *Lewis* his Son, and his minority to be supported by his Mothers *Regency*, and she in miscarriage, through too much affection to her Favourite the *Marques D'Ancre* (a mechanical *Florentine*, her Countreyman) occasioned the *Princes* of the *Blond* to seek their freedom by force, which lasted not long, after their several *imprisonments*, for the quarrel rising high, and *D'Ancre* busied abroad, they plotted their business by a bold *Captain* of the *Gens d'Arms*, *De Vitry*, and effected upon *D'An-*

Marquess
D'Ancre
murdered in
France.

The Reign and Death of

cre's person with a single *Pistol*, at the instant, when he returned to the *Pallace*, the *Louvre* in *Paris*, and his *Corps* had no other *Balm* for their *Burial* than his own bloud, being dragg'd about the *City* by the *Peoples* rage, till the dis-jointed limbs were left for *Ravens*.

King *Lewis* was young, and engaged before in his *Mother's* quarrel, but this accident taking fire, as the *Princes* would have it, soon won their weak *Sovereign* on their party, and in policy perforce, he owned the *Action*, as the most convenient *Justice*, for quieting the *Differences*, and so the *Government* taking hold on this occasion, turn'd to the other side, and had the better of the *Queens* Faction, she being afterwards led up and down the *King's* Army under oversight, as a *Prisoner*, but shew'd to the *People* as if reconciled to her Son, the chief *Mover*, having paid the account upon the execution of his person.

This for the present, which lasted by fits, for some years, as her *Faction* took breath, untill that excellent *Engineer* of *State-policy*, Cardinal *Richelieu* had put her into a jealousy of her own safety at home, and so opened a *Gap*, whereby (as in stealth) she might get loose out of the *Kingdom*: but *Sovereigns* leaving their *Subjects* are seldom sent for again, and after much turmoil and tampering with several *States*, and *Italian* tricks, she ended her days very poor in *Germany* in the *City* of *Collen*.

And *Richelieu* succesfull in all his policies, settled that *Nation* to his death, in their due submission to *Sovereignty*, which broke out afterwards *Anno* 1652. into like examples of former miseries.

The blessings of *Peace* and *Plenty* enthroning this *King*, resolved him for a leasurely *Expedition* into *Scotland*, in the opening of the last *Spring*, which was not performed this *Summer* season, partly to make good his promise, when he took leave of his native *Countrey*, to give them a *Visit* after some time of settlement in his new *Inheritance*. And in some policy it was hasten'd now, to be out of the way of address from the *Emissaries* of the *French*, (that unstable *State*) now in the height of dissension, whilst King *James* and his *Court* were thus refreshed, from affairs and business here, in as much prudence and splendour as the consideration of this *Journey* was necessary to the *Design*; which our *Historian* (with his *Pasquil* observations) [spends in ridiculous *Riot*.]

But it was indeed, by his presence, to warm those cold *Countreys* with the beams of *Majesty*, and with his precepts to warn that rebellious *Nation* of their feuds by example of their old *French* friends fresh miseries, to settle the spirits of the factious *Presbytery*, in obedience to *Episcopal* *Hierarchy*; to pass some *Bills* and *Acts* of *Parliament*; to regulate the exacting powers

Q. Mother
Dies out of
France.

The King's
journey into
Scotland.

Hist. Gr. Br.
p. 104.

powers of some Officers in trust; to give grace to the humble and content to all.

And forthwith a *Proclamation* was advised in *Scotland*, and there published, of the Kings *Solomon-like* instinct, to visit that *Kingdom*, and therein gave them assurance, not to alter the *Civil and Ecclesiastical Estate*, but by reforming abuses in *Church and Common-wealth*, and advised them to all accommodations to bid him and his welcome.

These directions were accompanied with others of *State*, and amongst them for repairing and orderly adorning his *Chapel*: and Officers sent out of *England* with necessities, and some *Portraits and Pictures* of the *Apostles* carved, for the *Pews and Stalls*; but the People exclaim at such sights, That *Images* were to be set up; The *Organs* were come before, and after comes *Mass*.

The King was angry at their ignorance, and sent them word to distinguish betwixt *Pictures* intended for *Ornament and Decoration*, and *Images* erected for *Worship and Adoration*. Resembling such men to the *Constable of Castile*, who being to swear the *Peace* concluded with *Spain*, and to be performed in the Kings *Chapel*, where some *Anthems* were to be sung, desired, that *Gods Name* might not be used therein, otherwise, he would be content with any thing else. So the *Scots Kirk* can endure *Dogs, Bears, and Bulls*, nay, *Devils dressings*, to be figured in *Churches*, but not the *Patriarchs* nor *Apostles*.

He come to *Berwick* in *May*, and there it was advised to prorogue the *Parliament* to *June 13*. which gave the King time to progress through the *Countrey*, making his entry in the special *Burghs and Towns* after the most magnificent manner, and welcomed with all the expressions of cost and glory, that ever that poor *Nation* had been put unto, that some effects might seem to make good the *Scots Rants* of their gude *Countrey*.

And because it hath been since surmized that nothing was acted there, in order to the service of that *Nation*; we shall trouble the *Reader* with some particulars.

The King enters their *Parliament*, with *Rules for establishing Religion and Justice*, and a regard to the *Ministers* of both; for notwithstanding the many years *Profession* of *Reformation*, numbers of *Churches* remained unplanted, and those that were, wanted maintenance; advising that *Commissioners* might regulate a local stipend to each *Minister*.

He remembred them of his continual care and pains heretofore and since, for placing *Justices and Constables*, to preserve the *Peace*, and execute *Laws*, which he said had been neglected by some, by the small regard shewed unto them from others of higher rank. But as he would have them know, such Officers to be of honourable

Anno
1617.

esteem, so none could deserve better at his hands than those that countenanced them; and those others, Enemies to the Crown and quiet of the Kingdom.

That he had long endeavoured to civilize men from their barbarous customs, having made some progress, by remove of the persons, or by extinct of their Feuds, and in place thereof established Civility and Justice, and to his lives end, he would never leave to do his best endeavours, untill he might say of Scotland, as one of the Emperours said of Rome, Inveni lateritiani, relinquo marmoream. Indeed the Countrey affords more of Stone than Tile-shard.

They come to vote Commissioners upon the Articles of Religion, whom the King commends, they refuse; and evermore Officers of State are suspected partial for the King, and therefore they admit but of three, the Chancellour, Treasurer, and Clerk of the Rolls.

First Article
for the Kings
Prerogative.

They begin with the chiefeft Article, That whatsoever should be concluded by the King and the Bishops in matters of external policy, should be an Ecclesiastical Law. Not that the King was against the advice and assistance of a competent number of the grave and learned Ministers, but to be over-ruled (said he) as in your former General Assemblies, I shall never agree. The Bishops must rule the Ministers, and the King govern both in matters indifferent, and not repugnant to Gods Word, and so that Article was formed and passed.

Hereupon the Ministers mutiny, that their Discipline should be formed to all the Ceremonies of England; and Struthers in his next Sermon condemning all those Rites, prayed God to save Scotland from the same sin. And thus set on they frame a Protestation to the King in Parliament.

First, against that Article, and therein if remedy be not provided, they shall be forced to other effects, For freedom of their Church, and discharge of their Consciences.

Their Reasons they reduce into Arguments.

1. Their Reformation, That the purity in Doctrine, Sacraments, Discipline and Order thereof, hath been acknowledged rather as a Patern to be followed by all Reformed Churches of Europe, than now to be put to seek it from such as never attained to it.

2. That their General Assemblies formerly established to constitute and make Canons will be utterly overthrown.

That hitherto their Church, nearest the divine and Apostolical Institution, and so hath lived long without Schism and rent, may now by introducing Novelties be miserably overthrown.

That his Majesties gracious assurance by his Letters this last Winter against all alteration of Religion, and so hath been intimated in Pulpits, when Rumours were dispersed of intended conformity with England.

These

Anno
1617.

These they pray may be sufficient to warn the King and Parliament, not to oppress their poor Church, and give grief to millions of men, that otherwise would rejoice at his Majesties presence. And so they resolve, that rather than submit, they are prepared to incur censure, and to oppose.

This Protestation they commit to the most mad-headed man amongst them, one Hewet; but some of the wiser sort, fearing the success, desire the Arch-bishop of *St: Andrews* to suppress it.

He meeting Hewet, desires to peruse it, and blaming the man, keeps the Writing, the other seizes the Paper, and thus striving in the next Room, the King hastily comes out, and sternly fronts the Fellow, who falls down on his knees, and craves pardon for the Protestation, professing never more to meddle therein.

However, the King wisely suspecting some others of the same Phrensie, for the present commanded that Article of the Kings Crown-prerogative not to be read, till the policy of a fitter time; the rest of them being read and concluded, the King takes his leave and loving farewell.

But the Bishops had warning to summon some principal Ministers, and with them to meet him at *St. Andrews*, 10. of July, where the King greets them.

How great my care hath been for the Church (saith he) since I had authority and power to perform it, your consciences cannot but confess; I need not tell you. I seek no thanks, God knows my heart, for true worship of him, and decent order in the Church; whilst I resolved of this Journey to visit you. I gave you warning to insert some Articles into your Acts of the Church, those were anniversary commemorations of Christ's blessings to man, as his Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension and Descent of the Spirit; another, for private use of both Sacraments; a third, for reverend administration of the Communion; and a fourth, for catechising and confirming children by Bishops. I was answered, that they had not been moved in any of the Churches Assembly, and so I was silent. And lately desiring but my Prerogative to be declared, in making Ecclesiastical Laws, ye mutined, and protested against me. But I pass all, amongst many other wrongs frequent from you.

Five Articles
proposed by
the King.

The Errand I have now, is to know your Arguments, why the same ought not to be granted? Reason shall ever guide me; and if my Demands are so, just, and religious too, I will not be refused nor resisted. And with that browning upon them with a full eye, majestic and stern, They all fell down on their knees.

The King went on, *It is a power innate, a princely special Prerogative, which Christian Kings have, to order and dispose external things in the outward policy of the Church, as We with our Bishops advice shall think fit. And Sirs, (saith he) for your approving or disproving, deceive not your selves, Me ye shall not. I will have my Reason not opposed.* They

Anno

1617.

Produces a
Petition.

They were all becom new men, humbly besought they might confer, and so return an uniform Answer, which in two hours space produces a *Petition* for a *General Assembly*, wherein all his Majesties *Articles* being proponed, they might with common consent be received. I, says the King, *but what assurance have I of their consenting?* They protested, that they saw no reason to the contrary.

But if it be otherwise, and your reason now, be none of theirs then, the Articles refused, my difficulty the more; and when I shall hereafter put my own Authority in use, I shall be pulpited, a Tyrant, Persecutour. Ye were wont so to do.

All crying out, That none durst be so mad.

Yet experience tells me, (says he) that it hath been so; therefore unless I be sure, I shall not grant your Assembly.

They craved the Arch-bishop of *St: Andrews* to answer for them: but he refused, having been formerly deceived. At length they procured leave to assemble in *November* next at *St: Andrews*.

Simson that subscribed to the *Protestation*, writes to his Brethren those *Articles*, which he calls *Tricas Anglicanas*, the Letter-carrier was *Catherwood*, who for his insolency to the Kings face, was committed, and after banished; and *Simson* sent to *Edenburgh Castle*, where he lay till *December*.

The King re-
turns.

And so the King returns to *England*, by the West parts; and at *Dunfres* had his farewell Sermon by the Bishop of *Galloway*, which made the hearers heavy at their hearts.

The King gone home, the *Assembly* met, but willingly would have delayed their Conclusion of the five *Articles*, till they might inform their *Flocks* of the equity of them, and so they went away: which the King considers as an high contempt, and breach of their promise, and commands the Bishops of *St: Andrews* and of *Glasgow*, precisely in their own persons to keep *Christmasts* day next, preaching of Texts according to the Time, and to discharge all Modification, (advance) of stipends to any Minister for a year, unless onely to such as have submitted to the *Articles*, and in affection to the Kings service.

The Ministers thus curbed, and the Northern men being come up to *Edenburgh* for their stipends, complain of their Brethren, their pride and insolency, supplicate the Bishops to intercede and mitigate his Majesties displeasure, and so they did, and procured Letters from the King, for allowance of their stipends.

Simson releas-
ed.

And Mr. *Simson* was now released, professing his hearty reluctancy for opposing his Majesty, setting his hand to a Supplication which himself framed, with all submission. But his Brethren, not liking any submission, but to their *Assemblies* or *Synods*, (his, being to the Council) he sets out an *Apologetick*, glossing

glossing upon each word of his Confession, and concludes, *That whatever frailty or weakness had befallen him heretofore, he hoped now to be like Peter, Qui ore negavit, & corde confessus est, and never to betray the Lords cause with Judas.*

The *Jesuits* do even so, fast and loose; neither tongue, hearts nor hands can binde them, against their mental secret purposes. And yet there being some hope, that matters might amend for the Church, and their frequent *Synods* preparing for their better obedience; the Bishops procured the Kings consent to another *General Assembly* to be at *Perth*, in *August* the next year.

This royal Progress of pleasure into *Scotland* and back again, gave leasure to the King, and advantage to all Attendants, for preferment of their persons, or other satisfaction for their services, by the freedom of their Masters bounty, both to *Scots* and *English*.

Especially, to our new Favourite, now of two years growth in the Kings affection. This man *George Villiers* of an ancient Family in *Leicestershire*, and bears ar. on a cross Gu. five *Escalops Or.* His father *Sir George Villiers* begat him 1592. upon a second venter *Mary Beaumont*, of noble extraction, whom for her beauty and goodness, he married. By his first he had but one Son, rising no higher in honour than *Knight* and *Baronet*, his disposition not court-like, and therefore injoying perhaps the greater greatness, *self-fruition*; yet in time he had preferment to the Government of *Ulster Province* in *Ireland*. The other Sons were three, and in order of Birth, but not in Preferment, *John* was Viscount *Purbeck*, *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Christopher* Earl of *Anglesey*, and one Daughter *Susan* Countess of *Denbigh*.

We are told, [that he came over by chance from his *French Travels*, and sought his Preferment in Marriage with any body, but mist of a Match for want of an hundred Marks] and so pieces him for the Court, (like the story of *Demetrias Caparisons*) borrowing of each one by piece-meal, to put him forward for the Kings Favourite.

But the truth is thus, His Mother a Widow, was afterwards married unto *Sir Thomas Compton*, whose Brother the Lord *Compton* by chance falling upon a wonderfull Match for matchless wealth with the Daughter and Heir of *Sir John Spencer*, Alderman of *London*, and her Father then lately dead, this Lord was Master of all, which was of more than credible, and so might be enabled bountifully to set up a Kinsman, without [other help or Alms of the Parish.]

It was plotted long before, and *Villiers* sent for, to the same purpose, by practice of some *English* Lords, to ballance with the *Scots*, who by the help of the last Favourite *Somerset*, and others of

G. Villiers a
Favourite,
Duke of Buc-
kingham his
story,
Descent.

Court & Ch.
K. James,

Anno
1617.

of great affection with the King, had the better of the poor English.

There had been a private Intertainment of a Supper at *Baynards* Castle by the family of *Herbert*, *Hertford* and *Bedford*, and some others; by the way in *Fleetstreet*, hung out *Somersets* picture at a Painters stall; which one of the Lords envying bad his foot-boy fling dirt on the face, which he did; and gave me occasion to ask my companion, upon what score that was done? He told me, this meeting would discover. And truly I waited neer and opportune, and so was acquainted with the Design, to bring in *Villiers*, who was entred before.

He had need to be well backed, against enough that envyed his neerness, and aimed by any affront to discountenance him, until he made them know that his courage over mastered his sweetness. For having bought the place of Cup-bearer to the King, and taking the upper end of the Board at dinner before some other Waiter, which not his due, was told of it, and so removed; nor was it done with overmuch kindness; for indeed the other was *Somersets* creature, who urging a second incivility, *Villiers* gave him a Box on the Ear. For which the custome of Court condemned him to have his hand cut off. And which *Somerset*, as then Chamberlain, ought to prosecute the Execution, which he did. And here the Kings pardon, without any satisfaction to the other party, made him suspected, a budding Favourite. Who was indeed raised, with, or by *Somersets* ruine, so drew envy, from him as his competitor, and from others his Friends companions in his fall, being then as one cast out of the passions of the King.

We shall find him come up degrees, and to stand firm in favour, to the death of this King, and his second Master till his assassination.

The King minding to shew his own power to raise him from nothing, and his will to advance him for nothing, the others study therefore was the Kings inclination, and so to leave on him, whose affection was sufficient to hold up his head. He waited hard and close, his first years rising; but having removed all the whole Line of *Somersets* lincks, (his Wives interests the *Howards*) being boldly fixed in his Masters favor; he would adventure to take leave, but not too long, to be absent. And so by degrees inured the King from his custome of overtyring his Favourites, and at last, fortifies himself, by raising out-works if in case of assault; His own mariage with an heir, the daughter of the Earl of *Rutland*, rich and Honourable, twisting himself and his issue by intermariages with the best and most noble.

For indeed the brouse boughs cut down, or removed to plain the

the stem. Our favorite appears, like a proper *Palm*, besides the discerning spirit of the King, who first cherished him, through his innate virtue, that surprized all men. Henceforth preferments came thick upon him; for the next *Saint Georges day* after his initiation, brought him Knight *Bachelour*, and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber. At new-years time Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, and that Summer in *August* 1616. Baron of *Whaddon*, and Viscount *Villiers*; the beginning of next year, Earl of *Buckingham*, and privy Counsellor, and this Summer in *Scotland*, sworn there also Counsellor of that State. At *Christmases* after (that favours might be recorded, Acts of time, and of affection too) he was created Marquess *Buckingham* and *Admiral of England*, chief Justice in Eyre, Master of the Kings Bench Office, and Steward of *Westminster* (places of profit) and Constable of *Windsor Castle*. The largest was Duke of *Buckingham* sent unto him by Patent into *Spain*, and last of all Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*. And so have we summoned him at once, with all these Titles, which came to him in time heretofore and after.

These accumulations might no doubt astonish the Kitchen stuff concept of Sir *A.W.* Benefits imbroydered without the least vacancy or emptiness, to any others workmanship. The hearts of Princes once dilated with affection, cannot be satiable in the exercise of any narrow bounty, or little affection, choice and love, begets the Gift, which act becomes fomented, even to be in Love, with their own giving, and so to excess.

And thus have we put together this great Man, who was pieced up by degrees and time.

He had many kindred, for his Family was ancient: Heraldry might blaze as large fields of his Pedigree as need concern any subject to prove: were a Man preferred to penfil his life, which I take boldness but to touch with shadows.

These were dispersed by time, into several Matches, with the Gentry, and what strange or new device was it in him to raise them, that were neer in blood (by Noble and worthy) waies as he did: He made his two Brothers Peers; his Mother & Sister Countesses, the one by Patent, the other by Mariage, the rest of the kindred by his countenance, got means to live like their Births being a race handsom and beautiful; I mean the females, descending of *Villiers* or *Beaumont*; either matched with Peers or with the Sons and heirs of Earls, or with Knights of plentiful condition; for he did not much strengthen his subsistence in *Court*, but stood there on his own feet; the most of his Allies rather leaned on him, than he shouldered up by any of them. And thus much, as a Preface to the History of him, hereafter during

Anno
1617.

3 sorts of Noble women.

ring this Kings raign; wherein his actions are successively remembered.

But concerning his Mother, made a Countess. There are in *England* three sorts of honourable women; by *Creation*, *Descent*, or *Marriage*.

1. *H.8.* created *Ann Bullen* Marchiones of *Pembroke*, before he married her. So was *Susan Widow*, the Sole Daughter of the Baron of *Abergaveny*, created Baronesse *de le Spencer*, *Cambden* 63.6. So also was the Lady *Compton*, wife of Sir *Thomas Compton*, brother to the Lord *Compton*, made Countess of *Buckingham*, with the fee of twenty pound *per annum*, 18. *Jac.* And also the Lady *Finch* a Widow, created Viscountess of *Maidstone*, 21. *Jacobi.*

2. Noble women by descent, or to whom dignities descend as heirs, are said to be honourable by Tenure; or those Heirs whose Ancestors were seized of an estate descendable to them in their titles of *Dukedome*, *Earldome*, or *Baronies*, or Heirs to Ancestours summoned to the Parliament.

3. And lastly, Noble Women are these, married to a Lord or Peer of the Realm, though themselves, but in the State of Gentry.

Knights Wives are not of the Nobility. They are stiled Ladies by the courtesie of *England*, but not in Courts of Judicature.

So much for Noble Women.

Occasion of the allowance of harmless pastimes.

In the Kings return out of *Scotland*, the people took occasion to complain in common, and to petition in particular, That the freedom of Servants and Laborers, was extremely enslaved by their Masters pretended zeal and sanction against Idolizing (as was pretended) of such days as ancient custome from General Councils, and the Church of *England* reformed, even to that time, had appointed to be kept Holy. Whereby after the solemnizing of Divine service, the Servants and Workmen, were not usual to discompany from their accustomed moderate Pastimes; such as the most rigid (heretofore) could not justly but admit.

The King, not so over-affected to his own sports, that the sense of the peoples sufferings, might take advantage by his Example, and so of Liberty in the like (for much of his most serious affairs, were shadowed from the vulgar, nay from the observing Politicque, by his own publick Pastimes.)

But in truth it came to be a business of consequence, to consider, how the intemperate zeal of our then rigid Reformers, (to countenance their own design of deforming) strook at higher powers, through the peoples sides, in many matters, so in this also.

For

Anno
1617.

For at first these pure conceited Men, quarrelled at the name of the *Holy seventh day*, called then, as of old, *Sunday*, which they would have named *Sabbath*, and thereafter would have it observed leuitically, so strickt, as not to gather sticks.

This being discussed in some Counties, the people forbore their Recreations. Then the Reformers took the like exceptions against the peoples lawful pleasures on Saints and Holy-daies, and at last against all sports and publick Pastimes, exercises innocent and harmless, such were Leaping, Dancing, Running, or any Mastery for the Gaol or Prize, May-pole, or Church-ale, as debauched Idols.

In some of these Pastimes several Counties excelled, and to entertain community with their Mirth, the Court Progresses, took delight to judge of their wagers, in their journey to *Scotland*, which the people observing, took occasion to themselves to petition the King in his return for freedome, and leave to be merry.

And thus by this means, this Mans [*Monstrum Horrendum*; the *Church-mans Maskarado*] was begotten, and brought to allowance by command, in print to justifie the people in their lawful pleasures, though upon the Sunday after service.

This year died *Edw. Talbot*, the 8. Earl of *Shrewsbury*, without issue; and therefore it descended upon *George Talbot* son of *John Talbot* of *Grafton*, Esq; by *Katherine* his wife, Daughter of *Sir William Peters*, heir male of *Sir Gilbert Talbot* of *Grafton* second Son of *John Lord Talbot*, second Earl of *Shrewsbury*, after the death of *Gilbert* and *Edward* Earls of *Shrewsbury* without issue male, who was this next year 1618. admitted by King *James* the ninth Earl.

The death of
Talbot E. of
Shrewsbury.

But this man dying also without issue, the inheritance descended upon the children of *Iohn Talbot*, brother to this *George*; which *Iohn* dyed and left issue *Iohn* now the eleventh Earl, 1652. He bears *Gules, a Lion rampant, and a border engraed. Or.*

Sir Walter Raleigh wearied with long imprisonment, and having there spent his time well in the History of the World, made his petition more passable to the King, whose love to learning granted him, now at last his Liberty; and not long after gave him leave to wander after a design to the Western world, where he had been in several *Climates* before. The common World wondering at this mans wit, who had a way to break Jests, though to hazard his head again, for in a jear, he said, That his whole History had not the like President, *Of a Kings chief Prisoner to purchase freedom, and his bosome Favourite to have the Halter; but in Scripture Mordecai and Haman*, meaning *Himself* and *Somerfet*. To which he was told that the King

Sir Walter Raleigh released out of the Tower.

An no

1617.

His voyage to
Guiana.French Am-
bassadour his
Friend.His Commis-
sionand Expediti-
on.Hist. gr. Br. pa.
115.

replied, *He might dy in this deceit*, which he did, and *Somerſet* ſaved.

But in truth, he had a reaching and roving mind from his firſt riſe, and thereafter but a mean fortune, which he meant now to make up, out of Adventurers purſes for Gold-Mettal, from a Mine in *Guiana*, one of the Countreys of *America*; upon no other ground to win belief but a pound of the *Ore* which he had from thence by the hands of *Capt. Kemish* his ancient Servant.

The King wondering at this man, why to hazard his future fortune upon the nice diſpute with the King of *Spain*, whoſe Territory he muſt invade at his own perill of ſucceſs, but yet gave him leave with his liberty, ſo be, that he broke not the Kings bands of Amity, which he had ſtrickt rules and order to obſerve.

The *French Lieger* had been very earneſt for his enlargement, with much affection to his deſerts, and ſome deſign of Policy againſt *Spain*, wherein they two waded ſo far, as that the diſcovery came to the Kings ears (not without intrenching (by the by) upon his Majeſties honour) and ſeveral commiſſions from *France*, preſented to him, to fit him to that purpoſe, wherein he was warily watcht, till it ſhould ripen for further tryal, and at the worſt, back-friends were to be put aboard, to bring him back again.

And having got Commiſſion, and thereupon a company of his own Countrymen they imbarque with him in a Voyage thither, with a compleat Fleet of twelve ſail, and landed at *St. Tomazo*, a Town of the *Spaniards*, killed five hundred men, ſacked and burnt it; of five of their Fleet, it may be ſaid as of the old ſaying, *They went up the River, and ſo came down again*; for the Deſign being the River *Oremque* in *Guiana* to diſcover the Mine, at the foot of a Mountain, up in the Countrey they were oppoſed by the Inhabitants, *Spaniards* and *Natives*, and ſo returned to their company.

This expedition was grounded at the firſt only upon *Kemish* information, the Miſcarriages that might happen was alwaies cunningly reſolved to light upon him, for ſatisfaction of the Adventurers; To answer it to the King, his intent was never to return; but by his own managment, and the obedience of his Company, over whom he had commiſſion of Life and Death; he dreamed of nothing leſs then of a prosperous journey.

And now to frighten *Kemish*, *Raleigh* threatens him with the Kings diſpleaſure, which to avoid, ſayes the *Storian* [*The poor man piſtols himſelf*] and ſo no tales could be truly told.

He dead, the moſt minded forced their own and his return home

home, which he intended any where else, and so some of their scattered ships with him, more like a Prisoner than Commander, came safe to *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, from thence to *Plymouth*, where no sooner on shore but he is taken into custody of Sir *Lewis Stukely*, Vice-Admiral of *Devon*, and conveyed to *London*, and so to the *Tower*, with whom he deals for a sum of money presently delivered to him to escape with him into *France*. *Stukely* yields to all, accompanies him by Water, where by the way to *Gravesend* (the Design of *Stukelyes* treachery in that, and so it prospered with him, being hanged afterwards for clipping Gold) they were seized, and he brought into the *Tower*, and not many daies after commanded to the Kings-Bench-bar at *Westminster* before the Lord Chief Justice *Mountague*, where he was questioned upon the Records of his former Arraignment at the City of *Winchester*, and in answer to that, he was asked what he had to say to his Sentence to dy like a Traytor.

His short defence was, *Of being lately intrusted by the Kings commission over the Lives of some of his Liege people*; was soon replied unto, as insufficient, and he had judgement to dy the next day by the favour of the Ax; which he said (smilingly touching it) *Was a sharp Medicine, but a sound Cure of all diseases*, as it proved to him then in his *Ague fit*, in the Palace yard at *Westminster* Octob. 1618.

It was indeed common discourse then that *Raleigh* knew of no Mine, nor was *Kemish* assured that the pretended Mine was of Gold, but that the piece of *Ore*, which he presented *Raleigh* in the *Tower*, was falsified by dissolving some Gold therein, and he a better *Chymist* than *Kemish* for that purpose. That both of them designed it so to be, thereby cozening the world to get credit, and afterwards to deceive the King to purchase his liberty.

But when *Kemish* came safe from the supposed Mountain, without any Mine, whom *Raleigh* expected should miscarry in the way, and none but he could discover the deceit, then was he destroyed by death, but by whose hand it may be suspected, not by himself.

And truly these reports were more then [*a false wisard to outface the truth of his merit in that action, and thereby to weigh down Raleighs miscarriage.*]

At his death he endeavoured to cleer some points which he knew lay on the Deck against him, *His disloyal words of the K. undutiful language from Subjects of Sovereigns, take deeper root than the memory of evil Deeds*; so did the Marshal *Byron* which cost him his head. *Essex* once told *Queen Elizabeth*, *That her conditions were as crooked as her carcase, Manebat alta mento repostum.*

Anno
1617.

They return,
and he in custody of *Stukely*

committed to
the Tower.

and questioned
at the K.
Bench-Bar,

and executed.

Hist. gr. Br. p. 216.

Discourse concerning his
Design.

Hist. gr. Br. p. 116.

He

Anno
1618.

He said, his Accuser was a base *runagate Frenchman*, and *perfidious*, being sworn to secrecy, yet he betrayed.

Secondly, *To have had often plots with France.*

He confessed, *That he had been often solicited from thence, and that he endeavoured to escape thither at twice, and the last time being got as far as Woolwich.*

Thirdly, *That the French Agent came often to him with Commissions from his Master; but it was not accepted.*

Much he said of these as to the publick, and of more things as to private, which he did not deny, but traversed.

So then there were other businesses of a second charge, and confederacy, which made him lyable to a new Tryal; for *Treason* is so comprehensible, as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such conclusions as the jealousy of State shall interpret either for safety or Revenge.

But the prudence of the King would not hazard more, having sufficient upon the old score; and because he could not in Law be judicially called to accompt for his last actions, his former Attainder being the highest, and the last work of the Law, whereby he was *Civiliter Mortuus*; The King was enforced (except *Attainders* should become Privileges for all subsequent offences) to execute him upon the former.

And concerning Sir *Walters* recovery of Queen *Anns* infirmity, for which he should beg a Boon, viz. [the re-examination of the Lord *Cobham* by four Earls, and three Counsellors] It being urged by an Author in the innocency of his cause, and ingratitude of the King; I shall answer as to my knowledge by the relation of some Ladies of her Bed-chamber, and of her Surgeons and Physicians now living; *That she was never cured of her disease, but by death that ends all Maladies.*

We are told [That Sir *Walter* set out his design to the King, who discovered it to the Spanish Lier *Gondamore*, the Countrey, Town, Men, Ships, Ordinance, and all, and he posted it to Spain, thence to the Indies, before that *Raleigh* could get out of our River] and yet for all these tidings, supplies were not come to defend the Town *Tomaze*.

We will confess that all these exceptions may be had under Sir *Walters* hand, purposely so writ by him, to excuse the weakness (or wickedness) of the event. For the truth is, the design though hatcht in a corner, was published on the house top, to purpose Contributors, otherwise he must conclude them Madmen or Fools. Nay, I can produce under his hand and seal with a blank (for he left a hundred) for other Adventurers to follow him, for which each one gave fifty pounds to his Lady, and therein was set down as much as our Historian fathers upon the King to *Gondamore*.

And

And that his own Conscience was satisfied that he deserved death before he was brought up Prisoner from *Plymouth*, and so to endeavour his escape from Tryal; see but the close of his own Letter to *Buckingham*.

Anno
1618.

It was (saith he) that last severe Letter from the Lords for my speedy bringing up, and the impatience of dishonour that put me in fear of my Life or perpetual imprisonment, which animated me in my late and too late lamented resolution to escape, if his Majesties mercy does not pitty my age, and scorn the advantage of my guilt, if his Majesty does not make difference in offences, proceeding from a life-saving natural-impulsion without ill intent, and those of an evil heart,

And if that your Lordship do not vouchsafe to become my Intercessour, whereby your Lordship shall bind an hundred Gentlemen my kindred to honour your memory, and bind me for all the time of my life, which you shall beg for me, to pray for your prosperity, and to remain,

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

W. Raleigh.

As to the value of that worthy Gentleman (from whose descent of blood I am no Stranger) certainly we may yield to him as much or more then is described by his Character, *But then those excellencies, [natural wit, better Judgement, and applausable tongue, &c.]* might in his long time of recess by imprisonment (through disuse of men and business) become uncertain grounds to Fabrick such Designs as the natural man (not supplied with inward grace) usually aims at, and therein is mostly deceived, such was he, his fate, and fall.

Hist. Gr. Br.
p. 117.

This year the King creates by Patent four Earls, *Sidney* Earl of *Liecester*, *Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, *Cavendish* Earl of *Devonshire*, and *Rich* Earl of *Warwick*.

4 Earls created for money.

Having paid the price, a good sum for their honours; so earnest some are, and so ambitious of preferment, as what they cannot get by merit, they covet to purchase with money, an infection newly crept into the distribution of honors, not usual here with former *Sovereigns*.

The miserable condition of sinful man in sundry Examples of these present and of former times, should mind us hourly to beg of God preventing grace, least we fall into Temptations of sin and Satan. Such have been the calamities of ages past, at present are, and will be to come; Stories of *Theft*, *Rapine*, *Murthers*, and such like.

A monstrous murder in Cornwall.

The Reign and Death of

One of wondrous note happened at *Perin* in *Cornwall* in *September*, a bloody and unexampled Murther, by a Father and Mother upon their onely Son, and then upon themselves.

He had been blessed with ample possessions and fruitful issue, unhappy only in a younger son, who taking liberty from his Fathers bounty, and with a crew of like condition, that wearied on Land, they went roving to Sea, and in a small Vessel Southward, took boot from all whom they could Master, and so increasing force and wealth, ventured on a Turks Man in the Streights; but by mischance their own Powder fired themselves, and our Gallant trusting to his skilful swimming, got shore upon Rhodes, with the best of his Jewels about him; where offering some to sale to a Jew, who knew them to be the Governours of Algier, he was apprehended, and as a Pyrate sentenced to the Gallies among other Christians, whose miserable slavery made them all studious of freedom, and with wit and valour took opportunity and means to murther some Officers, got aboard of an English Ship, and came safe to London; where his Misery and some skill made him Servant to a Surgeon, and sudden preferment to the East-Indies, There, by this means he got money, with which returning back, he designed himself for his Native County Cornwall. And in a small Ship from London, sayling to the West was cast away upon that coast. But his excellent skill in swimming, and former fate too boot, brought him safe to shore; where since his fifteen years absence, His Fathers former fortunes much decayed, now retired him, not far off to a Countrey habitation in Debt, and Danger.

His Sister, he finds married to a Mercer, a meaner Match than her Birth promised. To her at first he appears a poor Stranger, but in private reveals himself, and with all what Jewells and Gold he had concealed in a Bow-case about him. And concluded that the next day he intended to appear to his Parents, and to keep his disguise till she and her Husband should meet, and make their common joy compleat.

Being come to his Parents, his humble behaviour, suitable to his Suit of Cloths, melted the old couple to so much compassion, as to give him covering from the cold season, under their outward Roof, and by degrees, his travelling Tales told with passion to the aged people made him their Guest, so long by the Kitchen fire, that the Husband took leave and went to bed. And soon after his true Stories working compassion in the Weaker Vessel, she wept and so did he; But compassionate of her tears, he comforted her with a piece of Gold, which gave assurance that he deserved a Lodging, to which she brought him; and being in Bed shewed her his Girdled wealth, which he said was sufficient to relieve her husbands wants, and to spare for himself, and being very weary, fell fast asleep.

The wife tempted with the Golden Bait of what she had, and eager of enjoying all, awaked her husband with this News, and her contrivance what to do; and though with horrid apprehension he oft refused, yet her pawning fondness (Eves Inchantments) moved him to consent, and rise to be Master of all, and both of them to murder the man, which instantly they did; covering the corps under the Cloths till opportunity to convey it out of the way.

The early Morning hastens the Sister to her Fathers house, where she with signs of Ioy, enquires for a Saylor that should lodge there the last night; the Parents slightly denyed to have seen any such, untill she told them that he was her Brother, her lost Brother; by that assured scar upon his Arm cut with a Sword in his youth she knew him, and were all resolved this morning to meet there and be merry.

The Father hastily runs up, finds the Mark, and with horrid regret of this monstrous Murther of his own Son, with the same Knife cut his own throat.

The Wife went up to consult with him, where in a most strange manner, beholding them both in blood, wild and agast, with the Instrument at hand, readily rips up her own belly till the Guts tumbled out.

The Daughter, doubting the delay of their absence, searches for them all, whom she found out too soon; with the sad sight of this scene, and being overcome with horror and amaze, of this Deluge of Destruction, she sanck down and dyed; the fatal end of that family.

The truth of which was frequently known, and flew to Court in this Guise; but the imprinted Relation conceals their Names, in favour to some Neighbour of Repute and Kin to that Family.

The same sense makes me therein silent also.

We have heretofore observed the Constitution of the Dutch Netherlands in favour of Vorstius and his Heresies, preferred at Leyden 1611. where he had a way of Wit and cunning to work into the peoples dullness, led on by countenance of sundry the powerful Ministers of the Provincial States, that now his Tenents were preached for Orthodox, and believed as Gospel, being mixed with those of Arminius, whose repute (following his death) Vorstius took up, and for the Masters sake, were nicknamed Arminianism, then of a dozen years growth, infecting the Reformed Churches, almost in each Countrey published in print, or fetcht from thence, by taint of young Students.

King James took care to prevent both, by burning the One, if they came hether, and forbidding the Other not to go thether.

Peace and Plenty with them bred up these Schisms into as

Barneveldt his
design fitted
for Rebellion,

By faction of
Arminianism.

Anno

1618.

The Prince of
Orange his
Opposite.

many factions, the old way to work designs and changes in State, both of the *Gown* and of the *Sword*. The one mightily mastered by the wisdom of *Barnevelt*, the other commanded by the power of the Prince of *Orange*. This *Barnevelt*, was worthily descended, and well-bred; his travels abroad and Counsels at home, which his great age 70 years, gave time to ripen for excellent advice in the Magistracy and Council in the Army improved by five Embassies abroad, and thirty two Leaguers at home.

And it is counsel to some, whether conscience or ambition over-ruled his last actions; but he made himself Head of a Faction, which got the name of *Arminians*; a common custom with Opposers, to colour their own designs by laying infamy, or at least scandal upon their Adversaries; and this did the Prince do to destroy *Barnevelt*, for envy and fear. The other finding the pulse of the people to beat in a high fever of that disease, was forced for the present to tack on that side, where he was sure to have hearts and hands to keep him up, in a desperate state, otherwise to be overwhelmed in the deluge of Destruction.

Thus in some condition to balance the Prince with assistance of several the *Provincial States*, of his opinion and jealousy; that if the power of the Prince, *Generalissimo* of their *Armies*, were not limited, his greatness would ere long increase without controul. And therefore by way of Counsel (for pretended good of the Common-wealth) they did Confederate to leavy new companies, far from view or suspicion of the Prince, whom *Barnevelt* kept close to business of the publick Council, with the States General; And so was it not discovered untill *Midsummer*, But then perfectly understood. The Prince in secret with his Kinsman Count *Ernest*, and the best of his Confidants, leaves the Court at *Hague*, gives Intelligence of his Design to Colonel *Ogle* Commander of the Garrison at *Utrecht* (the place of the others greatest strength) who on the sudden receives them in, surprize the Town and that State, in close Council. And at hand had the Garrisons of *Arnhem*, and others to master that part, and so other places of force, whom he suspected had favour with *Barnevelts* faction.

The success of this sudden expedition gave such authority to the Prince, that being returned in Martial manner, he seized *Barnevelt*, *Grotius*, *Hogenbert*, and other Confederates at *Hague*, and committed them to prison, upon pretence of Treason; his power with the Army and interest with the States might do this and more.

Not long after *Lydenburgh*, Governour of *Utrecht* imprisoned, stabs himself to the death with his Trencher-knife; being assured

assured that no innocency would prevail against force and malice: Yet *Hogenbert* and *Grotius* had sentence of miserable mercy, in perpetual imprisonment; the last of them got loose, being conveyed out in a Chest, which his beloved wife plotted for his escape.

Barnevelt had friends with the State, and a strong faction with the people, and though his Sentence pronounced him to the Scaffold, yet it lasted a long Dispute, ere they brought him to the Block, which was not effected till May the next year. His Sentence indeed made his Crimes capital, as Author and Accessary of all former distempers in State, sum'd up to the height, and sufficient to hang a thousand.

The multitude of Believers begin to murmur; to appease them and prevent muteny, a *National Synod* was held at *Dort*, accompanied with sundry able Divines of several Reformed Churches. *King James* in principal sent thither, *Doctor George Carlton* Bishop of *Landaff*, *Doctor Joseph Hall* then Dean of *Worcester*, *Doctor John Davenport* Professor *Regius* in the University of *Cambridge*, and Master of *Queens College* there, *Doctor Samuel Ward*, Regent of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*, and *Doctor Balcanqual* a *Scotish man* (in particular to give honour to that Nation.) But in truth, and in esteem they were all of them, (and so other Foreign Divines of this Assembly) men of incomparable Learning in the Mystery of Religion; but where appeared no Opponents, the Dispute found the less Difficulty, and their Conclusions for the present silenced the Pulpits.

Dort Synod
resolves a-
gainst *Armi-*
nianism.

Yet private men took pains to search the Distinction. And as Opinion (the rule of Conscience) binds every one, so from thence and since *Arminianism* hath its increase. The Divines of *England*, not being obliged to their opinions at *Dort*.

For first, This *Synod* was Foreign and National, and therefore as a *Synod* could not bind us in *England*, unlesse it had been ratified, and imposed by Publique Authority here at Home.

Secondly, It was not an *Episcopall Synod*, neither was any Bishop President of it, or actor in it (*quatenus Episcopus*) and therefore it was rather an Assembly of private Divines than an *Ecclesiastical Synod*, according to the rules of antient *Ecclesiastical Discipline*.

Thirdly, Our Divines concur not absolutely in Judgement with the *Netherlands* in all their *Synodical Conclusions*.

For concerning that Article of Redemption, they write pag. 204. *De mortis Christi pretiosissimo merito, ita Statuimus, ut nec primitiva, &c.*

The reverend Divines of *Great Britain* in these words deliver four things.

Anno
1618.

1. That they accord with the primitive Church touching the Article of Universal Redemption.

2. That the promises of the Gospel ought to be proposed universally to all men.

3. That whatsoever is offered or promised in the name of Christ, to any person in the Church, is truly intended by God to be given unto them, in such sort as his Word and Promises do outwardly sound.

4. It is consequent upon the former, that the work of Redemption in respect of Christ his Oblation and intention therein is common to all mankind, although many by reason of their impediments do not actually receive them.

Now this resolution of Our Divines accordeth with the Articles and Doctrine of the Church of England, but none of the Foreign Divines of that Synod were of the same opinion, for they restrain this Redemption of Christ both in application and Gods intentional offer meerly and only to the Elect.

The Belgicke Confession is wholly confirmed by the Synod of Dort, as appeareth in the Book of the Synod pag. 329. But the 30, 31, and 32. Articles of this Confession teach, That the Presbyterian Discipline is of Divine institution; and that all Ministers have equal Authority and Jurisdiction, and consequently condemn Episcopal Government, and the Ecclesiastical Policy of Our, and all other Churches, which imbrace not Calvins Plate-form of Lay-Elders.

The antient custome of convocating Synods, or meeting of Divines for composing Differences in Religion and Reformation of corrupted Discipline, was from the very four Apostles meeting at Jerusalem, concerning the Gentiles observing Moses Law; and from that example in a Province or City, the Primitive Bishops assembled at several times for 200 years then following.

The peace and unity of the Church in CONSTANTINE gave ease for many Churches to communicate over the whole Empire, and was called in his time, The Holy Synod, and not long after, The General and Oecumenical Council, though the Empire was divided, Eastern and Western; and afterwards amongst the Gracians from the Assembly of the five Patriarchs. And in those Kingdomes from the Unity of States obedient to the Pope in Ecclesiastical causes, which till the fifteenth Century of years so continued quiet, unless in that of John Husse, and Ierome of Prague, from the Doctrines of Iohn Wickliff in England.

In the time of Richard the second King of England, who married Ann the Daughter to Wincelaus King of Boheme. And though he had no issue by her, yet the conversion of Boheme from Popery

Of Synods
and Councils
their initiati-
on.

Popery may not unfitly be stiled the issue of her Mariage; for they that brought her hither, carried over Wickliffs Works, anno 1382. to John and Jerome; So then England was Grandfather of Reformation, Boheme the Father, and Germany the Son. Their Doctrines were against the Popes Supremacy as Antichrist, they condemned Transubstantiation. He translated the Bible into English, and was burned in Leicestershire, the first man that suffered the fire of English Martyrdome, at forty five years of age.

Anno
1618.

About the year 1500. appeared the first occasion amongst the Waldenses neer the Alps; In some Cantons of Boheme, called Picards; but both of them then rather despised than feared; their disciples were called Sub utraque, receiving the Sacraments with the Cup and with the Bread against the Papists. But their opinion of long time, rather amongst themselves than communicable.

In 1517. began Martyr Luther an Hermite Fryer in Saxony; that Covent being usually imployed to publish the Popes indulgencies, he spoke against the excessive abuse of the pardons in ninety five Conclusions at Wittenburgh, which John Thesel a Dominican opposed in others at Frankford of Brandenburg, by Ecchini also and Prierius.

Luthers story

And so controversie increasing matter of greater importance, they were faine to strengthen their weak Arguments with the Popes authority, as being the chiefest in the Church, and not able to err.

Martin proves him inferiour to a General Council, which he craves as most needful. Whereupon he was cited to Rome the next year, but in favour remitted to Examination of the Popes Legat Cardinal Cajetan at Ausburgh in Germany; who could not convince him, and in such policy, backed by some Princes, he appealed from the Popes Bull to a General Council.

The same occasion of indulgence collected at Zurick provoked Zwinglius a Canon to oppose Samson a Franciscan who preached for the pardons.

Zwinglius.

These Reformers and their writings were examined and condemned by the Universities of Lovain and Cullen; and the more opposing, the more increasing; The Pope remitted the dispute unto some Cardinals, Prelates, Divines and Canonists, and their books were condemned and burnt; And the Popes Bull resolving it, the effect followed first at Lovain and Cullen.

Luther and his Scholars did the like by the Popes Bull and Decretalls at Wittenburgh, and justified it by a long Manifest to all the World. And this caused a Diet at Worms, which examined him, and his answer moved the Elector and Others to favour his Doctrine; but was condemned as notorious Heretical by Imperial Edict. And by example so did the University of Paris.

Exploded by
the diet at
Worms.

Hen-

Anno
1618.

And at the
Diet at No-
remburgh.

Council at
Trent resolv-
ed upon.

Council of
Trent began
1545.

Henry the eight King of England, born a second Brother, and therefore bred a Scholar, designed for the *Arch-bishops See of Canterbury*, writ a Book against *Luther*, and had his reward, and Title of *Defensor fidei*, though upon consideration of Lust and Policy, turned Reformer also.

The like Dispute and Measure had the Doctrines of *Zwinglius*, and the rest, and so these differences increasing, did necessitate another Diet at *Norembergh*, where disputes against the Reformers increased complaints against the Courtiers of *Rome*, and were reduced into *Centum Gravaniana*, and at the Diet at *Spire* as many more.

The horrid plots between the Princes and the Popes, and general distraction of *Germany*, and other parts of *Christendome*, and by the seeds of the *Reformed Religion*, at last to amend all, or make it worse, the Pope was forced to consent to call a *General Council at Trent*.

The *Electors of Saxony*, and five Princes more opposing the *Emperours Decrees*, and fourteen principal Cities adhearing, they protesting against it by *Manifest*, were now first called Protestants, as from the *Reformed Doctrine of Luther*, and the rest.

At the Diet of *Ausburgh*, the Protestant Princes, fifteen, and thirty Cities, prefer their *confession of faith of Luther*, called from the place *Augustine*. The Cities also of *Zwinglius doctrine*, presented their Creed, differing onely in the *Eucharist*, and at home were opposed by their Neighbour *Roman Cities*, and quarrelled it by War; wherein *Zwinglius* in the head of a Company sacrificed his life; for whom *Oecolampadius* a Minister of *Basil*, of the same Opinion dies for Grief; and from these of the Cantons came the name of *Gospellers*.

The horrid troubles, discords and disputes amongst Christian Princes from the seeds of *Reformed Churches*, controverted by several quarrels and Armies, and referred to several Diets, Colloquies and Meetings in *Germany*. It was then at last resolved of the holy *Ecumenical Council of Trent* (as the *Roman Catholiques* call it) Opening at *Trent* in *Decemb. 1545*. In the time of Pope *Paul the third*, *Charles the fift* then *Emperour*, *Henry the eight*, King of *England*, and *Francis the first* of *France*, and ended Anno 1563. Eight Bishops of *Rome* lived and dyed during that treaty eighteen years.

Our Countrey-man *Campian* that apostate, writes to the *Universities* in that Councils commendations.

The Synod of Trent (saies he) the older it waxeth the more it will flourish, good God what variety of Nations, what choice of Bishops of the whole world, what splendour of Kings and Commonwealths,

wealths, what marrow of Theologues, what sanctity, what weepings, what Academical flowers, what Languages, what subtilties, what infinite readings, what riches of virtues, and studies, did fill up that Majestical sacred place?

And so they amuzed the after age with counterfeit value of that Council, until that an *Italian* compiled a work of the particular ordinary Acts of that Council, wherein their practices to maintain the power of the Court of *Rome*, and to hinder the Reformation of their *Eripus* is plainly expressed. An excellent work written in the time of King *James*, and translated then into *English* 1618. if there were no deceit in the Writer (as I have heard it pretended) as that under hand he was a *Protestant*, and so partial.

Having now of late 1652. with admiration beheld the horrid broyls and civil Tumults (these thirteen years last past) in these *Western Nations* of *Europe*; how barbarously *Protestants* oppose, and massacre each other; whilst the *Jesuit* Projects, hiss at us by the ears. The Empire also, having gotten but a woefull booty by her more than thirty years wars, heretofore weakned her self with loss of six millions of Souldiers, besides others, men, women and children numberless. We in *Great Britain* having gained no better by our Civil Wars.

The effects of
War from the
Blazing-star.

The sins of Subjects hastening untimely fate, the Church delacerated, our own Nations disjointed and dismembred in every part.

These considerations might move us to cry to Heaven for an end of such Tragedies. The mysteries whereof, by sundry writers take rise from the fearful blazing Star, which appeared this year 1618.

Longamontanus and Doct^r Bambridge say, That this Comet appeared but twenty eight daies, for it was not observed in Denmark, nor in London before the eighteenth or one and twentieth days of November.

But Puteanus observed it the eleventh day, and so appeared thirty seven daies; foreshewing that first the more Northern parts of *Europe*, then *Great Britain* afterwards, should feel the smart for thirty seven years; even from 1618. until 1656. And not onely these Nations, but the effects were to end upon all *Europe*; and why? many because they neglect the downfal of *Antichrist*, ruin of *Rome*, destruction of the Order of *Jesuits*, and State of *Papistry*; to make way for (I know not whose) fifth Monarchy, the Lion of the North.

The matter of these Comets is variously described, being (some say) composed of wind and lightning; hot and dry; exhaled by the Sun, into the highest Region; and there (bordering the Element of fire)

The Reign and Death of

fire) is inflamed partly by it, and the whirling motion of the Heavens. And this matter, whilst imprisoned in the Earth, produceth Earthquakes.

If it ascend to the Middle Region, and be from thence beaten back, it turns to wind; if entering that Region, and being environed with thick Clouds, it flashes into Lightning; and if it passes to the upper Region, it becomes a Comet. And the common opinion promotes them as Signs and Causes, prognosticating some dreadful mischiefs to the World, whereof Brightman foresaw; who from Joseph Scaliger of Leyden, got some Notes of Grebner, concerning those propheticall numbers in the twelve chapters of Ezekiel; the three last of Revelation, and the last chapter of Daniel, with some passages of Hosea and Zachary.

But that excellent Manuscript of Johannes Bandensis de vita Grebnerii, declares all.

In which that learned Astrologer brings reasons Divine and humane, why Europe for the space of thirty seven years following this fearful Comet, should feel the Mutations of flourishing States as since it hath lately hapned in Portugal, Swedland, Bohemia, Denmark; Great Britain, and Ireland.

However foretold; I am sure they and we feel the sad effects; and so have we mixed Predictions, both Astrologicall and Divine.

Since the spiritual Sword was sheathed in England, which had lopt off the Serpentine heads of Heresie and Schism, It is more then wonder, how all these Sects in the whole world have with their prophecies (like devouring weeds) overgrown or choaked the seed of Gods word.

The Millenaries dream of a Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth; How he shall descend 1666. and destroy all the Works of Darknes; that he shall keep quarter Sessions, and Goal delivery in his own person upon Mount Olivet; That in anno 1700. shall be the day of Judgement, and that Judgement last other 1700. years, and a thousand other such like Fancies, made familiar to us, by sundry mad-headed Millenaries; lately printed in 1642. 44. and 45.

In anno 1650. comes another Opiniator, and tells us that this year saies he) all Europe being in civil Wars which shall not cease till they have mustered an Army to destroy Rome anno 1666. Then that the Western Jews shall come into the Faith of Christ; and shall in anno 1683. convert the Eastern Jews (being the ten Tribes hidden invisibly in Tartaria and India) and these two Brethren shall ruin the Mahometan in anno 1698. and so presently to be restored to Jerusalem, and then follows the dissolution of all things, and not before.

For my part (says one in anno 1650) I am a zealous adorer of
Par-

Heresies increase,

Opinions propheticall.

Parliaments, nor desire to censure the actions of our Representative yet will not promise the term of an age to our Novel Government (as *hs* terms it) but thinks verily a change toward the old Model is neer at hand. A pestilent Prophet if such should come to pass, and the whole effects of Grebneer follow after.

And further this figure-flinger hath collected by way of Chronology upon the principal passages in (Ezekiel and Revelations) Grebneers and Bandensis prophecies; where he observes out of the fourth Viol poured out, to be in anno 1605. when the Protestant Champions, Pareus, Polanus, Whitakers, Perkins, Andrews, and K. James, did powre light upon the Sun of the Gospel against Bellarmine, Stapleton, Campian, and other Papists, Revelations 16. 8, 9.

The fifth Viol (saies he) began powring out from anno 1630. by the Swedes in Germany 1632. then the English in England 1640. and combine against Papists 1648. and shall end in Romes ruine, 1666. and hath Scripture for that too, Revel. 16. 10, 21. and so goes on to the year 1830. where he leaves the faithful to expect Dooms-day.

There are other Writers strongly encounter these poisonous prophecies; That there is no certain predictions; that Comets do not alwaies fore-run such events; nor do Events follow Comets, and instance wonderful fruitful blessings after such signs.

Peucer a German, prognosticated upon the Comet in anno 1583 and contrariwise followed a most calm Summer; no Prince dyed; no war, and the Plague in Lombardy then ceased. Gemma Frisius speaks of as many good as bad effects.

And the Comet in Qu. Elizabeths time in Cassiopea, she being diswaded to look out of the Window upon it, she went forth to see it, saying, *Jaeta est alea*, The Die is cast in Gods providence, not in Signes to be blasted with such beames, which had a ground in Nature, but no warrant in Scripture, to portend Mishap to States and Princes,

But that which is most observable to me, is this, The Scripture, which relates remarkable things, mentioneth not one Comet, Blazing Star, nor Eclipse (but that miraculous Star at Christs birth) though no doubt many such happened in that space of three thousand five hundred years, but takes notice of other natural events less considerable; and yet from the other we infer, changes of Empires, nay, Church and Religion.

The Prophets never foretold of any Meteors, as not troubling their writings, with what could be foreseen by humane or natural means, For though Agabus, Acts 11. 18. foretold the Universal Famine twelve years after, in the time of Claudius Cæsar, yet he speaks not of the Eclipse that fell then; for that might be foreseen of a natural cause, and was foretold by Astrologers, but not the famine

Anno
1618.

which could not be inferred by Eclipse, nor by any Comet, to pre-
sage evil.

We grant natural virtues which reside in the Stars, besides en-
lightning; for they were created four daies after the light, to warm
and give vigor and life, and such good things. And indeed those
natural signs, are rather marks of Gods favour than anger, Stars
do submission to Man; unhappy to none but such as believe them
fatal and unlucky. *Naturale est magis nova, quam magna, mira-
ri. And that Comet at Christs birth, was Nero's death. Cometes
summe bonus aparuit, qui prænuntius fuit, mortis magni illius
Tyranni, & pestilentissimi hominis, saies Tacitus.*

*False Predictions prove true to them that fear them, that is our
superstition. The other extreme is Epicurism, which admireth not
Gods works at all. Continual custome without some change in natu-
ral things, becomes less regardful. God scatters intermixtures to force
man to admire.*

*The sacred Chronology shews Gods admirable measures in the dis-
pensations of time, more worthy than in the speculation of Astro-
logers. Nay even in humane History, more wise, than such Pre-
dictions; for certainly a good Historian deserves better than a bad
Prophet.*

Q. Ann dies,

After the appearance of this Comet, the same year died Q.
Anne. A lingring sickness and fulness of humours brought her
to a dropsie, and for recovery, she for some years before fre-
quented the Bath, with continual Physick. But the disease
come to the height, she took leave of this life at Hampton Court,
Her Corps brought from thence to Somerset House, part of her
Jointure, and at her proper charge lately rebuilt and beautified
to this lustre it appears now; and by her desire called Denmark
house, from the name of that Kingdom, whence she had her
Birth. And not long after with sumptuous obsequies she was
intombed at Westminster Abby in the chapel of Hen. 7. ordained
for Royal Interments.

Her character.

A good Lady she was, and Sister to the King of Denmark,
fetcht from thence by King James with great affection to her
person, and being a Stranger to these Kingdoms, with Pro-
vidence designed for her future fortune, she medled the less in
Matters of State. A matchless pair, drawing evenly in all cour-
ses of honour, and both blessed with fair issue, because never
loose from eithers Bed, abating that blemish, basely abusing
her excellent virtue [for loving my Lord of Pembroke] a crime
as false as odious in the Author, who yet concludes [her chara-
cter, a monument of virtue.]

Hist. Gr. Br.
p. 54. & 129.

Kirk of Scot-
land.

I may not leave the Reader at random in the affairs of the
Kirk of Scotland. How they boggled with the King when he
was lost there, and so left them incorrigible, never intending
to

Anno
1618.

to hazard his honour any more by granting General Assemblies. But he come home, unsatisfied then, and after with their Synods, had sharply reprov'd them by Letters, which they excuse till one Assembly more might make tryal of their allegiance.

The King gracious to be reconciled, adventures to grant them another General Assembly to be held at Perth, August 25. But enters upon them with this caution.

That the affront offered his Royal self in the late meeting at Saint Andrews, gave him just reason to resolve never to grant any more General Assemblies, concerning the Churches policy; what he hastily desired, and what they did was to do him injury; He is yet over intreated by their Bishops to permit a new Convocation, who are now convened for the self same business, as before. Advising the Bishops not to admit the wonted, ignorant, and unruly multitude to overpower the more judicious. He having placed them overseers of the rest in the chiefeest Rooms.

The K. letters
to them.

He dislikes not the advice of the whole, and the greater the consent the better his content. But matters of this nature (the Articles) may yet be enjoined without them, by his own authority, as an innate power by his calling from God.

Perswade them they may, to induce them by discretion in their duty to Him, wherein he will not be delayed, nor satisfied with their shifts, from their simple acceptation of those Articles sent unto them, the necessity whereof had better becomeed them all to beg of him, than he to propound the practice upon them.

What and how many abuses were offered to him by the Ministers before he came to the Crown of England, can hardly be forgot, nor likes he much to remember, sufficient by their disobedience to have separated his affection from them; His patience for Gods cause forgiving and forgetting foul faults; endeavouring to force from them better effects of his best purposes. He wishes that he be no more provoked, nor the truth of God which they profess any longer shadowed, under the Cloke of some of their seeming Saintlike holiness, shaking hands and joining hearts with such persons as by their tenents against Majestracy, uphold Popery.

In sum, he craves God to witness on his part; and let the World now at last see, their dutyful obedience to their dread Sovereign; that so his care of their good may meet with zeal and affections in them, inferiour to no subjects of any Sovereign, and the glory of God and peace to his Church; which is his earnest prayer for them all, unto whom he now and evermore commends them.

July 1618.

James Rex.

Anno
1618.

Five Articles
of Perth.

1. Kneeling
at the Sacra-
ment.

2. Private
communion.

3. Private
Baptism.

4. Confirma-
tion of chil-
dren.

5. Festival
daies.

We say not how much these might deserve from men holy minded, nor what tedious and weak Arguments, were reasoned; which needed such a defence, as was fain to be published in answer to a Pamphlet set out against them. But truly shame of their trifling, and fear to offend, produced these effects, from which yet in aftertime they fled.

That seeing the memory of all by-past superstitious and idolatrous worship of the sacraments by Papists is long since abolished; Therefore in reverence of God, and due regard of so Divine a Mystery, and in remembrance of so mystical an Union, they think good, That the sacrament be celebrated hereafter meekly and reverently upon their knees.

If any Christian visited with sickness, and thereby unable to receive the Holy communion at the Church; and shall declare in his conscience his sickness deadly, & desire to receive the same in his house; the Minister shall not deny him so great comfort, there being three or four communicants to join with him, according to the Order of the Church.

The Parents nor Pastor shall not defer the Baptism of infants longer than the next Sunday after the Birth, unless upon reasonable cause; nor shall they use private Baptism in their Houses, but when great need requires; and then the Minister shall not deny it, in the form as at Church, and the next Sunday declare the same, and that the infant ought to be received into Christs fold.

That according to the primitive integrity, care was ever taken, for educating of children and catechising of them, now altogether neglected. The Minister shall therefore catechise them, and in the rehearsal of the Lords Prayer, Belief and ten commandments, as in the Church-catechism is used and expressed. And afterwards the said children shall be confirmed by Prayer and Blessing of the Bishop, for the continuance of the grace of God in them.

That the inestimable benefits by our Saviours Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension and sending down the Spirit, hath been at certain times remembered by the whole Church of the World; And therefore the Minister shall observe those times, and form his Doctrine according to the Text purposely to be chosen, and proper for the day.

These were thus obtained, proclaimed and obeyed, and to this day called, the five Articles of Perth, ratified in Parliament there, the next year, and the last Parliament of this Kings time; when a monstrous storm thickned the face of Heaven, and the factious sort said, it was a sign of Gods anger against those Articles; others in derision of that sense, said, it was rather an approbation from heaven, like thunder and lightning at the giving of the Law to Moses.

The

The Bishops had much ado to go on to *Action*, for *Papistry* being a Disease of the Minde, and *Puritanism* of the Brain, the *Antidote* of both ought to be a grave and well-ordered Church, to reduce them either simply or wilfully erring.

But those that were refractory and factious, got the more of the mad crew, swarming to such to seek the *Communion*, and to receive their *Doctrine*, and those that would not, were excommunicate upon every ordinary and frivolous occasion.

Excommunication, the greatest Judgment upon Earth; that which is ratified in Heaven, a precursory or prelatory Judgment of CHRIST in the end of the World; and therefore not to be used irreverently, as an ordinary *Process*, derogate to Gods honour, and the power of the *Keys* contemptible.

It is urged indeed not so much for the thing it self, as for the contumacy: and as Gods judgment seizes on the least sin of the impenitent; so *Excommunication* may in case issue out upon the smallest offence, and not upon the greatest, in another case.

But are these contumacies such, as that the party (as far as the eye of the Church can discern) standeth in *statu reprobationis & damnationis*, given over to final impenitence?

It is therefore to be wished, that this Censure were restored to the true Divinity and use in cases of weight.

To this purpose, a *Bill* was drawn in *Parliament*, 23 *Eliz.* the gravest *Assembly* of her time, and recommended by the gravest Counsellour, but for some politick Reasons was retarded.

We reade of three degrees of *Excommunication* in the *New Testament*, the first called *Nidui*, *A casting out of the Synod*, *John 9.22.* A separation from all commerce, society, eating or drinking with any person, from the Marriage-bed, from washing; and these according to the pleasure of the Judg; and quality of the offence, for thirty days or more: he may be present at *divine Service*, to teach or to learn others: if impenitent, his punishment was increased, doubling or trebling the *Sentence* for time, or to his death. His male-children were not circumcised. And if he died unrepentant, a stone was cast upon his Coffin, as deserving to be stoned: and was buried without lamentation or ceremony, and not in common Burial.

The second was called *Cherem*, *A giving over to Satan*, *1 Cor. 5.5.* It differed from the first degree, because it was not sentenced in a private Court, but in the whole Church, and Maledictions and Curses added out of the Law of *Moses*. At the publishing Candles were lighted, and when the Curses were ended, then the Lights were extinct, even so the *Excommunicate* deprived of the Light of Heaven. And thus against the incestuous person, *1 Cor. 5.5.* and against *Himenæus* and *Alexander*, *1 Tim. I. 20.*

Of Excommunication.

Anno
1618.

The

Anno
1618.

The third was named *Maran-atha*, viz. *The Lord cometh*: and was instituted (they say) by *Enoch*, *Jud. 14*. An *Excommunication* to death, and so the phrase, *1 John 5. 16*. *There is a sin unto death*, viz. to deserve *Excommunication* to death.

In the *Greek Church*, four degrees of this Censure.

1. Those, who were onely barred the *Lord's Table*, all other benefits of the Church they might; nay, to stand by and see the *Communicants*, and therefore called *stantes*.

2. But he is admitted into the Church, his place behinde the *Pulpit*, and must depart with the *Catechumeni*, such persons as were not yet baptized, and so might not pray with other *Christians*.

3. Degree, admitted but into the Church-porch, to hear, but not to pray with others, and therefore called *Audientes*.

4. Degree, such were onely permitted to stand quite without the Church, weeping and requesting those that entered in, to petition the Lord for mercy towards them, whence called *Plorantes*.

So then they say, *Cain's Censure* was the first, and the last *Enoch's*.

The three sorts were borrowed from the three sorts of uncleanness, which excluded people out of the three Camps.

1. *Nidui*, out of the Camp of *God* alone, those, defiled with the touch of the Dead.

2. *Cherem*, out of the Camp of *God* and *Levi*, defiled of an issue.

3. *Maran-atha*, out of all three Camps, *God*, *Levi*, *Israel*; defiled with Leprosie.

From the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and *Latines*, took the degrees of *Excommunication*.

The *Emperour* of the House of *Austria*, with interwoven Marriages of *Spain*, (as aforesaid) had so settled the *Empire* from other interests, that no obstacle interposed their excessive ambition, but their jealousies of the Protestant *Princes* and *States*, whom they intend by degrees to reduce; and in over-doing of this, began the *German* miserable Distractions.

And because the *Palatines* too sudden accepting the Crown of *Boheme* was the immediat occasion, I shall let in the Reader into that story.

The Kingdom of *Boheme* for many hundred years past, enjoyed Sanctuary and Privileges, to impower the free election of their King, which is manifest in their *Chronicles*, in many Bulls of their *Emperours*, in their Kings Reversal Letters, and divers other Examples and Antiquities.

Sundry practices have been against this free Election, but never managed with more wiles than now.

Of Bohemia,
and the occasion of the
Palsgrave accepting that
Crown.

Mathias,

Anno

1618.

Ferdinands
undue practi-
ces to be King

Matthias the Emperour two years before, had adopted *Ferdinand* his Uncles Son his Successour, but not to meddle with Sovereignty of a King, whilst *Matthias* lived: however, *Ferdinand* thus far set forward: himself makes way to the Dignity of *Boheme*; and to prevent discovery from the incorporate Confederate Provinces, who have Voices in the *Election*; he calls a *Parliament* forthwith, onely of the *States* of *Boheme*, with express denunciation, that in the *Assembly*, nothing should be consulted, but the choice of a new King. The Electoral Provinces, nor their Deputies, nor Ambassadors, not being present, the *Assembly* was not legal.

The best of the *States* of *Boheme* therefore refuse to appear; against whom was denounced such threats, as frightened them with hazard of their Heads, and so was procured a pretended *Election*, (for the present) and his *Coronation* assented, by the main party, *Catholicks*.

The Crowning Kings in the life of another, was of late a sure policy, to unite those Kingdoms in the *Austrian* Family, contrary to the ancient custom of *free Elections*, which now, neither *State* durst oppose.

To this end therefore, and to suppress all future *free Elections*, (the *Paladium* of the Kingdom) *Ferdinand* secretly compacts with the King of *Spain*, without consent of the *States*, and before his *Election*, or pretence to any interest.

That the King of *Spain*, his Posterity, and Heirs, for want of Issue male of his Fathers *Austrian* Line, should succeed him in that Kingdom, contrary to the established Rules of Politicians, (that no elected King hath power to alienate, without consent of the *States*) this succession exposed them to the loss of all, and Religion also, and enabled him to enfeoff strangers into each Province, and into the inheritances of those Royally descended, high-born, illustrious Families; and by which, as was then suspected (and since came to pass) he should easily seize the Dignity of the *Crown Imperial*, and so abolish the foundation of the *Golden Ball* and *Form* of *Empire*.

This while, the aged Emperour keeps Court at *Vienna*, King *Ferdinand* at *Gref* in *Steria*: the Government of *Boheme* continues in such Counsellours as *Matthias* left there, chosen Ministers *Catholick*, who with the Arch-bishop of *Prague* endeavour to suppress the *Protestants*.

The *States Protestants* assemble themselves to redress these injuries, backt with some Forces which they brought with them, and were opposed by the Emperour's Faction, whom they overmastered and flung his chief Justice *Slabala*, his Secretary *Fabritius*, and others out of a Window of the *Castle*, down into the Court; and being done in choller, excused by *Apology* to the Emperour.

Protestant
Princes seek
redress.

But

Anno
1618.

Emperour in
arms also.

Their grie-
vances.

Kings Electi-
on and Suc-
cession distin-
guished.

Mathias dies,
Ferdinand
succeeds Em-
perour.

But on they go, raise force, and banish the *Jesuit*, and others of that Faction, whom they load with Complaints.

The *Emperour* as forward, commits the command of two Armies unto Count *Buquoy* and *Dampiere*.

The *Protestants* counter-force with two Bodies, severally under the Prince of *Anholt*, and under Count *Thorn* and *Mansfeilt*, skirmishing with different effects.

Some *Princes*, King *James* and others interpose *Mediations*: and *Ferdinand* complains of the *Bohemians* obstinacy.

They remonstrate former, undue *Elections*, and allege:

That between a *conditional King* and his *Subjects*, there are *reciprocal obligations*; the one *Obedientia*, the other *Promissa*.

That he received the *Scepter* of the *States*, with thankfull remuneration, and royal grace to all; to satisfy the desire of every one, and to deserve their love, and swears not to meddle with *Government* whilest *Matthias* lives.

Notwithstanding he maintains the Wars of others, against the *Bohemians*, *Moravians*, and *Silecians*, and raised *Terra Maria*, against the *Bahemians*, sent for his own Army out of *Steria*, and pronounced the *Protestant States* of *Boheme* *Traitors* and *Rebells*, and declared himself *Enemy* to them all.

That he banished the old President *Cesal*, directs all *Councils*, corrects the *Decisions* and *Decrees Imperial*, disposes the actions of *Buquoy*, as King and Lord of all, and dis-inclines all means of *Peace* with *Ambassadors* of all *Provinces*, who met at *Prague*, carefully consulting to recover *Peace*.

That *conditional elective Kings* receive their royal *Authority* upon *Oaths*, their Sovereign power, *Ex pacto, non ex jure*: from the *Subjects* by concessions upon *Covenant*; not by succession nor descent, as other Kings, who are so before they swear to their *Subjects*, and do swear because they are *Kings*, but are not Kings because they swear, the one born a *Prince* without his *Subjects*, the other made and given to be a *King*.

The *Oath* of *Elective Kings* is, *Et si (quod absit) in aliquibus Furamentum meum violavero, Nullam mihi incole Regni, omnium-que dominiorum unius cujusque gentis, obedientiam prestare debebant.*

And the *Chancellour* usually tells them.

Quandoquidem viderunt Ordines, Majestatem regiam, pactis conventis stare nolle, non debere ait, ipsius Majestatem in malam partem interpretari, si Ordines obedientiam ipsius Majestate renuncient.

These things thus a doing, the old *Emperour* dies, and *Ferdinand* now King of *Hungary* and *Boheme*, and adopted Heir of the *Empire*, meets at *Franckford*, (by *Summons*) with the three *Electors*, *Mentz*, *Collen*, and *Trevours*; the other three *Silecia*, *Moravia*, and *Lusatia*, failing in their persons, sent their *Representatives*

Anno

1619.

sentatives only, and so the Council chose him King of *Romans*, which the State of *Bohemia* disclaim, and of his being Elector as King of *Bohemia*, he never actually possessing the Crown. Their dissensions could not lessen his Election to the Empire, yet they swore never to receive him their King.

King *James* much troubled at these interruptions of *Germany* took himself to be much concerned in the hazard of the Protestant party, and the peace and danger of the Reformed Church, and therefore sent *Hay, Viscount Doncaster*, Ambassadour extraordinary to mediate with the Emperour and *Bohemians*; but to little purpose; The Emperour by means avoiding to receive him, knowing his errand, being to paliate what was grown too high for his Reconciliation, and removed his *Gests*, when *Doncaster* came but neer him; so whilest King *James* hunted at *New Market*; his Ambassadour coursed the *Hare* in *Germany*, but his business, through the crudity and raw initiation, took not the effect.

Ferdinand fearing the Success of Ingagements, insinuates with the *German* Princes, and had possessed the Duke of *Bavaria*, and others.

The poor *Bohemians* in this strait, and finding K. *James* an Intercessor, thought it policy to bring him into the List; for having published their Declarations and Reasons, pronounced the Election of *Ferdinand* to be invalid and nul; and the States of that Kingdom, and other Provinces, Elect by this Title *The most Gracious, and the most Mighty Prince Lord Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and King of Bohemia*.

In the mean time King *James* consults with his Council, diversly affected to this Design of taking or refusing. Amongst them, see what our *Arch-bishop Abbot* tends to Secretary *Nau-ton*, not being able to come to Council.

Good master Secretary,

I have never more desired to be present at any Consultation, &c. My humble advice is, That there is no going back, but a countenancing of it against all the world, with ringing of Bells, and making Bonfires in London, so soon as it shall be certain of the Coronation. I am satisfied in my conscience, the cause is just, having rejected that proud and bloody man, making that Kingdom not elective, and when God hath set up the Prince a Mark of honour to all Christendom, to propagate the Gospell and protect the distressed. I dare do no other, but to follow where God leads.

It is a great honour to our King to have such a son to be made a K. and me thinks I do in this, and that of Hungary, foresee the work of God; that by piece and piece the Kings of the Earth that
Sff give

King James
how concern-
ed.

Palsgrave ele-
cted King of
Bohemia.

Arch-bishop
Abbats Let-
ter to Nau-
ton.

Anno

1619.

give their power to the Beast, shall now leave the whore to Desolation as St. John saies.

Our striking in will comfort the Bohemians, honour the Palsgrave, strengthen the Union, bring on the Dutch, stir up Denmark, and move his two Uncles, Prince of Orange and Duke of Buillon, together with Tremvile a rich Prince in France, to cast in their shares, and Hungary I hope will run the same fortune, and for mony and means to support the War, Providebit Deus. This from my Bed; and when I can stand I hope to do better service.

Sept. 12. 1619.

Geo. Cant.

Some regret there was in the Palsgrave (as well might be) to act without the consent of the King of Great Britain, and whilst his Ambassadors were treating a Peace; but by perswasion of the Prince of Anholt, the Earl of Holloch, and Baron Done, with other their intimates he was at length intreated to accept of that golden Bait, a Crown, which was given to him freely, not without some regret, though by Others, such a Bit would be swallowed with damnation it self.

and Crowned

And this was hastened upon him in August 1619. and his entrance into Prague the last of October, and his Coronation four daies after. But instantly posts the Baron to King James in excuse of all, either of too hasty acceptance, and neglect of his fatherly advice.

King James ever averse from such undue Precipitations, for affections of the people to be ingaged at their pleasures, and to be a President to dispose of Sovereignty already established; utterly refuses Done's Address, for a time, but dispatches Ambassadors to the Emperour, and to the States of the League and Covenant, not meddling with his Son in Law to advise or neglect him.

Embassadors
sent from
England to
the Emperour.

Of this errand two are sent in joint Commission to Boheme, Sir Richard Weston (after Lord Treasurer) and Sir Edward Conway, not long after Secretary of State: Ferdinand, upon the News of his New Rival in the Kingdom, hastens this Proscription against the Palsgrave.

Palsgrave pro-
scribed.

We Ferdinando, &c. To all Electors, Princes, &c. But especially to the subjects of Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhene, Elector, &c.

That Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhene, hath made himself head of that perfidious and rebellious crew of our Kingdome of Boheme, wherefore we proclame him guilty of High Treason, and Iterate Proscription, and of all the penalties, which by Law and Custome are depending thereon. We conclude him out of Our and
the

Anno
1619.

the Imperial peace, and are firmly resolved to execute the said penalties upon him, as against one publickly proscribed an Enemy and Adversary to us, and the Empire. Commanding you under pain of Life, not to give him aid, succour, assistance, money, provision, munition, openly or covertly.

And whoever is in pay, his Complices or Helpers, to forsake his service, and that the States dependant, alliances, subject, and his Vassals, shall not yield to him Obedience, nor partake to him of his crime, but to forsake him and assist us, to reduce him the Rebellicus Frederick to obedience. And we absolve ye his Vassals from his protection, and from your Oath into our grace and favour, and whoever disobey this our command, we declare him and them guilty of high Treason, and iterate Proscription, so well as himself.

Given at Our City Vienna, &c. 1626.

And now each Party take the field; The Duke of Saxony for the Imperial Ban, with twenty five thousand Men reduced Lusatia. The Prince of Anholt General, and Holloch Lieutenant General for Boheme, and with these (evenly powred) the war went on, in that Kingdom.

War on both sides.

And to make it famous through the Western World; Spinola forms an Army in Flanders, under Spains interest, but for that purpose, which King James suspected, and to be assured sent to Sir Thomas Edmonds his Ambassadour at Bruxels, to inquire (for the truce of Spain and the Netherlands continued) but Spinola's Commission was sealed up by the Spanish subtilty, not to open till the March of the Army of twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, which proved fatal to the Palatinate.

Spinola raises Forces in Flanders,

The Spirits of the English began to bustle, Sir Horace Vere being here, and somewhat rusty since the peace with Spain, associating his Nephew the Earl of Oxford and Essex (young and daring Spirits, saies one) indeed so young they apprehend no danger, and so ignorant they knew not how to avoid it. Oxford the eighteenth Earl, and Lord High Chamberlain without intermission, from Ambry de Vere high Chamberlain to Henry the first; Portgrave of London, and Lord Chief Justice of England. Discended from the Earls of Guisur; the surname from Vere a Town in Zealand, his Son Ambry created Earl of Oxford by Henry 2. and High Chamberlain.

So does Oxford and Essex in England.

Hist. gr. Br. pa. 135.

The eighth Earl after him, was by Richard 2. created Duke of Ireland during life, and bore for that honour quarterly before his own cote, three Crowns or, a border Argent; his own being quarterly Gu. and Or, upon the first a Mulletary.

This man now was lately returned home from Travel in hope

The Reign and Death of

to recover his former debaucheries, but how improved implicate credit was to expect the Tryal.

As for *Effex* then, he one'y boid up by the people, upon his Fathers score, which we have told before.

But mad they were made by Our younger Brothers to fight, and a Regiment onely was raised, not I believe imagined for any goodly effects, but to bandy with the Kings Wisdom, who though not forward in this unjustifiable quarrel, yet not without counsell to act for the future.

How madly some men urged the Kings interest, seeming so hasty, as to do the work at their own charge? but being connived at, to try their intent, the good Earl of *Effex* had fifty brave fellows pinn'd upon him to pay them their pensions, besides his compleat number of his own company. These two brave Captains with the rest, raw-souldiers, adventured without fear under (indeed) the same and fortune of that Right valourous, and truly expert man of Arms, Sir *Horace Vere* their Colonell, who must needs indure with patience, the toil he had to make them good Souldiers.

Spinola had got the start, yet the *English* got over, ere he took leave of the *Arch-Duke*, but they followed at a distance, somewhat in danger to go too near; and in *August* both forces were marching, the *English* had passage over the *Rhine*, by conduct of Prince *Henry* of *Nassaw*, with two thousand horse, and four hundred Musqueteers. But ere they came there, our raw *English* droop'd with eating honey, and lost not the Nick-name for some years after. Ninety four with Tents, Truncks and Luggage were left at *Bac-rack*, and they and the Town lost to *Spinola*, by former example of all other that had stood in his way, and with no more pains than his sudden summons. And had done so to all the *English*, if his Design to snap them had not miscarried by the boisterous stream of the *Rhine*, which wet his Waggon of Ammunition, and some of his Field-pieces disordered, and so escaped they to *Franckford*, the 24. of *September*. Then to *Darmstat*, a Town of *Bohemia*, and to *Hessen*, where Prince *Henry* and the *Dutch*, take leave of the *English* and return home to *Holland*.

And here they joyn with fifteen hundred horse of the Princes of the Union and march to *Reinsheim*, the nether Town of the *Palatinate*; and the third of *October* joyn with the Army; four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot. *Spinola* at hand frightened them with a charge, but night afforded no light to fight, the next day to quarters for a Week, where the new Wine in the Must, grapes and fruits brought crudities upon their weak stomachs, till *Spinola* led them a Dance for Digestion as far as *Keyfers-Luther*; and the weather cold, the Nights long, disposed

Their march
and action in
the expedition.

Convoyed by
Hen. of Nassaw.

Joyn with the
Princes of the
Union..

posed their necessities to several Garrisons, and the Forces of the Reformed Princes cooped up to their several places, whilst the Enemy carved to himself of the whole Countrey, the good *English* went thither to fight, and so came home again.

In this mean time the two Generals encounter, *Anholt* for *Bohemia*, had the better, and scattered *Bucquoys* main Body, this was in the Spring. But in *Autumn* it fell out otherwise, for whilst *Spinola* and the Princes were hunting each other on the Hills, the Duke of *Bavaria* joyns with *Bucquoy* and *Tilly*. *Anholt* and *Mansfield* got between them and *Prague*, but the Enemy breaks through, and routs the other into confusion and flight.

Anholt and *Holloch*, the first that fled to the King of *Bohemia* at *Prague*, and the next morning the ninth of *November*, they all fly for succour, the King and Queen with both our Ambassadors, *Weston* and *Conway*, as far as *Limburgh*, in their way to the *Netherlands*, and the Ambassadors by safe conduct returned back to *Bohemia*, where the conquering business took up more time than to spend with leasurely disputes, and so they came home again.

The next Spring the Princes of the Union submit to the Emperour, so does *Anholt*, who is received into favour, and made one of his Generals. *Mansfield* not so capable, and being put to his shifts, doubles his brave Spirit with the necessity of his Fortune, hurrying several Countries with Forces of fourteen thousand men, for almost two years after, till he constrained them to offer him peace, which he accepts.

Whilst King *James* sends to the Emperour by Ambassy of Sir *Henry Wootton* a Man fitted for Negotiation by his often employments to Several States and Princes, and thus qualified he hath his Commission, passes by the Duke of *Lovain* in transitu (for I find not he had any Credentials to him) onely confers the Kings Christian intents, as one cumbred with the sad events of the *Germane* Troubles on this side; and the *French* intents on the other, and so not improper for the King to study the passages of both.

And out of his particular Commission to others he frames general Agruments to him, of the Kings innocency in the beginning of the *Bohemian* business, and his impartiality ever since, and so rendered his Master the first Mediator therein, being tyed in the conscience of a Christian King to prosecute the same, and in it peace to all.

The Duke, a cunning and subtile Prince, told him, that the Princes of the Union would assure him, how his affections were in the cause, more he could not get out of him.

His next was to the Arch-Duke *Leopold* (of the *Austrian* family)

The Emperours General *Bucquoy*, *Anholt* for *Bohemia*.

Is defeated and flies with the K. and Q

The Princes submit to the Emperour.

Sir *Henry Wootton* Ambassador extraordinary into *Germany*.

Duke of *Lovain*.

Arch-Duke *Leopold*.

Anno

1620.

mily, to him he had Letters, and tells him, That King *James* was cleer of all foreknowledge or counsells in the business of *Bohemia*, and also of the *Palsgraves* preceding practice, till it was laid upon him.

That his Master continued equal to both parties, and was troubled, that there should be so great preparations for invading the *Nether Palatinate*, being the Patrimony of the Kings Descendants, no way commixt with the affairs of *Bohemia*.

Perfwades the Arch-Duke, as a Personage of power to keep those that were in action, from such precipitation, as might preclude all mediation of accord.

He was answered, with the *Arch-Dukes* protestation; That he believes the Kings cleernes, but of the *Palsgrave* he much doubts, accusing him of practice with the *Bohemians*, at the Emperours Election at *Franckford*, and more foully (said he) to introduce the Turk into *Hungary*.

And conceived, the Marquess *Spinola* might have some aim upon the *Lower Palatinate*, assured the Emperours inclination to accord, but never without restitution of the usurped Kingdom; a loss not of easy concoction, especially by the *Palatine* his subject.

And excused the Emperours levies, for that there were likewise some *English* forces, designed, towards that place out of *England*, which was no fair way, if King *James* intended a Treaty.

It was replied by *Wootton*, That true it was, the Kings people, and some of the Nobility, had taken *Alarm*, upon a voice of that Invasion, and voluntarily meant to sacrifice themselves in that action; but without the Kings concurrence of mony or command.

And being ask; he answered, he had no particular form of Accord to propose to the Emperour, for the King thought it necessary, to dispose the affections on both sides; and so collect some measure of agreement without spending the honour of the King in vain Treaties.

Then to the Community of *Strasburgh* and *Ulme*, who professed themselves in Newtrality, for it might be uncivil (they said) to offer their Counsels, where such Kings imploy their Wisdomes and Authority; they would only contribute their prayers.

The Duke of *Wittenburgh*, made large professions towards the King of *Bohemia* (as he called the *Palatine*) of whose cleerness from practice, he could vindicate; for visiting him presently upon his Election, he found him perplexed even to tears for to accept of the Kingdom, he was lyable to suspicion, as to ambition, and if he refused, he feared the people would call

Community
of *Strasburgh*,
and *Ulme*.

Duke of *Wit-*
tenburgh.

call in more then Christian aid, to the effusion of much bloud. And professed that no Prince of the Empire, should exceed his affection to defend the Palatinate, with all his power by bond of confederacy, and reason of State, lest any Stranger should neighbour him.

He had likewise Commission to the Duke of *Bavaria*, whom he found in actual arms about *Lintz* in the Upper *Austria*, and the Emperour at *Vienna*, with no success in those Messages.

Yet still King *James* hoping that time it self, and the experience of vexation, might in some degree mollifie their affections, better to digest difficulties, he never refused by Ambassies to both sides, and to all other the intervenient Princes and States, to attempt that high work of Peace first; and then afterwards of Restauration of the *Palatinate*, by other waies and means.

The times when these Negotiations set forward, were usuall in the Kings progress or retirements from *London* to his Sports (as was conceived) but they were then chosen abroad for better leasure of business, even then when Kingdoms were in dispute. An art he had thus to cover his weightier Meditations, for most of his Dispatches were concluded in his hunting journeys.

Prince Charles now grown man; the King had disposed to a Treaty for his Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain* (some while since) and Sir *Walter Aston*, sent thither Lieger to fit correspondence, and now conceived not improper to induce the restauration of the *Palatinate* by that means.

However, it may be observed the evil success of all our former meddling with that Nation in matters of marriages, so malignant, and disagreeing with ours.

Let us ravel back to the memory of the *Black Prince*, a person of the greatest performance that Christendome can parrallel. Yet in his voyage to *Spain* to settle *Don Pedro*; besides their monstrous ingratitude and perfidy to him then, caused also that miserable revolt in *France* by his absence, which lost us our Inheritance there, and his health ever after, his body either corrupted by the air, or by their Drugs impoisoned.

And indeed their matches with the heirs and Princes of this Crown, for above fix score years, having been no where else (except the second Marriages of *Henry* the eight) were alwaies unhappy.

Prince Arthurs sudden death, left his Widow to his wicked Brother, with whom God was less pleased, as the Match was more unlawful; and therefore not a Male was left of their race, only one Daughter, in whose short reign of six years, was more bloodshed for the true Religion, than for the false in sixty years, and

Anno

1620.

And to the Duke of Bavaria.

Without success from any of them.

Resolves upon a Parliament and Match with Spain.

Anno
1620.

she adventuring to marry there also, this discontented Nation; fell into insurrections, Treasons, *Wiats* Rebellion, and therefore her Husband *Philip*, suspecting the future effects, forsook her; who lost *Callis* to the *French* in six daies that the *English* had enjoyed 200. years; but altogether, broke her heart, and she dyed.

Now to parallel these foreign Matches with those at home to our own Subjects, the first being by *Edward* the fourth, and the last with *Henry* the eight, from which two, Gods blessing brought forth two *Queens Elizabeths*; such instruments of his Glory, Peace in the Land, and Religion in the Church, as never could produce greater examples of Happiness to *England*, until this of King *James*, who brought hither them both with him.

A Parliament
called.

Hist. gr. Br. pa.
150.

But for settling affairs at Home, for his purpose abroad, he resolves of a *Parliament* [*which he had thought (saies one) to lay them by for ever as incroachers upon his prerogative, and diminishers of his Majesties glory, making Kings less, and subjects more than they are.*]

Certainly he had good intelligence from the Kings thoughts or else the Man had a Devilish revelation, to prophesy the effects, for such they proved to be afterwards. But in truth, the people were grown high fed, with plenty and peace, and pretending their zeal for regaining the *Palatinate*, were wilde for a War, with any body for any thing.

The King willing to let blood in that vein, meant to make it his purpose, and to get money to boot.

Some sheets of paper together, is wasted by Our adversary to let in his Reader into that Parliament, [*he saies, That for the Spanish faction was Arundel, Worcester, Digby, Calvert, Weston, and others Popishly affected, with Buckingham, and all his Train.*]

Hist. Gr. Br. p
144.

The Duke of Lenox, Marquess Hamilton; and Earl of Pembroke, their Antagonists. Such and so few were they, not in anger against the King, but against his Ministers (a plea evermore borrowed by practical people against their Sovereigns Proceedings.)

The Papists flourished by *Gondamores* power with the Ladies of England, their Nieces and Daughters, presenting him in their Balconies in *Drury-Lane*, and the Strand (long before any were quilt in those places) and himself in a Litter; but was only accosted by the Lady Jacob with a gaping Yawn, telling his servant that came on the Errand to know the meaning, that she had a Mouth to be stopt too; which *Gondamore* closed with a present.

That this Lady was a Bawd to the beauties, and poor fortunes of young Gentlewomen, whose parents sent them up hither for preferment,

ment, and saies, that for respects to their posterities he will spare to name their persons. It seems, he was Pinap-Major to them all.

Anno
1620.

How does this dissecting become his grave *Proeme* (if it be his own) where he saies, *Histories are like Anatomies; if ignorance or malice attempt to hack, hew, or bespatter it, it will be most inhumane, &c. And so dissect and open their own follies, &c. They must not cauterize and flash with malice, &c. Therefore he that censures others, and vents them for truth, digs in the bowels of another, and wounds himself. And yet (as he saies) though he fly high and may rove, he is sure not to light far from the mark. So he there in his proeme.*

He goes on in his History, and tells us, *That the Earl of Buckingham, now Marques rules all, That the King bought of Worcester to make the Marques Master of the Horse.*]

Buckingham
made Mar-
quesse, and
Master of the
Horse.

But in truth, that antient Earl being Chamberlain also to the Queens Household, could not attend that service, and wait abroad upon the King, and it was therefore his own suit, and *Buckingham* paid him for parting with it, and so was made Master of the Horse.

The place of Marques is the next in honour to a Duke, the title came but of late daies, the first was by *Richard 2.* upon *Robert de Vere* Marques of *Dublin*; and so it became a Title of honour; for before that time, they were called Lords *Marchers* and not *Marquesses*. After the Conquest (as in policy) they were resident upon the Confines and Borders of the *Welch*, and other places not subdued; Men of valour, of high blood of the *Normans*, with the name and privileges of Earls of *Chester*. And for the Nort Borders of *Wales* to be *Count Palatines*. And the Barons of the Middle part of the *South-Marches* were adorned in a manner with a *Palatine* Jurisdiction, having a Court of *Chancery*, and Writs among themselves pleadable, least their attendance abroad might be prejudicial at home. And as for the other part of the *South-Marches*, they seemed sufficiently, defended with the River *Severn* and the Sea.

The Dignity
of a Marques.

By these Ascents our *Marques Buckingham* climbs to succeed at this time a good and gallant old *Earl of Nottingham* Admiral, who being almost Bedrid, made Suit to the King that he might dispose of his place, as a Legacy in his life time upon *Buckingham*; which was so done, and who to my Knowledge went in person to him, and acknowledged the kindness, and his young Lady was presented with a Noble and valuable Reward 3000l. besides a pension of one thousand pound *per annum* during his life, and this was done with so much love and liking, that I have often observed *Buckingham's* great Civility ever after, at meetings to call him Father, and bend his knee, without the

Anno
1620.

Montague
Viscount
Mandevile, L.
Treasurer.

least regret of that Lord, that gained more by the bargain. And because Sir *Robert Mansel*, a dependant of *Nottingham*, had the place of *Vice-Admiral*, at pleasure only; *Buckingham*, for his Lords sake continued him so by Patent during his life; for which courtesy the good old man came himself to give thanks (as I remember) the last Compliment his age gave him leave to present. And thus was this office of honour, and safety to the Kingdom, ordered from the command of a decrepit old man, to a proper, young, and active Lord, strengthened with the abilities of an experienced Assistant, without deserving quarrel of our carping Pamphleter.

After *Suffolk*, the weight and charge of the Treasurers Staff, was conferred upon the Lord Chief Justice Sir *Henry Mountague Viscount Mandevile*, Son of Sir *Edward Mountague* of *Bolton* in the County of *Northampton* (Son of another Sir *Edward* likewise Chief Justice) who had three Sons, *Edward* the eldest, Knight of the *Bath*, bred up in the Wars, a faithful Noble stout Commander. *James* that reverend, eloquent and learned Bishop of *Winchester*, a man so highly in favour and esteem with this King his Master, that he had the honour of the Bed-chamber, which no Prelate ever enjoyed from any King. This *Henry* was created Baron of *Kimbolton*, Viscount *Mandevile*, and Lord *Treasurer* in 1620: Afterwards President of the Council, and the first year of King *Charles* Earl of *Manchester*, and Lord *Privy Seal*, and dyed after the entrance of the long Parliament, 1643.

A man of singular learning in the Laws, his Wisdome and experience deserving those high places of Trust and honour. He married three wives, *Katherine* the Daughter of Sir *William Spencer* in *Oxon*, by whom he had five sons and four daughters; *Edward* the eldest Viscount *Mandevile*, Knight of the *Bath*, *Walter*, *James*, *Charls*, and *Henry*. His second Wife *Ann Wincol* of *Suffolk*, Widow to Alderman *Holyday*, Lord Major of *London*, by whom he had issue. His third Wife was Daughter of *John Crowch* of *Cornbury*, in the County of *Hartford*, Widow of *John Hare* of the Court of Wards, by whom he had issue *George* and *Sydney*, men of eminent vertues now living, 1655.

Hist. Gr. Br.
p. 152. his
falsities.

Our Historian tells us, of the swarming of Jesuits, That our Counsellors of State, and Secretaries, were Counselors to the Pope and of a Divelish Sermon before the King, which he (the Lyar) saw and heard (if the King did not) for Bishop *Neal* would always ingrosse the Kings ears with bawdy Tales. This his Discourse, smells too rank (he saies) and craves excuse, having had hammerings and conflicts within himself to leave it out (and yet goes on with his baseness) and tells us, that this Bishops hand closed up the Countess of

Anno
1620.

of Essex's virginity, and that such like practices as these gave an after period to that Hierarchy.

Then followes, [a Tale of the female Jesuitrices in England, an Order (he saies) first framed in Flanders by two women, Mrs. Ward, and Mrs. Twily, clothed in Ignatian habit, supported by three Fathers, Cerard, Flack and Moor, to preach their Gospel to their Sect in England, and two hundred English Damosels of great Birth and Quality sent of the Errand, and for the truth of all produces Mr. Wadsworth] a Renegado Proselyte-Turncote, of any Religion, and every Trade, that tells this story in the Spanish Pilgrime, and is now living 1655. a Common Hackney to the basest Catch-pole Bayliffs, and too boot a Justice of the Peace in his Bench Book, enters him and his Wife Pimp and Bawd in his Precinct. The Jesuits indeed are bad enough, but to cope them with Our Counsellours of State, and other Tales with no better Authority, we may herein mind our Author, Not to bely the Devil.

Sir Francis Cottington, Resident in Spain, had the convenience three year before to discover the affairs of those parts, and gave intelligence hither of the increase of Pyrates in the Mediterranean Sea, their whole Fleet then consisting of forty tall Ships, of two hundred and four hundred Tuns, in two Squadrons; the one remaining before Malago, the other about the Cape St. Maria, between Lisbon and Seville. That within the Straights they entered the Road of Mostil, a Town by Malago; beat down the Castle, and had taken the Town, but for incour of Souldiers that came from Granado; yet they took divers Ships, and four of the West of England, two other of ours that ran on shore they burnt also; and absolutely perverting our Trade into Spain. These at Cape St. Marie met with seven sail of London, five they took, and two escaped. They are usually manned with Turks and Spanish Moriscoes, and attend the coming of the West-India-Fleet, then commanded by Don John Faxardo.

Upon this occasion the State of Spain moved King James to join some Sea-forces for their suppression, as the common Enemy of Christendom. And indeed those courses of the Pyrates do but exercise the Forces of Spain by Sea, without any great hurt, the most damage falls upon the Trade of Merchants thither, of which the English will be the greatest number, and so of Sufferers. The last year the Hollander having leave of Spain, for certain of their Ships armed against the Pyrates to have safe recourse thither, but instead of offending them, sold to Algier as much powder and ammunition as ever since hath furnished the Pyrates Fleets. By which means now grown formidable, few Merchant-men escaping them; the strong Town of Algier upon the coast of Barbary countenancing their Thee-

Anno
1620.

Montague
Viscount
Mandevile, L.
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Some of them
offer submis-
sion.

Sir Robert
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surprize them.

very, and depending on the *Turks* Protection; yet so cunningly contrived; as not to be seen to protect them, that all Christian Ambassadors concerned herein, and complaining at *Constantinople*, could have no redress.

And therefore, It was now concluded to conjoyn forces of *Christendome* to free that Sea. In so much that they in some fear eighteen of the chiefeſt Pyrates in the *Levant* authorized the *Viscount L'Orme*, and one *De la Pomeray, Frenchmen*, to search for their pardon, and to come in with all their Shipping, offering to the *English* (mostly concerned therein) for retribution of this grace, *forty and five thousand pound Sterling*; But this was negotiated only by their Emissary *La Forest* at *Bruxels* unto our Agent there, *Sir William Tromball*, on purpose to tempt us and the *French*, unto whom the like was offered, from joining with others to ruin them, but was therefore attempted by all.

And for the *English* was sent *Sir Robert Mansel* Vice-Admiral of the Narrow Seas, with a Fleet this year.

And arriving in *May* with expectation of other Assistants, they all failing to any purpose, his noble heart disdaining to return without attempts. He first furnished two Prizes (which he took by the way) three *Brigandines*, and a Boat with Fire-Locks, and combustible Materials for burning the Pyrates ships in the harbour (who were all come home from Sea, and got in for safety within the *Mole*) *Mansel* having trained his Men in the execution of their several Duties, and likewise appointed a Squadron of Boats with small shot to rescue the Vessels of execution both in the advancement and retreat.

The 21. of *May*, the vessels of execution, were all advanced, but by reason of contrary winds were presently commanded to retire.

The next two nights, being likewise in readiness they were becalmed and could execute nothing.

The fourth night, with a fair Gale being advanced again, and the fire-ships, almost recovered the Mouth of the *Mole*, the wind turned to the opposite point of the Compass.

The Boats performed their Direction in towing the Ships, but considering, that by continuance of this course, they should expose our principal men to hazard, by the Ordinance and small shot that plaid upon them, they debate therefore amongst themselves what to do. Captain *Hughes* that commanded one of the *Brygandines*, replied, *Go on*, and give attempt by the Boats, which they did, crying out *King James*, and fearlesse of danger, even in the Mouth of the Canon, and small shot which shoured like hail upon them; the *English* fired the Enemies Ships, in fundry places, and maintained the fight to the delight of their fellow shipping that were Lookers on, so long
as

Anno

1620.

as powder remained; striving in the end, who should have the honour to come off last, which was left to the Captain *Hughes*, and so retired only with the loss only of 20 men, and leaving the fire flaming up in 7 several places.

The cowardly *Turks*, who before durst not shew themselves to these weak forces, but from the Walls and tops of houses, so soon as the *English* were retyred, opened their ports, and sallied out a thousand, and so by help of Multitudes and a sudden shore of rain, and a calm, the fire was extinguished, making some of their Ships unserviceable.

In which time of Service only one *Frygat* came out of the *Moal*, which was forced back upon the Shore; sunck one of their best men of War, being manned with one hundred thirty *Turks*, and twelve Christians, whereof twelve onely escaped.

And took also a Fly-boat (which the Pyrates had formerly taken from the Christians) which was sold to *Leghorn*, her merchandize to be exchanged for Pyrats goods, and some money, above two thousand pound *Sterling*. The *Turks* manned out 3. Gallies to rescue her, but were beaten by the help of the 3. *Bri-gandines*, sent out to her succour.

Ten daies together the *English* attended opportunity to send in the Ships with the fire-Works, to finish the former service, done by the Boats, but not a breath of Wind happened fitting for the Work, So that in this time the Pyrates had boomed up the *Moles* with *Masts* and *Raffs*, and set a double Guard upon all their Ships, planted more Ordnance, manned out twenty Boats to guard the *Booms*, and sent out Gallies and Boats for Intelligence hereof, East and West-ward to all Ships abroad, not to come in during the *English* abode; which made *Mansel* retire, with all his Ships and Merchants assisting him, into the *Road* of *Alegant*, where he received Order from hence, over land to return home and to intrust four of the Kings ships into the hands of *Captain Rogers*; and not long after the Plague and infection possessing his Fleet, he was forced to return home, without any other assistance.

The time come and Parliament sit in *January*; The King enters them thus;

My Lords, and you the Commons,

*C*ui multiloquio non de est peccatum. In my last Parliament I made long Speeches to the lower House; *I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned, and ye have not lamented.* And wills them to apply it to themselves, not to spend long Speeches. That a Parliament is composed of a Head and

K. Speech to
the Parliam.

Anno

1620.

It seems so by
ours lately not
long lasting.

a Body; the Monarch and Estates; first a Monarch, then after a Parliament (No Parliaments but in Monarchies; for in *Venice*, and *Netherlands* theres none) and Parliaments duties is to treat of Difficulties, and to Counsel their King; To make Laws for the Common-wealth, and the Lower House to petition the King, with knowledge of their grievances, but not to meddle with the Kings Prerogative. They are to supply his necessities, and he in recompence, distributes his Justice and mercy.

It is the Kings Office to make good Laws (whose fundamental is the peoples ill manners, and so at this time, new abuses and incroaching Crafts.

The *Religious* Laws are enough, consisting only of *Perswasion* and *Compulsion*; and Gods blessing: Priests, Puritans and Sectaries, errors of the right and left hand, are forward enough their way. Let Bishops be as bold by good examples and preaching, but compulsion binds the conscience.

There is talk of the Match with *Spain*: However he will never proceed but to Gods glory and Subjects content.

And for their supply of his Necessities; tells them of their eighteen years peace and plenty, and yet he hath received far less assistance than any King since the Conquest. Queen *Elizabeth* had *communitus annis*, above one hundred thousand pounds a year in subsidies; and he had in all his time but four subsidies and six fifteens, and it is ten years since he had any; that he hath been sparing to trouble them, or to spend himself, abated in his Household, in his Navies, and Munition, changed an old Admiral for a young Man, whose honesty and care hath lessened that charge.

Tells them, he is not the Cause of Dissentions in *Christendom* but rather sent *Doncaster* to appease them, at the charge of three thousand five hundred pounds. His Son-in-Law sent indeed for his advice, and accepts the Crown three daies after, which the King never approved of for three reasons.

1. *Religion*, not as the Jesuits to dispose and overthrow Kingdoms, but with our *Saviour* to uphold.

2. He was no judge, and ignorant of those laws, *Quis te judicem fecit?*

3. That he treated a Peace, and will not be party, yet he left not to preserve his Childrens patrimony, and accounts to them his Receipts for that purpose, and how disposed.

He borrowed of his Brother of <i>Denmark</i>	7500 l.
And of his own added	2500
And sent this to his Son	

And to the <i>Princes</i> to hearten them	30000
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Total-----	40000 l.
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That

Hist. Gr. Br.
will have it
60000 l.

That had the Princes done their parts his handful of men had not failed, and now he must be tain to perswade, unless a strong hand assist, and purposes to provide a strong Army next Summer, and desires them to consider his necessities; *qui cito, bis dat.*

And shews his equity to them, in course of Law never obstructing Judgement, by message or Sentence.

Wishes them to consider advance of Trade, and why his Mint hath stood still these nine years; confesses his Royal heart liberal in *Grants*; but being informed he will amend any grievance; but yet he tells them, that who ever hastens after grievances, and neglects all other business of greater moment, hath the Spirit of *Satan*; for himself will reform any error; and desires that the world may speak well of their mutual agreeing.

Thus much in effect the King told them, and which prepared their wild resolutions, to strike at Prerogative now, to undermine it, only by quarrelling with the Kings best Ministers and whilst these bandy in the Lower House; the King proceeds in his Publick course, concerning *Germany*, and forthwith sends the Lord *Digby*, extraordinary to the Emperour for a positive answer for rendition of the *Palatinate* by force or friendship.

These businesses abroad and expence at home brings him to accompt with his Exchequer, where he finds his *Exits* increased the *Incomes*, and intending the best Husbandry to piece out the expence, He changes his Treasurer *Mountague*, for other preferments of honour and profit, and puts in Sir *Lionel Cranfield* [upon no other merit (saies one) but for marrying the *Marquesses Kin*] such Another saies more.

But I find him of an antient family in *Gloucester-shire*, and being bred a Merchant Adventurer of *London*, and other his extraordinary qualities, in that and other Commendable wayes, became useful to the State also.

And first had the honour of *Knight-hood*, then the custody of the Kings *Wardrobes*, afterwards Master of the Court of *Wards* and *Liveries*, and now Lord Treasurer, and created Earl of *Middlesex*.

Some busie Barons had gotten together a gang of Discontents, of several Titles, and framed a petition, and their hands to it; with this General Title.

Digby Extraordinary Ambassador to the Emperour.

Sir Lionel Cranfield L. Treasurer.

Co. and ch. p. 87.

The

Anno
1620.

Petition a-
gainst the
multitude of
titles of Ho-
nour.

The humble Petition of the Nobility of ENGLAND.

S H E W E T H,

That whereas your Majesty by importunity of some natural subjects of England, hath conferred upon them Honours, Titles, and Dignities, peculiar to other your Majesties Dominions, by which the Nobility of this Realm find themselves prejudiced. Our humble desire is, that with your allowance we may challenge and preserve our Birth-rights, without any notice of those Titulars to our Prejudice; and to be excused to deny them the respect or place as to Noble men Strangers. Seeing that these being our Countrymen, born and abide here, have yet procured their Translation into foreign names onely to our injury.

But in this address, we meddle not to limit or interpret the power of your Sovereignty (being the root whence all Honor receives Sap, under what title soever) to collate what you please upon whom, and how you please.

The Subsigners were,

Oxford,	Darcy,	St. John,
Essex,	Sheffield,	Paget,
Warwick,	Cromwel,	Dudley,
Abergaveny,	Scroop,	Spencer,
Dacres,	Sturton,	Say.

The Barons indeed came behind, but few Earls had cause so to complain. And it was Say (I remember well) the Ring-leader of all, though the last in Rank, and least in prejudice.

But his prejudice and subtilty, steered the way to the rest, who having a loose Brother amongst them (perhaps many more) stole the Copy to the King, and betrayed their intentions, before it was well-moulded.

The King wisely sent for them a sunder, and roughly told them, their Petition was sawcy, but ended humbly; concluding themselves, not to expostulate his power or pleasure, which if any of them sought to question, they should soon find the effects; but the first Man declined it, as brought in by the buy, and so did the second and third; the rest took pattern from their submission, and here was an end of that ranting Petition; for our Author would enforce belief, That the King pulled up his Spirits, when he told Essex, He feared him not with his forty thousand men; But the Proverb alludes in scorn to the folly

folly of the French, *Oh the King of France and fourty thousand men*, and then with more disdain on *Essex*.

Hereupon the Commons take example, and Petitions are framed, as from the people, but indicted by the Parliament: A custom which the Commons house in those times took up to make business, rather than be idle.

And first they fall upon Patents for *Inns*, *Ale-houses*, *Gold* and *Silver Thread* counterfeit, (pretious matter to spend time, being now to quarrel with the Empire.)

The last of them, Our *Historian* saies [was of sophisticate materials, engrossing all the Trade of that Ages vanity (onely in Gold and Silver Lace) and so poisonous were the Druggs of the Composition, that rotted hands and arms, with lameness upon the very work-folks, loss of their Eyes and Lives, by venome of the vapors that came from it] ah abominable untruth!

The Patron of this Patent was an honourable Lord, though led aside by Instruments whom he trusted. Indeed a Pragmatick Lawyer, whose weakness in that Profession came behind the ordinary Practisers, and therefore he got a Privilege and Prerogative to be first heard at the Bar, and was nick-named *Prerogative Pleader*, until a witty Judge told him, he should have the first Motion, but not to be granted at all.

Sir *Giles Mompeson*, the Patentee for *Inns*.

Sir *Francis Michel* for *Ale-houses*, two corrupt Justices of the Peace. It were wished that they might have been the last of that race. But these Patents taking up more time in the Disquisition, than their serious business should permit, the King rouses the Lords to their Sentence of them with this Speech.

MY LORDS,

THE last time I inform'd you, the Verity of my Proceedings, and caution, in passing these Patents in question, by way of Declaration, and now to expresse my desire, to have your sentence and execution, against Mompeson, who though he be fled, my Proclamation pursued him, and shall be as earnest to see your sentence against him executed.

And tells them his Reasons: 1. That there being a Politique Marriage betwixt Him and his people, he is in duty to God, tyed to the care of good government. And had these things been complained of before, he would have redressed them sooner: Remembring them what he hath often said, That no private person should be respected before the publique good, not only of the whole Commonwealth, but even of a particular Corporation, that is but a member of it.

V V V

2. That

Anno

1620.

Petitions against Grievances.

Hist. gr. Br. pa. 135.

The Kings Speech to the Lords.

Anno

1620.

2. That he intends not to infringe but to satisfie the House Liberties, for never any King did so much for them, and will doe more; and assures them that the Presidents of former good government shall warrant them to him. Acknowledging them the Supream Court of Justice, Himself as present by Representation. And to add to their Honour; he hath made the Prince a member amongst them: Professes the love and respect he hath received from the Lower House, in their proceedings. And always the like from the Lords, especially by relation of his son, of them all in general and particular; and the like (he said) by One that sits there, Buckingham, a proof whereof the Earl of Arundel witnessed in his report to them, of the privileges of Nobility, how earnest he was therein.

Acknowledges the free gift of this Parliament of two Subsidies, and so accepted by him, which he will retribute by a General Pardon, at the end of the Parliament, and will do somewhat in ease of the people till then.

As for the Ale-Houses, he refers to the Justices of Peace. For the Gold and Silver Thread, he damns the Patent, which may serve for a Pardon to the Actors therein.

Another Bill against Informers, he desires may be put to an end, for (he says) that heretofore he hath shewed in Starre-Chamber his dislike of such people. And that Buckingham told him, that since this Parliament, he was not haunted with such spirits, as usually he had been vexed.

Tells them plainly, he is assured, That this external Government for learned Judges, and hopes honest administration of Justice, and with Peace and Plenty, yields to every one safety under his Vine and Fig-tree; yet he understands his Subjects vexations by vile execution of Projects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and such like, which more exhaust the peoples purses than Subsidies.

Then he comes close to the Lords, the effect of his errand, He advises them of their Judgement; Agere bonum, & bene bonum is good proof before Judgement. Bene is the formality and legality to advise with the Judges, so the ground good, the form orderly, it will besit the Court of Parliament.

The Sentence he observes in two parts; that which is worthy the Judging and censuring; And secondly, to proceed as against these Delinquents, so against such like crimes. Complaints are of passion, justly distinguish, innocent from guilt, and do it legally; for Moral Reason supposes, breach of Laws, standing in force, otherwise they punish by predestination.

And concludes, against his late Atturney General, Sir Henry Yelverton Prisoner in the Tower, upon Sentence in Star-chamber. That he being accused besides concerning a Warrant-dormant; he freely delivers him over unto their Judgement.

Thus

Thus we see what the King sayes; But as in this Speech, so in all others of his, our Historian fails not to let in his conceited descant, not worth the Dispute, and excuses *Yelverton*, as he does all Offenders against the King.

Sir *Henry Yelverton* was Atturney General, and by his place of Imployment, it was his duty to mannage the charge of Impeachments against *Somerſet*, or any Subject whatsoever without dispute, which yet he refused, as receiving that place by his favour; for which contempt to the Kings ſervice, not without more than ſuſpition of concealment of ſome paſſages concerning *Overburies* death; he was for thoſe reaſons (and deſervedly) by the whole Court of *Star Chamber*, unanimously ſentenced, and ſo of courſe committed to the Tower, cloſe Priſoner; where we are to be perſwaded alſo by the Pamphleter, *That the Lieutenant of the Tower Balfore, admits Buckingham to treat with him in priſon, and then to piece out a peace between them both.*

Certainly, *Yelverton* had law to teach him (or any other Priſoner of Reason) that this was Treason in *Balfore*, and in *Buckingham* alſo to attempt. And therefore to cleer it, *Balfore* himſelf hath ſince avowed to a Priſoner, ſometime under his Guard, that there was never any ſuch act done by *Buckingham*, or any other by his permiſſion. But afterwards upon *Yelvertons* humble ſubmiſſion for his former fault, and his innocency (in ſome doubts) cleered from other ſuſpitions, he was ſet at Liberty. And in truth according to the merit of the Man, he was afterwards intruſted with the judgement Seat.

But what was this ſecret information, which we are told he ſhould tell *Buckingham*? That which the King ſpake in Parliament, *viz. Not to ſpare any that was deareſt, or lay in his boſome*, by which he pointed to you, ſaies *Yelverton* (meaning *Buckingham*.)

And muſt *Buckingham* adventure his and the Lieutenants head to learn this news; which no doubt the Favourite heard before, being at the Kings elboe.

And this diſcourſe pretended by our Pamphleter betwixt *Buckingham*, and *Yelverton* in the Tower, our *Historian* himſelf, that paſſes by nothing to pick his cavils, ſuſpects the truth thereof. But will nothing ſatisfy but *Yelvertons* own hand, ſee what he ſayes in his Letter to *Buckingham* upon his retutn out of *Spain*: dated the fifteenth of *March*, 1623. Which we enter here.

Anno
1621.

Co. & Ch. p.
156.

Hiſt. gr. Br. pa.
158.

Anno

1621.

Yelvertons
Letter to Buc-
kingham.

May it please your Grace,

MY humble heart, &c. will be glad to expiate my errours at any rate, &c. Your noble Heart, (I hope) harbours no memory of what I gave distast, your own merits, which have so much enobled you, will be the more compleat. If I seek your Grace before I deserve it, enable me I beseech you to deserve that I may seek.

If any, on whom you have cast your eye most, endear himself more to your service then I shall; let me not follow the vintage at all. Till this day I feared the relish of sour grapes, though I have sought you with many broken sleeps, but this Noble Earl (whose honour for this work shall ever with me be second to yours) hath revived me with assurance of your Graces pardon and liberty, to hope I may be deemed your Servant. I protest to God, it is not the affluence of your honour makes me joy in it, nor the power of your Grace, that trains me on to seek it, but let the tryal of your fortunes speak thus much for me, that I will follow you, not as Cyrus his Captains and Souldiers followed him for Spoil or place, but if with safety to your Grace, though with peril to my self I may serve you, let me die if I do it not, rather than want longer, what my humble love ever led me to, and still to affect the honour to be,

Yours, &c.

Henry Yelverton.

This if he were guilty, was very ingenuous, if innocent, most base.

Sir Francis Michel, for his crimes concerning his undue Execution of his Justiceship of the Peace, is degraded the honour of Knighthood, and rode with his face to the Horse-tail through the strand. The same sentence had Mompeson of his Inns, but he runs away out of their reach as far as France.

In this Parliament of searching the sores of Complaints appears the Chancelour Sir Francis Bacon to his censure for Bribery and Extortion, but to mollify the Sentence, he submits and supplicates the Lords in Parliament, and because you shall see what he could say, I shall set it down at length very witty and worth the reading.

Michel censured.

and Mompeson,

To

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the
Parliament, the Upper House assembled.

The humble submission and supplication of the
Lord Chancellor.

May it please your Lordships,

I shall humbly crave at your hands benign interpretation of that which I shall now write, for words that come from wasted Spirits, and oppressed minds are more safe for being deposited to a noble Construction, than being circled with any reserved caution.

This being moved (& as I hope obtained of) your Lordships as a protection to all that I say I shall go on but with a very strange entrance, as may seem to your Lordships at first; for in the midst of a State of as great affection as I think a mortal man can endure honour being above life I shall begin with the professing of gladness in some things.

The first is that hereafter the greatness of a Judge or Magistrate shall be no sanctuary or protection to him against guiltiness, which is the beginning of a golden work.

The next that after this example, it is like that Judges will flie from anything in the likeness of corruption, without it were a great distance, as from a Serpent which tends to the purging of the Courts of Justice and reducing them to their true honour and splendour.

And in these two points God is my witness I thought it be my fortune to be the anvil upon which these two are broken and wrought, I take no small comfort but to pass from the motions of my heart whereof God is my Judge to the merits of my cause, whereof your Lordships are Judges under God, and his Lieutenant; I do understand there hath been expected from me some Justification, and therefore I have chosen one onely Justification, instead of all others out of the Justifications of Job, for after the dear submission and confession, which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope I may say, and justify with Job, in these words, I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my faults, in my bosom; this is the only justification, which I will use.

It resteth therefore that without Fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confess, and acknowledge that having understood the particulars of the charge not formerly from the house, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I finde matter sufficient and full both to move me to desert my defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me, neither will I trouble your Lordships by singling these particulars to which I think I might fall off. Quid te exempla
ju-

Anno
1621.

juvant spinis de pluribus una? Neither will I promise your Lordships to observe upon the proofs where they come not home, or the scruple touching the credits of the Witness; neither will I represent to your Lordships, how for a defence I might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time and manner of the guilt, and the like circumstances, but only leave these things to spring out of your more noble thoughts and observations of the evidence and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge, as God shall put into your minds, and so submit myself wholly to your piety and grace.

And now I have spoken unto your Lordships as Judges, I shall say a few words unto you as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending my cause to your noble minds and magnanimous affections.

Your Lordships are not simply Judges, but Parliamentary Judges, you have a further extent of arbitrary power than other Courts, and you are not tyed by ordinary course of Courts or Presidents, in points of Strickness, and severity, much less in points of mercy, and yet if anything which I shall move might be contrary to your honorable and worthy end, the introducing a reformation, I should not seek it, but herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to tell you a story.

Titus Manlius took his Sons life for giving battail against the prohibition of his General; not many years the like severity was pursued by Papinius Cursor the Dictator, against Quintus Maximus, who being upon the point to be sentenced, was, by the intercession of some particular person of the Senate, spared; whereupon Livie maketh this grave and gracious observation, Neque minus formata est disciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi quam miserabili, supplicio Titi Manlii; The Discipline of War was no less established by the questioning of Quintus Maximus, than by the punishment of Titus Manlius, and the same reason is in the reformation of Justice: for the questioning of men in eminent places hath the same terror, though not the same rigor with the punishment. But my cause staies not there, for my humble desire is, that his Majesty would take the seal into his own hands, which is a great downfal, and may serve, I hope, in it self for an expiation of my faults.

Therefore if mercy and mitigation be in your Lordships power and no way cross your ends, why should not I hope of favour and commiseration. Your Lordships will be pleased to behold your chief pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is inscruteable for wisdom and goodness. And your Lordships will remember there sat not these hundred years before a Prince in your House, and neevie such a Prince, whose presence deserves to be made memorable by Records and Acts, mixt with mercy and Justice. Your selves are either Nobles (and compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble blood) or reverend Prelates, who are
the

the servants of him that would not break the brused Reed nor quench the smoking flax. You all sit upon an high Stage, and therefore cannot but be senseable of the changes of humane condition, and of the fall of any from high place.

Neither will your Lordships forget, that there are Vitia Temporis, as well as Vitia Hominis; and the beginning of Reformation hath the contrary power to the Pool of Bethesda; for that had strength to cure him only that was first cast in, and this hath strength to hurt him only that is first cast in, and for my part I wish it might stay there and go no further.

Lastly, I assure my self your Lordships have a noble feeling of me as a member of your own body, and one that in this very Session had some taste of your loving affection, which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace, which now in the conclusion will more appear. And therefore my humble sute to your Lordships is, That my penitent submission may be my Sentence, the loss of my Seal, my punishment, and that your Lordships will recommend me to his Majesties pardon for all that is past. Gods holy Spirit be amongst you.

April 22,

Your Lordships humble

Servant and Suppliant,

Fran. St. Albons Canc.

This Petition found the full effects, pity and compassion from all, procured pardon also from the King, with the loss only of his Peerage and Seal; for so weak a husband he had been to lay up any store for the future, that the King allowed him a pension to his death.

He was a person compleat, of excellent parts and general learning, with that of the Law, as proper for that place as any man of the Gown.

His merits made him so then, which his vices in continued time, and now, basely blemished, and he justly removed, to his private studies, which render him to the world full of worth. And with small charity of the Scorners, might merit the Bays before many men of that age.

Indeed his Doom was designed by his Enemies as far as Scotland, at the Kings last being there, and such a distance, might deal some disadvantage to a Wiser Man. Yet the King at first intending but to let him loose, only to exercise him with the change of his chance, like as a rub to an overthrown Bowl, which proves oftentimes an help to the Caster, by hindering its course; but it fell out more fatal to him which lasted to the end, and

His character.

Co. & Ch. p.
126.

Anno
1621.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
159.

Dr. Williams
succeeds to be
Lord keeper.

Co. & ch. pa.
139.

Reign of K.
Charles, page
128.

and thereby wrought its best use; In the midst of sufferings the bread of sorrow tastes better than the *Banquet* of fools; for afflictions brings such mens souls to be Saints at the Mark, which otherwise would be overgrown with too much Greatness.

His memorable abilities remain but in few, and his compassionate infirmities common to all. To expiate which he did as became him to do to the House of Peers [prostrate himself] and sins, which ingenuously he acknowledged, promising amendment of his life, and made it good to the Worlds eye. Those excellent works contrived in his retirement, do evidently manifest his wit and worth, with much regret to many good men, that such an one, should be fallen off from the face of State.

In *Bacons* place comes Doctor *Williams* Dean of *Westminster*, by the Title of *Keeper of the Great Seal of England*, the same power and Jurisdiction as the Chancelour, see Statute *quinto Elizabeth*. which was not so before. At first, but as Vice-Chancelour. *Matthew Paris* saith, *Custodiam sigilli Regii accepit Cancellarii Vices Acturus & Officium, &c.*

He was also then made Bishop of *Lincoln* together to make him more capable of the Office; [brought in, sayes one, to serve turns, which no Lay-Man was bad enough to undertake.]

Former ages held it more consonant to reason to trust the Conscience of the Clergy with the case of the Lay-man, they best knowing a Case of Conscience, and antiently the Civil Laws were adjudged by the Ministers of the Church, and the Chancery, and other Courts of Equity, then in the charge of a Divine Minister.

And therefore a mistake in the Record that sets it down as a Wonder, for an Arch-bishop of *Saint Andrews* to be made Chancelour of *Scotland* by King *Charles* [a thing (he saies) not known in that Kingdom for three hundred years before, for a Clergy man to bear that office] But we find *James Seaton*, and *David Seaton*, both Arch-bishops of *Saint Andrews*, and Chancelours of *Scotland*, within one hundred years space. And many other Arch-bishops and Bishops within three hundred years, not only Chancelours, but Judges of the Law, Master of the Robes, and other Offices of Judicature; By which means, (their onely Bishopricks too poor) they advanced to degrees of wealth, enabling them to erect most of those sumptuous Fabricks of piety and Honour in that Nation, and so in *England* by our Clergy, by this man also in some measure.

So ran the Channel, till *Bacons* father had it from a Bishop; and now a Bishop has it again, and had King *James* lived to have

Anno
1621.

have effected his Desires, the Clergy had fixed firm footing in Courts of Judicature (out of the rode of the Common-Law) and this was the true cause of *Williams* initiation thither, his quality thus fitted for the Kings intention.

He was in truth Chaplain to *Buckingham's Mother*, and let in to Court, parallel in some degree with *Cardinal Richlieus* entrance by *Queen Mother of France*, a Man may take view of these conformities, not few, if you consider proportions, what is allowed to the Jesuit must rebate of the Reformed, and what this man could not do in competition as the other, his aim shewed his will, but not the effect.

But at his entrance into this Trust, comes two Bills signed from the King to be made Patents by the Seal; the one for a Pension of two thousand pound *per annum*, and the other for the Office of Earl Marshal of *England*, both of them to be conferred upon the Earl of *Arundel*.

The first (though with some regret in those unseasonable times to receive such large pensions), which yet he sealed, but took upon him to trench upon the Lord Treasurer *Middlesex*, (who willingly gave way to it) for which they both had enmity ever after.

The later he refused upon these Queries.

1. Whether in the Delivery of the Staff to the Earl, his Majesty did not declare it to him for ease of the other Commissioners that executed it before with him, and so to imply no enlargement of power, which this Patent doth?

2. Whether his Majesty means, that this Patent, leaping over the powers of the three last Earls, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Somerset*, should refer only to *Arundels* own Ancesters, *Howards* and *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, who claimed that place by Inheritance: the usual way and reference of Patents, being unto the last, and immediate Predecessor, and not to the remote; whose powers heretofore in these troublesome times, were vage, uncertain and impossible to be limited.

3. Whether that this Lord, should bestow those Offices settled in the Crown, as Sir *Edward Zouches* in Court, Sir *George Reynolds* in the *Kings Bench*, and divers others, all which this Great Patent sweeps away, being Places of Worth and Dignity?

4. Whether my Lord *Stewards* place shall be (for all his power of Judicature is in the *Verge*) either altogether extinguished, or at least subordinate to the Office? A point considerable because of the Duke of *Lenox*, who was Steward, his greatness of Person, and nearness of blood to the King. And here he claws him.

5. Lastly, whether that the Offices of the Earl Marshall of

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Anno

1621.

England, and the Marshall of the Kings house (in former times distinct) shall be now united to this great Lord?

A power limited by no Law or Record, but to be searched out from *Heralds, Chronicles, Antiquaries*, and such absolute *Monuments*; and thereupon this sixty years (for *Essex* his power was cleerly limited, only as *Marshall*) unfit to be revived by the Policy of this State.

And by these queries the Patent was pared, which increased malice to the end of their Days.

Certainly there is a difference between the Earl Marshal of *England*, and the Marshal of the Kings House: See *Lambert Archiron*, or of the High Courts of Justice in *England*.

The Marshall of *England*, and the *Constable* are united in a Court, which handleth only Duells out of the Realm, and matters within, as *Combats Blazon, Armory*, but may not meddle with any difference tryable by the Laws of the Land.

The Marshal of the Kings Household is united in a Court with the Steward, which holds Plea of Trespass, Contracts and Covenants made within the Verge; and that by the Laws, *Articl. super Cart. cap. 3, 4, 5.*

The honour of Lord Marshal is so antient, as *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray* by *Richard 2.* was created *Duke of Norfolk*, and the first Earl Marshal of *England*, anno 1397.

And so successively unto *John* Lord *Mowbray*, who dyed the 15. of *Edward 4.* anno 1475. and had issue one only Daughter, married unto *Richard Duke of York*, second son of *Edward* the fourth, and was by his Father created *Duke of Norfolk* and *Earl Marshall of England*, murdered in the Tower, anno 1483 without issue.

Then comes *John Howard* (Son of the Daughter, and co-heir of *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*) and was by *Richard the third* created *Duke of Norfolk*, but not *Earl Marshall*. Nor was his Son *Thomas*, but *Thomas* his son was by *H. 8.* created *Earl Marshall of England*.

Afterwards was *Seymer* by *Edward the sixth* created *Duke of Somerset*, and *Earl Marshall of England*. And after him came the Grand-child of *Thomas Mowbray*, and was by *Q. Mary* created *Earl Marshall of England*.

Then *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Essex* made *Marshal of England* by *Q. Elizabeth*.

And now this *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, and the last *Earl Marshall of England*.

But in time this Patent was divided, which his greatness intended to swallow up whole.

And because we have done with the Keeper and his Office, we

we will take our leave of him with this Character which here follows.

His Acts of Piety to the ragged and ruinous Church of *Westminster*, new clothing, warm and dry, adorned with the Statues and Structures of the antient *English* Saints, and in truth and merit, set up his Master King *James* amongst them. And though he sucked not the Milk of *Oxford* University, yet he founded a decent compleat Chappel to *Lincoln* College there, and erected the *Library* at *Westminster*, as also that Eminent Structure the *Library* of *St. Johns* at *Cambridge*, where he had been Master for many years. He had a large heart to men of learning and Arts, and though his Stately gait, at a blush might present him to appear proud to the common Man, yet abating the nature of his Birth-place a *Welch* man, he was not so to conversation; for he made himself more familiar at the College School at *Westminster*, than at Court, not leaving that society and Mr. *Osbastons* Company, for the consort of Courtiers at *Whitehall*.

His bounty like that of *Cesar*, who gave gifts like a King, even to mean Beggars; witness a hundred pound gratuity to *Monsieur du Molin* a Minister of *France*, to welcom him hither, when, in the Judgement of his Chaplain 20 l. had been sufficient.

His blaze at Court lasted out this King, which by quarreling with *Lawd* the Arch-bishop afterwards, retired him to *Bugden*, where he lived the most Episcopal of any Priests his Predecessors; how he fell from that, and other waies after, from worse to worst of all, evil example being no rule to a Prelates conscience, we leave him dead to his last account, the time of Gods grace and mercy, 1652.

Amongst the factious party of this Parliament, were a knot of discontents, well mingled for Mutiny, high-born; Ambitious-bold, to bear out any plottings, which Subtilty suggested, and Hypocrisie dissembled, and got in also the plain meaning man, and altogether to supplant Order of *Church* and *State*; Other Characters would be counterfeit; a Halter take him that would mistake them, a fitter line for his long story. Indeed to busie these had been (*junto* of them) of whose disposition the King was justly sensible, and therefore thought fit to separate their contrivings, and by proroguing the Parliament the 4. of *June*, till *Novem. 20*. sent them home during his Summers Progress, and this he did, sudainly to see what they would do, which, as he suspected came forth in *Declaration*, thus.

The Commons fair Declaration to assist
the King to recover the *Palatinate*.

TH E Commons assembled in Parliament taking into most serious consideration, the present State of the Kings children abroad, and generally afflicted estate of the true Professors of the same Christian Religion (professed by the Church of England) in foreign parts, and being truly touched with a true sense and fellow-feeling of their distresses, as members of the same body do with an unanimous consent in the name of themselves, and the whole Body of the Kingdom (whom they represent) declare unto his most excellent Majesty, and to the whole world their hearty grief and sorrow for the same; and do not only join with them in their humble, and devout prayers unto Almighty God, to protect his true Church, and to avert the dangers now threatned, but also with one heart and voice, do solemnly protest; That if his Majesties pious endeavours by Treaty to procure their peace and safety, shall not take that good effect which is desired in Treaty (wherein they humbly beseech his Majesty not to suffer any longer delay) that then upon signification of his Majesties pleasure in Parliament, they shall be ready to the utmost of their powers, both with their Lives and Fortunes to assist him so, as that by the Divine help of Almighty God (which is never wanting unto those who in his fear shall undertake the Defence of his Cause) he may be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable course shall not be effected.

This is well said, and the King put them to Tryal for assistance in money, the sinews to lielp on the Treaty first, and for settlement of the future effects by the Sword in case the other failed.

And sundry overtures and propositions amongst themselves somewhat resolving, then again declined, and as with the houses, the like between the King and them, that nothing was concluded in pursuite of their fair promises and specious pretences, and so they part home to their Houses, and the King to his hunting.

And in *Autumn* returns to *Hampton Court*, where meets him *Digby*; come home from his Ambassy, with Answers dilatory, and doubtful, and therefore commands him to declare the particulars to the Parliament, which was now set from his last Recess.

He tells them,

That

That his Majesty commanded him to account to them his Negotiations with the Emperour, who upon advantage of fortune in the success of Bohemia, hath invaded the inheritance of his Son the Palatine; That he was directed to treat of Peace, which he seemed to incline to, but the Dyet in Germany being deferred, they both suffered the delay by depending on it, and the Princes; in the end Restitution was promised of the Palatinate, which was only granted by Commission to the Duke of Bavaria, until it should be otherwise settled by Peace or War.

That the Emperours Letters addressed him to the Duke, wishing his tractable condescent to terms of peace; upon which occasion he urged that he had authority from the Palatine, to cause Count Mansfield to desist from War, and the like from the King to Sir Horace Vere.

That the Duke answered, He had becalmed Mansfield with money, who being at quiet, his peace was made. To which scornful reply something (he saies) was answered; and so departed to the Instanta at Bruxels, who seemed to understand by the Emperours Letters, his preparations rather for War than Peace, and would give no direct answer till she heard from the King of Spain; who (he confesses) stood at this time cleerly a Newter; yet is he now prepared with five great Armies in motion, which will not misbecome the Wisdome of State to fear the worst, and therefore for the Kings honour, and his Sons right, he presumes they will contribute not only aid to the present support, but supply to invest his Son into his Inheritance.

But this, nor what else could be said by others, the true Ministers, and Patriots of State, could work ought out of the Parliament; for now, being put to it, they are hide bound; and yet have an excuse, *That the King meant not to fight, for they were afraid he was forward in the Match with Spain, and trusted rather to treat that way; and therefore intend not to assist him with Money for a War abroad, nor support of his Wants at home.*

But to shadow over their resolve, they prepare to expostulate these distempers, and lay down a pretended way to the Remedies, which the King understood by some of their own, ashamed to assist in such thwarting courses, when necessity at home, and honour abroad called for speedy redress. And therefore the King in disdain to attend their slow Motions, leaves them to their lazy Committee, and whilst they are hammering out a Remonstrance, he took no leave but went to *New Market*.

And there with regret of the unkind Parliament, together with the Miseries of the Reformed Churches in *Germany*; the persecution of the Protestants in *France*, besieged in *Rochel* and *Montauban*, the one by Count *Soissons* and the Duke of *Guise*; the

The King retires to New Market in discontent.

Anno
1621.

Hist. gr. Br. pa.
172.

the other by that King; and *Doncaster* sent thither Extraordinary to mediate the Peace; which King *James* could not fight for with like Success, as usually words have prevailed with Swords; The King (I say) fell into deep discontent. Notwithstanding our *Calumniator* here, as in all other the like places [*Loads the King with the loss of all*] for not fighting without men or money.

[*If the Kings spirit (saies he) had been raised up to a War when the voice of God, being the voice of the People called him to it, it might have hindred the great effusion of blood amongst our selves that happened after in his sons time.*]

The consequence of all our sequel Miseries he derives from this King, which truly then and after came from the Houses of Parliament.

The King not so far off, but had his spies and Intelligence, with a Copy of the Remonstancie, and thought to save them the labour, in a Letter to the Speaker, Sir *Thomas Richardson*.

Mr. Speaker,

K. letter to the
Speaker.

WE have heard, to Our grief, that Our distance from the Parliament caused by Our indisposition of health; hath imboldned some fiery and popular Spirits of the Lower House, to debate Matters above their Capacity, to Our dishonour and breach of Prerogative Royall.

These are therefore to command you to make known to them, that none shall hereafter presume to meddle with anything concerning our Government, or Matters of State, with Our Sons Match with the Daughter of Spain, nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other Our Friends or Confederates. Nor with any Mans particulars which have their due Motion in Our Ordinary Courts of Justice.

And whereas they have sent a Message to Sir *Edwin Sandis* to know the Reasons of his late Restraint, you shall resolve them, It was not for any Misdemeanour of his in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any question hereafter of that nature, we think our self very free and able to punish any Mans misdemeanours in Parliament, as well sitting there as after, which we mean not to spare hereafter upon any occasion of any mans; and if they have touched any points (which we have here forbidden) in any petition of theirs, which is to be sent to us, tell them (except they reform it) we will not daign the hearing, or answering.

New-Market;
Decem. 3. 1621.

James Rex.

But

But on the Parliament will; yet to sweeten the bitter Pill, they accompany another *Remonstrance* with a Petition, to this effect they are put together.

Anno
1621.

Most dread and gracious Sovereign,

V*VE* your most humble and loyal Subjects, &c. in the Commons House of Parliament, full of grief, &c. through the sense of your Majesties displeasure, expressed by Letter unto our Speaker, and read unto us; yet comforted with assurance of your Grace and Goodness to us, and of the sincerity of our proceedings.

The Parliaments petition
to the King.

In all humbleness, &c. beseech the King.

That their Loyalties may not suffer by mis-information of partial Reports, but rather to understand from themselves what their humble Declaration and Petition doth contain; the occasion of their consideration of what is therein contained, and their intention.

They beseech his Majesty not to give credit to private Reports against all or any Member, until they inform him, and that they may stand in his Majesties good opinion.

The Remonstrance runs thus in effect.

That upon their last re-assembling, His Majesty did by three Lords impart to them these particulars following.

That notwithstanding the Kings piety to procure Peace, the time is now come that Janus Temple must be opened.

No hope of Peace nor Truce.

Either the King must abandon his children, or ingage in a War, and so to be considered what foot, horse and money sufficient?

That the Lower Palatinate was seized by the Army of the King of Spain, as the Executar of the Ban, then in quality of the Duke of Burgundy, as the Upper part was by the Duke of Bavaria.

That the King of Spain had five several Armies.

The Princes of the union disbanded, the Catholick League remains firm, to the ruin of the others, whose estate was miserable. And

That out of these considerations the Parliament were called to a War, and for supply for keeping forces together, to foresee the means for raising an Army against the Spring.

And accordingly they did address to that service. And being now invited thereto, and not only to look after a War abroad, but also for peace at home, with the increase and insolency of Popish Recusants, urge us unto.

The consideration hereof led them on, as incident and unavoidable to touch upon the King of Spain, as relation to Popish Recusants

at

Anno
1621.

at home, and to the Wars by him maintained against your Children, but without dishonour to Him, or any of the Kings Confederates.

In which discourse they did not assume to determine, or to incroach upon the Sacred bounds of your Royal Authority, to whom, and in whom only it belongs to resolve of peace or War. But as humble subjects to demonstrate these things to his Majesty, and humbly to lay it down at his feet.

This being the effect of their resolves in their Declaration and Petition.

They humbly desire his Majesty to receive them by those their Messengers with favourable interpretation, and to so much as concerns Papists, the passing of Bills, and granting his Pardon royal, that he will be pleased to answer.

And concerning those General Words in the Kings Letter, Not to intermeddle with Matters of Government, or particulars which have motion in the Courts of Justice; may involve those things which are proper subjects of Parliamentary Discourse.

And that his Majestie seems to abridge them, freedom of Speech, and Liberty of Parliament, &c. they desire his Majesty, to allow them the same.

And pray for his Majesty, &c.

Twelve select Members are sent herewith, whereof Sir R. Weston was the leading Man intrusted to read them. And untill their return with some satisfactory answer, they resolve not to proceed to any business in the house, but muttering there was, though they durst not speak out.

The King understanding the silent humour of their Action, and being yet desirous to have the time better husbanded, Christmasse being at hand commands his Secretary Calvert to deliver this message to them in Speech, and afterwards in Writing.

His Majesty remembring that this House was desirous to have a Session between this and Christmase, it pleased him thereupon to signifie unto us, that we should have contentment herein, and that there should be a Session, if we our Selves were not in fault, taking now notice that we forbear to proceed with any Bills until the return of the Messengers lately sent to his Majesty, hath warned me to command the House in his name not to lose time in their proceedings, for preparing good Laws in the mean while, and in consideration of the neer approach of Christmase. And that his Majestie hopes, We will not take upon us to make a Recess in effect, though not in shew, without his warrant.

But

The Kings
Message by
Secretary Cal-
vert.

Anno
1621.

But some captious pates take exceptions, as tending to breach of privilege, by commanding them to proceed with Bills, and so spun out the time and did nothing till the return of their Messengers, whom the King receives not with overmuch kindness, knowing the effect of their former petitions, and observing the Contents of the later; and both reflecting on his Person and Government, which causeless aspersions, and therefore returns them with this answer to all.

The Kings Answer to their Petition.

WE must here begin in the same fashion that We would have done if your first Petition had come to our hands before we had made a stay thereof; which is to repeat the first words of the late Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memory, used by her in answer to an insolent Proposition which a *Polonian* Ambassadour made, that is, *Legatum expitamus, Heraldum accipimus*. For we had great reason to expect that the first message from your house should have been a message of thanksgiving for our continued gracious behaviour towards our people since your last Recess. Not only by Our Proclamation of Grace, wherein were contained six or seven and thirty Articles, all of several points of Grace to the People; but also by the labour we took for the satisfaction of both Houses in those three Articles recommended unto us in both their Names by the right Reverend Father in God, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and likewise for the good Government of *Ireland* we are now in hand with at your Request. But not only have we heard no news of all this; but contrary great complaints of the danger of Religion within this Kingdom, tacitly implying Our ill Government in this point. And we leave you to judge whether it be your duties, that are the Representative Body of our People, so to distaste them with our Government, whereas by the contrary it is your duty with all your endeavour, to kindle more and more in duty for our gracious Government.

Now whereas in the very beginning of this your Apology, you tax us in fair terms, of trusting uncertain Reports, and partial informations against your proceedings. We wish you to remember that We are an old and experienced King, needing no such Lessons, being in Our Conscience, freest of any King alive from hearing or trusting idle Repotts; Which so many of your House that are nearest Us can bear witness unto you, if you would give as good ear unto them as unto some Tribunitial Orators amongst you; And for proof in this particular We

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Anno

1621.

have made your own messengers confer your other Petitions sent by you with the copy thereof, which was sent us before, between which there is no difference at all, but that since the receiving the first Copy, you added a Conclusion unto it; which could not come to our hands till it was done by you, and your messengers sent, which was all at one time. And if we had had no Copy of it before-hand, we must have received your first Petition to our great Dishonour, before we had known what it contained, which would have inforced us to return unto you a far worse Answer then now we do. For then your Messengers had returned with nothing, but that we have judged your Petition unlawful & unworthy of an Answer; for as to your Conclusion thereof it is nothing but *Protestatio contraria facto*; for in the body of your Petition, you usurp upon our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with things far above your reach; and then in the Conclusion you protest the contrary; as if a Robber would take a mans purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him. For first you presume to give us your advice concerning the Match of Our dearest Son with some Protestant, we cannot say Princess, for we know none of these fit for him, and dissuade Us from his Match with *Spain*, urging Us to a present War with that King, and yet in the Conclusion, forsooth, you profess you intend not to press upon our most undoubted and Regal Prerogative, as if the petitioning of Us in matters that your selves confess you ought not to meddle with, were not a meddling with them.

And whereas you pretend that you were invited to this course by the Speeches of three honourable Lords, yet by so much as your selves repeat of the Speeches, nothing can be concluded but that we were resolved by War to regain the *Palatinate*, if otherwise we could not attain unto it. And ye were invited to advise forthwith upon a Supply for keeping the forces in the *Palatinate* from disbanding, and to foresee the means for the raising and maintaining of the Body of any Army for that War against the Spring.

Now what inference can be made upon this? that presently we must denounce War against the King of *Spain*, break our dearest Sons Match, and match him to one of our Religion, let the World judge! The Difference is no greater than if we would tell a Merchant that we had great need to borrow money from him for raising an Army, that thereupon it should follow, that we are bound to follow his advice in the Directions of the War, and all things depending thereupon.

But yet not contenting your selves with this excuse of yours, which indeed cannot hold water, ye come after to a direct contradiction to the Conclusion of your former Petition, saying, that

that the Honour and safety of Us and our Posterity, and the Patrimony of our children, invaded and possessed by their Enemies, the welfare of Religion and State of our Kingdome, are matters at any time not unfit your deepest consideration in Parliament.

To this generality we answer with the *Logicians*, That where all things are contained nothing is omitted. So as this *Plenipotence* of yours invests you upon all power upon Earth; lacking nothing but the *Popes* to have the Keys also both of Heaven and Purgatory. And to this vast generality of yours, we can give no other answer, for it would trouble all the Lawyers in the House, to make a good Commentary upon it. For so did the *Puritan* Ministers in *Scotland*, bring all kind of Causes within compass of their jurisdiction, saying, that it was the Churches Office, to judge of slander, and there could no crime or fault be committed, but there was a slander in it, either against God, their King, or their Neighbour, and by that means they looked into themselves the cognizance of all Causes; or like *Bellarmines* Distinction of the Popes power over Kings in *ordine ad spiritualia*, whereby he gives him all Temporall Jurisdiction over them.

But to give you a direct answer to the matters of War, for which you are so earnest; We confesse we rather expected you should have given us thanks for the so long maintaining a settled Peace in all our Dominions, when as all our Neighbours about are in miserable combustion of War, but *dulce bellum ineptis*, and we indeed find by experience, that a number of our Subjects are so pampered with Peace, as they are desirous of change, though they know not what.

It is true that we have professed (and in that mind with Gods grace, we will both live and die) that we will labour by all means possible; either by Treaty or force to restore our Children to their antient dignity and Inheritance, and whatsoever Christian Princes and Potentates, will set themselves against it, we will not spare any lawful means to bring our so just and honourable purpose to a good end. Neither shall the Match of our Son, or any other worldly respects be preferred to this our Resolution.

For by our credit and intervention with the King of *Spain*, and the *Arch-Dutchess* and her Husband, now with God, we preserved the *Lower Palatinate* one whole year, from any further conquering in it, which in any eight dayes space in that time might have easily been swallowed up by *Spinola's Army*, without any resistance; and in no better case was it now at our Ambassadour the Lord *Digby's* coming through *Heidleburgh*, if we had not extraordinarily succoured it.

The Reign and Death of

But because we conceive that ye couple this War of the *Palatinate* with the cause of Religion, we must a little unfold your eyes herein.

The beginning of this miserable War which hath set all *Christendome* on fire, was not for Religion but only caused by Our Son in law his hasty and rash Resolution, following evil Counsel to take to himself the Crown of *Bohemia*; and that this is true, himself wrote Letters to Us at that time, desiring Us to give assurance both to the *French King*, and to the State of *Venice*, that his accepting of the Crown of *Bohemia* had no reference to the cause of Religion, but only by reason of his right of Election (as he called it.) And we would be sorry that that aspersion should come upon our Religion, as to make it a good pretext for dethroning of Kings, and usurping their Crowns. And we would be loath that our people here should be taught that doctrine.

No, let Us not so far wrong the Jesuits, as to rob them of their sweet Positions and practice in this point. And upon the other part, we assure our selves so far of your charitable thoughts of us, that we would never have constantly denied our Son in Law both the title and assistance in that point, if we had been well-perswaded of the justice of his quarrel. But to conclude this unjust usurpation of the Crown of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* from the *Emperour*, hath given the Pope, and all that party, too fair a ground, and opened them too wide a Gate for curbing and oppressing of many thousands of our Religion in divers parts of *Christendom*.

And whereas you excuse your touching upon the King of *Spain*, upon occasion of the incidents by you repeated in that place, and yet affirm, it is without any touch to his Honor. We cannot wonder enough that ye are so forgetful, both of your words and writs; for in your former Petition you plainly affirm, that he affects the Temporal Monarchy of the whole Earth, then which there can be no more malice uttered against any great King, to make all other Princes and Potentates both envy and hate him.

But if you list it may be easily tryed, whether that speech touched him in honour or not, if we shall ask him the question, Whether he means to assume to himself that Title or no? For every King can best judge of his own Honour; we omit the particular Ejaculations of some foul-mouthed Oratours in the House against the honour of his Crown and State.

And touching your excuse of not determining any thing concerning the Match of our dearest Son, but only to tell your opinion, and lay it down at our feet.

First, we desire to know, how you could have presumed to deter-

determine in that point without committing of High Treason.

And next, you cannot deny but your talking of his Match after that manner, was a direct breach of our Commandment and Declaration out of our own Mouth, at the first sitting down of this Parliament; where we plainly professed, that we were in Treaty of his Match with *Spain*, and wished you to have that confidence in our Religion and Wisdom, that we would so manage it as our Religion should receive no prejudice by it. And the same we now repeat unto you, professing that we are so far engaged in that Match, as we cannot in honour go back, except the King of *Spain* perform not such things as we expect at his hands: and therefore we are sorry that ye should shew to have so great distrust in us, or to conceive that we should be cold in our Religion, otherwise we cannot imagine how our former Publick Declaration should not have stopped your Mouths in this point.

And as to your Request, that we would now receive your former Petition. We wonder what could make you presume that we would not receive it; whereas in our former letter, we plainly declared the contrary unto you, and therefore we have justly rejected that suit of yours. For what have you left unattempted in the highest points of Sovereignty in that petition of yours, except the striking of Coin? for it contains the violation of Leagues, the particular way how to govern a War, and the Mariage of our dearest Son; both Negative with *Spain*, nay with any Popish Princess, and also Affirmatively, as to the matching with one of our Religion; which we confess is a strain beyond any Providence or Wisdom God hath given to us, as things now stand.

These are unfit things to be handled in Parliament, except your King should require it of you; *For who can have wisdom to judge of things of that nature, but such as are daily acquainted with the particulars of Treaties, and of the variable or fixed connexion of Affairs of State, together with the knowledge of the secret ways, ends and intentions of Princes in their several Negotiations?* otherwise a small mistaking in matters of this Nature, may produce more effects, than can be imagined. And therefore *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

And besides the intermeddling in Parliament with matter of Peace or War, and mariage of our dearest Son, would be such a Diminution to us, and to our Crown in *Foreign Countreys*, as would make any Prince neglect to treat with us, either in matters of Peace or Marriage, except they might be assured by the assent of Parliament. And so it proved long ago with a King of *France*, who upon a trick procuring his States to dissent from

Anno

1621.

The Reign and Death of

from some Treaty which before he had made, was afterwards refused Treating with any other Princes to his great reproach, unless he would first procure Assent of his States to their Proposition. And will you cast your eyes upou the late times, you shall find that the late Queen of famous memory, was humbly petitioned by a Parliament to be pleased to marry; but her answer was, that she liked their Petition well, because it was simple, not limittin her to any place or person, as not besittin her liking to their fancies; and if they had done otherwise, she should have thought it a high presumption in them. Judge then, what we may do in such a case: having made our publick Declaration already (as we said before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned?

Now to the point in your Petition, whereof you desire an answer as properly belonging to the Parliament.

The first and greatest point is that Religion, concerning which at this time, we can give you no other answer then in the General, which is, that you may rest secure, that we will never be weary to do all we can for propagation of our Religion, and repressing Popery. But the manner and form ye must remit to our care and providence, who can best consider of times and Seasons; not by undertaking a publick War of Religion through all the World at once; which how hard and dangerous a Task, it may prove, ye may judge. But this puts Us in mind, how all the World complained the last year of plenty of Corn, and God hath sent us a cooling card this year for that heat. And so we pray God, that this desire amongst you of kindling war (shewing your weariness of peace and plenty) may not make God permit us to fall into the Miseries of both.

But as we already said, our care of Religion must be such as on the one part, we must not by the hot persecution of *Our Recusants* at home, irritate Foreign Princes of contrary Religion, and teach them the way to plague Protestants in their Dominions, with whom we dayly intercede, and at this time principally to ease them of our profession that live under them. Yet upon the other part; we never mean to spare from due and severe punishing of any Papist that will grow insolent for living under our so mild Government.

And ye may also be assured we will leave no care untaken, as well for the good Education of the youth at home, especially the children of Papists, as also for preserving at all times hereafter, the youth that are, or shall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous places, and so poisoned in Popish Seminaries.

And as in this point, concerning the good education of Popish youth at home, we have already given some good proofs, both in this Kingdome and *Ireland*, so will we be well pleased

to

to pass any good laws that shall be made either now or any time hereafter to that purpose.

And as to your request of making this a Session, and granting a general Pardon, it shall be in your defaults, if we make not this a Session before *Christmass*. But for the Pardon, you crave such particulars in it, as we must be well advised upon, least otherwise we give you back the double, or treble, we are to receive by your entire Subsidie without Fifteens. But the ordinary course we hold fittest to be used still in this case is, that we should of our Free Grace send you down a Pardon from the Higher House, containing such points as we shall think fittest, wherein we hope you shall receive good satisfaction.

But we cannot omit to shew you how strange we think it, that you should make so bad and unjust a Commentary upon some words of our former Letter, as if we meant to restrain you thereby of your antient Liberties and Privileges in Parliament. Truly a Scholar would be ashamed so to mistake, and misjudge any Sentences in another mans book.

For whereas in the end of our former Letter, we discharge you to meddle in matters of Government, and Mysteries of State, namely, matters of War or Peace, or our dearest Sons match with *Spain*; by which particular denominations, we interpret and restrain our former Words; And then after we forbid you to meddle with such things that have their ordinary course in *Courts of Justice*; yet couple together these two sentences, and plainly leave out these words, *Of Mysteries of State*, so as ye erre, *a bene divisis ad male conjuncta*, for of the former part, concerning Mysteries of State, we plainly restrain our meaning to the particulars that were after mentioned; and in the later we confess we meant it by Sir *Edward Cooks* foolish business.

And therefore it had well become him, especially being our Servant, and one of Our Council, to have complained unto us, which he never did, though he was ordinarily at Court since, and never had access refused unto him.

And although we cannot allow of the stile, calling it your antient and undoubted Right and Inheritance, but could rather have wished that ye had said, *That your privileges were derived from the Grace and permission of Our Ancesters and Us* (for most of them grow from Presidents, which shews rather a Toleration than Inheritance) yet we are pleased to give you Our Royal assurance, that as long as you shall contain your selves within the Limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of our Predecessours were, nay, as to preserve our own Royall Pretogative.

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The Reign and Death of

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And as to your request of making this a Session, and granting a general Pardon, it shall be in your defaults, if we make not this a Session before *Christmass*. But for the Pardon, you crave such particulars in it, as we must be well advised upon, least otherwise we give you back the double, or treble, we are to receive by your entire Subsidie without Fifteens. But the ordinary course we hold fittest to be used still in this case is, that we should of our Free Grace send you down a Pardon from the Higher House, containing such points as we shall think fittest, wherein we hope you shall receive good satisfaction.

But we cannot omit to shew you how strange we think it, that you should make so bad and unjust a Commentary upon some words of our former Letter, as if we meant to restrain you thereby of your antient Liberties and Privileges in Parliament. Truly a Scholar would be ashamed so to mistake, and misjudge any Sentences in another mans book.

For whereas in the end of our former Letter, we discharge you to meddle in matters of Government, and Mysteries of State, namely, matters of War or Peace, or our dearest Sons match with *Spain*; by which particular denominations, we interpret and restrain our former Words; And then after we forbid you to meddle with such things that have their ordinary course in *Courts of Justice*; yet couple together these two sentences, and plainly leave out these words, *Of Mysteries of State*, so as ye erre, *a bene divisis ad male conjuncta*, for of the former part, concerning Mysteries of State, we plainly restrain our meaning to the particulars that were after mentioned; and in the later we confess we meant it by Sir *Edward Cooks* foolish business.

And therefore it had well become him, especially being our Servant, and one of Our Council, to have complained unto us, which he never did, though he was ordinarily at Court since, and never had access refused unto him.

And although we cannot allow of the stile, calling it your antient and undoubted Right and Inheritance, but could rather have wished that ye had said, *That your privileges were derived from the Grace and permission of Our Ancesters and Us* (for most of them grow from Presidents, which shews rather a Toleration than Inheritance) yet we are pleased to give you Our Royal assurance, that as long as you shall contain your selves within the Limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of our Predecessours were, nay, as to preserve our own Royall Preogative.

So

The Reign and Death of

from some Treaty which before he had made, was afterwards refused Treating with any other Princes to his great reproach, unless he would first procure Assent of his States to their Proposition. And will you cast your eyes upou the late times, you shall find that the late Queen of famous memory, was humbly petitioned by a Parliament to be pleased to marry; but her answer was, that she liked their Petition well, because it was simple, not limittin^g her to any place or person, as not besittin^g her liking to their fancies; and if they had done otherwise, she should have thought it a high presumption in them. Judge then, what we may do in such a case: having made our publick Declaration already (as we said before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned?

Now to the point in your Petition, whereof you desire an answer as properly belonging to the Parliament.

The first and greatest point is that Religion, concerning which at this time, we can give you no other answer then in the General, which is, that you may rest secure, that we will never be weary to do all we can for propagation of our Religion, and repressing Popery. But the manner and form ye must remit to our care and providence, who can best consider of times and Seasons; not by undertaking a publick War of Religion through all the World at once; which how hard and dangerous a Task, it may prove, ye may judge. But this puts Us in mind, how all the World complained the last year of plenty of Corn, and God hath sent us a cooling card this year for that heat. And so we pray God, that this desire amongst you of kindling war (shewing your weariness of peace and plenty) may not make God permit us to fall into the Miseries of both.

But as we already said, our care of Religion must be such as on the one part, we must not by the hot persecution of *Our Recusants* at home, irritate Foreign Princes of contrary Religion, and teach them the way to plague Protestants in their Dominions, with whom we dayly intercede, and at this time principally to ease them of our profession that live under them. Yet upon the other part; we never mean to spare from due and severe punishing of any Papist that will grow insolent for living under our so mild Government.

And ye may also be assured we will leave no care untaken, as well for the good Education of the youth at home, especially the children of Papists, as also for preserving at all times hereafter, the youth that are, or shall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous places, and so poisoned in Popish Seminaries.

And as in this point, concerning the good education of Popish youth at home, we have already given some good proofs, both in this Kingdome and *Ireland*, so will we be well pleased to

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So

Anno

1621.

So your House had only need to beware to trench upon the Prerogative of the Crown; which inforce Us, or any just King to retrench them of their Privileges, that would pare his Prerogative and flowers of the Crown. But of this we hope there shall be never cause given.

New-Market, 11.
December 1621.

James Rex.

This Answer on *Tuesday* returned to the House on *Fryday* following, raises a storm amongst them all, to talk freely, their privileges now violated, denied, infringed, and therefore committed the particulars to examination. So that the more moderate amongst them in some doubt and discontent, how to manage it for reconciliation, which caused an Explanation from the King directed to his Secretary *Calvert* from *Royston*, in his return homewards.

To Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved
Counsellour, Sir *George Calvert*, one of our principal Secretaries.

Right Trusty, &c.

The K. Letter to Secretary Calvert.

WE are sorry, that our reiterated Messages to our House of Commons to go on, they continue yet to loose time. And now of late upon our gracious Answer, make more delay in appointing a Committee to consider of the points of our Answer concerning their privileges. You shall tell them, that to lessen mispent time, we shall descend to explain our meaning.

Concerning what we said, Not to allow of the stile, Their ancient and undoubted right of Inheritance, which we wished that they had said, Were derived from grace and permission of our Ancestours, and Us, for most of them grow from Presidents, a Toleration rather than Inheritance. And the plain truth is, we cannot endure Subjects to use such Anti-Monarchical words to us; except subjoined with acknowledgement of grace and favor from us. Yet we never meant to deny them lawful privileges, as in former times, nor what they have right unto, or by Grace now; and so we made that distinction, either by Law, or Statute, or long Custom, or lawful Presidents; and so we shall maintain them in their Rights. Therefore advises them to set aside wrangling, and proceed to that which is fit for the weal of his Crown and Kingdom, otherwise their curious shifts, maliciously from time to time found out,

to

to frustrate the Kings good purposes to his Subjects, will come to light, and the Authors not thankfully rewarded.

Anno

1621.

Royston, Decemb. 16. 1621.

All these three several Admonitions of the Kings take no effect, for any obedience to follow, and therefore the King, desirous not to dissolve them, without some fruit, addresses another Letter to the Speaker *Richardson*.

Mr. Speaker,

Whereas at the humble suite of Our House of Commons, we made this Meeting a Session, before Christmasse, and so till Saturday next, and by our Letters to take away mistakings, we explained Our selves in points of their privileges; and all to little purpose for preparing things necessary for a Session, We think good once more to impart our mind, that (for the Reasons reiterated) we have an earnest desire to make it a Session, free pardon to the Subjects, and good Laws to be passed, as they have had both by the unusual examples of Justice, and ease and comforts by Proclamation. The passing of the Subsidie, the continuance of Statutes, and the pardon being the most pressing to be effected, and the pardon on his part now drawing up. So it concerns them the Act for the Statutes, And as for the Subsidie, though time presses, let that be no prejudice if left undone. For on Saturday next he expects their performance, that so they may go home to their habitations.

The Kings
Letter to the
Speaker.

Theobalds December 17. 1621.

Nor does this any more prevail, but comes to be excused by way of Petition.

The Parliament return Thanks and Petition.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

We the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, &c. after your Majesties Letter, read this morning full of grace and goodness, do return our most humble and hearty thanks, &c. And though we have been desirous to have some good Laws passed, and a Session before Christmase, yet entering into serious Consideration of those things to be prepared, and the straitness of time. They humbly submit to the Kings Wisdom for their departure, and for their re-access to perfect what is begun.

The Parliam.
return thanks
and petition.

Anno
1621.

The Kings Reply.

The King returns them Answer, *How sorry he was this could not be made a Session. Excuses himself by his former Advises, and layes this blame before them to their face. He had given Order to adjourn to the eight of February next. And omits not to tell them that he expects other thanks, then as they sent to him, for his promises to maintain their privileges so often contained in his answers, and letters explained and enlarged.*

The Parlia-
ments Prote-
station,

But for all that, the King heard nothing; though this message was delivered to them the next Morning; and having plotted a Thin House, and a late hour, six a clock at night in December, not a third part of their number, They enter a Protestation for their Liberties, in such dubious manner, as may and did for the future, serve to invade most of the Rights and Privileges annexed to the Crown; for grounding the claim of their Privileges upon the Words in the Writ of Assembling, the Contrivers of that Protestation craftily mentioned, *Super arduis Regni Negotiis*, but of purpose left out *Quibusdam*, which restrains that generality to such particular cases as the King consults with them upon, and the uncontroled customes of all times manifest: For the King or Chancelour usually declares what things those *Quibusdam* are, wherein he craves their advice and assistance.

And upon all which undutiful Protestation, the King is justly occasioned to publish his pleasure for dissolution of this Parliament, by Proclamation to this effect.

A PROCLAMATION for dissolving the Parliament.

Dissolved by
Proclamation

ALBEIT the assembling, continuing, and dissolving of Parliaments, be a Prerogative peculiar to our Imperial Crown, yet We are pleased to acquaint our good Subjects with the reasons of all Our publick Resolutions and actions; intending to have made this the happiest Parliament in our time, without imputing (however) to the Major part of the Members any want of their duty, as hath been mutually exprest from either party.

Beginning in January with good harmony betwixt us, so as many ages past could not parallell the like. Their love to us, our Justice to them, extended not only to private persons, but even upon the prime Officer of Our Kingdome, we found notwithstanding they mispent time in cavils; yet we gave longer time, continuing the Session till the eight and twentieth day of May, then the Recess till the fourth of June; Expressing that Our Progress approaching, the necessity

Anno
1621.

necessity of our Council to attend us; the disfurnishing our Courts of Justice so many Terms, and the long absence of Justices of Peace and deputy Lieutenants, from their necessary duties in the Countrey.

Then we sent them word, we would hear and answer all businesses at an appointed time. They are notwithstanding in jealousy and expressed discontent; yet made not their address to us; and thereof we signified our pleasure to both Houses. The Lords submitted to our Resolutions, passed the Act for some especial Bills with commendation to the Commons, which they neglect. We therefore continued the Session for a Fortnight longer. Our self in person offered to the Lords the passing Bills, had thanks from them, which the Commons the same day refuse. The Grievances of England and Ireland, (though not presented to us) were rectified by Proclamations in both Realms.

But during this time of Recess we mediated with the Emperour by Our Ambassadour Digby; upon promise of assistance of Parliament in case that failed; then we reassemble the twentieth of November, and made known in particular all the transactions abroad, yet some Members took inordinate liberty to treat of Our prerogative not fit to be medled withall, of which we gave them warning.

[And so reciting all the particular passages before-mentioned.] And therefore concludes, whereas the Assembly of Parliament was adjourned untill the eight of February now next ensuing, we minding not to continue it any longer, have thought fit to signifie Our Resolutions with these reasons, willing and requiring the Prelates, Noble men and States, as also the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, and others, &c. to forbear to attend on the said day prefixed, and that the said Convention of Parliament, shall not be esteemed any Session of Parliament. And that we shall be glad to take hold of any good occasion, which we hope shall not be long, to call and assemble a Parliament again.

Westminster, the 6. of January

1621. 19. Jac.

Hereupon the Members become Subjects again, and being vexed at their dissolve, sought their own excuses with scandall of the King. And with that which was prated then, and what our Historian devises now, base and treasonable abuses; The State wisely proclaims warning to any such insolent persons, intending to set a watch upon those of quality; and amongst them who should fall into the offence, but the Earl of Oxford, and therefore was committed to the Tower, and Southampton to the Dean of Westminster, and Sir Edward Hawly, a Confident of Oxfords to the Gate-house, and all of them close Prisoners

Z z z 2

Oxford and
Southampton
committed.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
190, 191, 192.

Anno
1621.

ners, their several crimes were bold and dangerous Speeches against the King and Council, indeed Treasonable enough, if true.

Their Accusers were the Domestiques of the Widow, Lady *Grisby*, a Dame of Pleasure heretofore, but now declined that and turned House-keeper to such like as her self had been. Her *Gay-lant* was one Sir *John Wentworth*, a man of a bold Spirit, and well born, but by ill-Husbandry much decayed in his Estate, the fitter to be wrought upon to betray *Oxford* and *Hawly*; for the most dangerous words, were table talk between them; They were all close imprisoned, and often examined; truly their friends were much afraid, that either their own guilt or the policy of skilful Examiners, of each Prisoner a part, might involve them all, into destruction. *Southampton* was best trusted in that, for he had been versed in questions and answers, under the nocency of *Essex* Treason; but therefore more to blame to whisper against his *Sovereign* now, that restored him in blood and raised him to preferment and honour.

Oxfords faults were accompted frailties, rather distempers of his natural condition, derivative from his Father, both of them debauched, and now this Man (not in malice to the King, but) in a wanton way of ranting, and only envy to *Buckingham*.

Hawly, heretofore a Student *Templer*, discontented with the Court, upon a mean account; a rough West-Country-Blade he was, and being too bold at a Mask in Court, had his Ear-ring torn out in the bussle, by a dogged ill-natured *Scot*, *Maxwell*, an Usher in Office there; who being challenged for the injury, *Hawly* was in hazard to suffer more by seeking his satisfaction this way, and for the present was committed to the *Marshalses*, until it increased muttering amongst the Inns of Court Men; who upon the like occasion sided in this quarrel. The King, that knew how to careffe such Students, sent for *Hawly*, and told him, that he had considered of the Challenge occasioned from *Maxwells* duty to his Service, and therefore now, unwilling to take advantage of his restraint, sets him at liberty, only upon condition, to make good his Challenge, and himself would be second to his Man *Maxwell*; and bids defiance to *Hawly* to go on; if he durst; or else (quoth he) in true affection shake hands with him, and be all friends, and so that quarrel ended, but not *Hawlyes* malice to *Maxwell*.

But in this now, the King full of mercy, made not much of this Treasonable matter, but lodged them all, too long a time for such Spirits; It might be thereby to draw voluntary Confessions, or Petitions for pardon, but then, they all, being so neer a kin in the Crime must not dissent in the design, which was

was to be set free. In fine it was amongst their best Friends thus ordered.

A Noble Lady drest directly *La Mode d' France*, passed as a Stranger unsuspected, to see the Lions and Wardrobe, and such Shews as the Tower affords, accompanied with a Gentleman acquaintance of the Gentleman Jaylors daughter, To whom he (for this occasion) made Court, and so had freedom of her Fathers lodgings. Where, after a Collation, they might be trusted into the neither end of his long Garden, but by no means to advance towards the Chamber window where *Oxford* lodged; who in this time and noise in the Garden, looked out upon them, and had Items by signs from the Gentleman (whom *Oxford* knew) to observe the disguised *French* Wench, and she the liberty to pick *Dazies* any where; and so in a careless guise (unsuspected) and *French* Tone, she sung, as to her self, which *Oxford* observed, all the Design, what was done against them all Prisoners, and what he should do in reference to their liberties.

Such another trick to *Hawly*, taught them two to be even-tongued, and so upon petition were released, on hard conditions untill *Oxford* besought *Buckingham*.

That since his Lordship was pleased to mediate with his Majesty for his freedome, he would procure it free from rubs, and so his obligation the greater, which he promises to pay to his Lordship whilst he lives.

Hen. Oxford.

And to piece with *Buckingham*; *Oxford* descended to be under his *Vice-Admiral* at Sea, and *Hawly* beneath him, a warm Summers business sufficient to warn them for hereafter. *Southampton* likewise upon submission, withdrew from Court into the Country, the wiser way.

These were thus punished; others were more crafty to cover their malice, but least they should do mischief by undermining, were sent of Errands out of the way into *Ireland*, and other where; to regulate disorders there, in which they had been so busily affected at home, some also ambitious, and too much popular, were lured in, and rewarded with Office or honor. Such was Sir *John Savile*, the Knight for *Yorkshire*, made Controuler of the Kings Household and Privy Councelour, and yet paid for all [*Active Spirits*] saies one, indeed corrupted humours, which by several wayes were thus rewarded.

These were men of note; But we are told [*that peoples tongues were set a work*] and takes upon him to chronicle the words, so base, sordid, and trayterous, that no Civil Subject would dare

Anno

1621.

A design for
their Release.

Oxford sup-
plicates *Buc-*
kingham.

Busie bodies
severally hu-
moured.

Hist. Gr. Br. p
190, 191, 192.

to

Anno

1621.

Of Libels.

to repeat of his Sovereign. Nay more, he imprints to memory, the abusive Pastimes, Pasquils, and Plaies set out (as he saies) in Foreign parts by Papists (and at home by *Puritans*) if not of his own making.

I remember well those times, wise mens thoughts were somewhat, and if amiss, fools talked, and amended nothing. Certainly a Princes fame and repute is to countenance them. *Alexander* could say, *Regium est bene facere & Male audire.*

And *Nero* despised that *Pasquil*,

Quis neget Aeneæ Magna de stirpe Neronem?

Sustulit hic Matrem sustulit ille Patrem,

Et quosdam ad Judicem dilatos ad Senatū affici graviore poena prohibuit.

Yet *Queen Elizabeths* cruelty cut off the hands of *Stubs* and *Page* upon a bloody Scaffold, for writing against her marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; she lost much of the peoples love by that spectacle, which scared the Commons into fear, whether she were the right and not uncertain daughter of *H. 8.* but wise men could easily resolve it.

The oft repeated Story of the Merchant *Bindet*, for saying, *He would make his Son heir to the Crown*, meaning his House of that Sign; for which he was quartered within four hours after by *Edward the fourth*; and the Duke of *Buckingham* afterward made use of that Record to the Commons, against the succession of his Race for that Tyranny.

The like of *Collingburn* by *Rich. 3.*

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel the Dog,

Rule all England under the Hog.

How should posterity know their demerits, if rigorous justice had been spared; for to suppress Pasquils were to make men seek them, and being found to prize them. Those of *Fabritius Venito* were condemned to be burnt, and so long were they sought for, but when permitted, they were instantly despised.

Who can silence them? Power cannot suppress Memorials. And it is to be pittied, that Princes are more affected with future fame than their present honesty.

It may not be amiss, to make strickt lawes against *Libellers*, but not for a good Prince to prosecute the rigour. But with wisdom to consider the convoy of such papers, whether *Truths* or *Falsehoods*; if mixed apparances, then to be neglected; if base and flat railing, to be despised.

Anno
1621.

Indeed novel causes of Sedition upon apparent grounds, are to be answered and confuted by reason; so did that wise Statesman Cecil in his answer to calumnies that stroke at the State through his Sides; see before anno 1606. p. 364.

Such as are presented by Supplication for redress of errors, come to be Libells when they are urged with popular subscriptions, or made publique ere they come to the State.

That of Humphrey Earl of Gloucester, against the Cardinal of Winchester, was a Libel. Taxing the King of Dotage about the King of Scots Liberty, the Sale of Crown Jewels, his Charter pardon to the Cardinal for receiving his rents. Setting the Duke of Orleans at Liberty against Englands Friend, the Duke of Burgundy.

This fault was onely questioned, nothing done. *Miseria summa ubi de injuria conqueri, pro delicto habetur.*

Augustus writ to Tiberius, *Noli in hac re indagare, & nimium indignari quenquam esse, qui de me loquatur Male; Satis est enim, si hoc habemus, ne quis Malefacere possit.* And though Tiberius be-headed Cremutius for words only, yet he could say. *In Civitate libera cuiquam quoque liberum esse debere.* Wise Princes may, weak Princes cannot suffer liberty of Judgements, nor indiscretion of Tongues.

But to counsel such Justice, were to assist Domitian to kill Gnats with his Dagger.

In a word, we have found the unhappy event of the late publique punishment upon Burton, Bostwick, and Prinn, Divine, Physitian, and Lawyer. Their crimes then were thought fit in policie to be punished, but were taken up, in after time justified, when the time served the turn, to revenge that punishment.

It was wisely retorted by King James upon himself. A Country Clown told his Companion the London News, The King to marry his Son, to the King of Spains Daughter.

Why, saies his Friend, what of that?

He answered, For so our King will turn Papist.

Nay rather, replied he, Ile cut his throat?

For which he was condemned at the County Assize. But the King heard of his Sentence; and said, By my sale, sal he not need to do that, ere Ile turn Papist, Ile cut my own throat, and gave him pardon.

But debosh spirits, distasting their own Miseries, are alwaies earnest in Novations, and desire a change of fortunes; and if they had power would sooner turn Traytors; such were some of them in this Kings time; by the effects since yon may guess at them then.

We spake of Student Templers, These Houses heretofore had

The Knights
Templers.

Anno
1621.

had been a Covent of *Red-fryars* (for so I find them stiled) and afterwards men of the Sword got the possession, and were called *Knights Templers*, from that of *Jerusalem*, where they heretofore dwelt, and were instituted there by *Baldwine* King of *Jerusalem*, anno 1100. and created by Pope *Gelasius*, anno 1117. continuing two hundred years, untill they were suppressed about *Edward the first* his time, anno 1300. and their Substance of great wealth given to the Knights of the *Rhodes* by Pope *Clement the fifth*.

The *Romans* say, They fell away from *Christianity* to the *Sarazens*, and lode them with inormous Crimes. But, and in truth others say, their destruction grew from siding with the *German* Emperour against the Pope, and these Authors are *Bocatus*, *Villanus*, *Antonius*, and others. Indeed they were Enemies to the sins and corruptions of the Court of *Rome* and *Clergy*. And all Authors conclude, That however sundry of them had been accused of Crimes, yet they indured cruel torments without confession of guilt.

Paulus Amilius stories one of them, *James Burgond*, the principal of that Order, and two others of great Birth, who suffered exquisite tortures and dyed in the flame, innocent Martyrs. And *Plessis* saith, that other Authors report, That two Cardinals being present, Burgond summoned Pope *Clement the fifth*, before the Tribunal of God, to answer that injustice, and that the Pope dyed the same day. Besides the Clause inserted into the Condemnatory Bull, *Quanquam de jure non possumus tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum Ordinem reprobamus*.

But in a word their great wealth, was one Notable bait to the Popes, and the Gulf of other Orders, *Hospitalers*, Knights of the *Rhodes*, and *St. Johns*. All these together smack this Order, and swallowed their Riches at one time; by consent of all the Princes in *Christendome*, where they had their habitations.

Length of Peace necessarily increasing swarms of people, it was politickly permitted to disburthen this land by Foreign Plantations into the vast Continent of *America*, uninhabited (as is before touched in Anno 1614.) and since that time, pursued with above forty sail severally trading to *Virginia*, *New England*, and other parts of that Coast, with transportation to this year of above three thousand five hundred seventy persons (according to a list) in several Colonies and Towns built, for mutual trade with the Natives, being brought with much kindness, so communicable, as to be hired servants into private families. But at last maliciously envying at the *English*, consult with themselves to massacre all at an instant; their intent failing in the whole, they found means to murder three hundred forty

Massacre of
the English
in Virginia.

Anno
1621.

fourty seven persons, being but the eleventh part of the twelve parts of the rest.

The customary practice of the *Indians*, is to disperse themselves into several Colonies, as naturally affecting division, under sundry *Governours Supream*; yet now in policy confederate amity, to work their Design for destruction of all the *English*, through out all Colonies at once, separate and very remote. But their plot necessarily to be divulged in common, not mistrusting discovery from any of their own. Yet it pleased God in mercy to put it into the Mind of an *Indian* servant to one *Pace*, to discover it to him overnight; who first securing his own Habitation, with all possible speed gave warning to each Plantation, by several intelligence, and saved the rest, but in the fury three hundred fourty seven were slain. And since that time the *English* are more wary to guard their houses. And as the best Maxim in policy to separate the conjunct affections of their *Indian* Kings to make themselves the more secure.

It was the *Spanish* policy that got them the two rich Kingdomes of *Peru*, and *Mexico* in *America*, for the two heirs Brothers *Attapalippa* and *Gasco*, quarrelling for the Kingdom, each striving to gain the *Spaniard* to friend, *Francis Pizacro* managing their differences for his own ends, stripped them both of *Peru*.

So did *Ferdinando Cortes* vanquish *Matezumo*, and got *Mexico* by the Neighbour Friendship of the Province of *Tascula*, deadly Enemies; for which service that Province is freed from Tax for ever.

So did the *Romans* advantage overcome *Great Brittain*, as *Tacitus* sayes, *Ita dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur.*

And *Justin* hath the same with the *Grecian Cities*.

And hereupon King *James* furnished these Plantations with ammunition and arms out of his own store-house at the Tower at his charge.

There were likewise shipped unto *Summer Islands* (so named from the first finder and Planter *Sir George Summers*) alias *Burmudoes*, above a thousand persons, and nine Ships to transport them and to trade, who have since so increased that they are forced to fly to the Main for elbow-room, see before anno 1614. page 400.

The King and Parliament asunder, it was resolved with his Councillours to speed *Digby* into *Spain* Extraordinary, to proceed in the Treaty of the Match; *Sir Francis Cottington* Lierger there; from whom *Digby* had knowledge of that Kings Progresse, towards the North of *Spain*, to *Lerma*, a Town in *Biscay*, whether the Duke thereof, a sublime Favourite, had invited the King to his Princely New Pallace; which might save

Digby sent to
Spain to treat
in the Match.

Anno

1621.

Digby the trouble and discommodity of riding many leagues to *Madrid*, to meet there, though it is to be understood by those that know, that the Court and Council, and State of *Spain*, are said to be alwaies residing in *Madrid* in *New Castile*, for receiving Ambassadors, and making dispatches; yet the amity of *Digby* with that Council, hoped now to alter that Custome, in favour of this urgent affair and him. And therefore lands, as the time and weather would afford, the neereſt Port *Saint Andrews* in *Biscay*; there he ſtayes; ſends his Secretary to *Madrid*, to ſignify to *Cottington* his arrival, and reaſon for reſting there, as yet, intimating that if he could ſurprize the King at *Burgos* or *Lerma*, ſo far neerer his return home, might there alſo haſten his diſpatch upon that ſo reaſonable conſideration.

The King in complement told *Cottington*, That he hoped the Ambassadors buſineſs was of more weight than to be taken up in the road, where it became not his Maieſty to return him back to his Maſter without entertainment of the Court of *Spain*.

But *Digby* underſtood this as State formality, and preſſing his own conveniency, was at laſt ordered to have audience at *Lerma*; whereupon *Digby* might ſay, without merit of a ſcoff. [That it was the firſt Preſident of honour to an Engliſh Ambaſſador, and to his perſon a particular favour.]

And ſo he ſets forward to *Burgos*, where *Cottington* meets him, whom he returns back twenty miles to *Lerma*, upon ſerious affair, to prepare ſome of the Council with ſuch intereſts, as were intruſted, beſides his ſealed Commiſſion, reſolving himſelf to follow at the heels, with ſurprize rather than Ceremony. Yet the Kings Coaches came to wait on him neer *Lerma* unto *Villa Manſa*, where he repoſed till the Conde de *Salazera* Maior-Dome, one of the Kings Stewards, the Conde de *Villa Madena*, *Correjo Major*, or Chief Poſt-Maſter, and the Viſcount *Toriza*, accompanied with ſeveral attendants, conducted the Ambaſſadour to Court.

Thus far, and in truth was the paſſages of *Digbyes* Reception, which our Author abuſes with baſe abuſurdities.

Abbot Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, aiming with a Croſs-bow at a Deer in *Bramzel* park, killed his Gamekeeper with the Arrow, for which act having his hand in blood, he is by Common-Law to forfeit all his eſtate, and by the Cannon-Law, irregular, *ipſo facto*, and to be ſuſpended from all Eccleſiaſtical function, until he be reſtored.

This troubled the King what to do; Not to add to his affliction, and to leave *virum Sanguinum* Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, ſounds harſh to the old Councells and Cannons; upon either the Papists would deſcant; and therefore it was referred to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, five Biſhops, the two Chief Juſtices

Hiſt. Gr. Br. p.
193.

Arch-biſhop
Abbot kills
his Keeper.

Anno
1621.

Justices, and two *Civil Lawyers*, who certifie so much; and so he not being received into the full use of the Ministry, himself forebore the Council Table, as he told me in these words, *Since they will have it so, that I am incapable of the one, I shall spare myself the trouble of the other.* But he enjoyed the benefit of that See whilest he lived.

Much displeased he was (I well remember) with the Court and Clergy; for *Doctor Lawd* refused consecration of *St. David* by his hand, being tainted with blood; but the Other was quit with him, for underhand he caused it to be bruited abroad, *That Lawd was by Puritans reputed a Papist in Oxford.* And to justify that his function was not weakned by that Mischance, he procured Commission to inquire, *Whether casual homicide was not excepted in the Cannon?* In which he was satisfied that it was not; and so retired from his Magnificent Structure, his *Alms-house* at *Guilford*, to his Palace at *Lambeth*, where the air of the Court, breathing so neer, and yet at this little distance he not admitted there; he fell upon down right *Puritan Tenents*, which gave occasion to many discontents of our Church and State to visit him, then so frequent, that they called themselves *Nicodemites*, and his Disciples. And I observed very often (perhaps therefore) that the Arch-bishop constantly, with candle-light in his Chamber, and Study, made it midnight at Noon-day.

And here he began to be the first Man of Eminency in Our Church, a Ring-leader of that Faction, for I can name those then, his private Disciples, which lately appear desperate *Profelytes*.

The Tenents of *Arminianism*, which the King feared had infected the Pulpit, with so much heat, that it inflamed each opponent, so that to Suppress the danger of the one, and to regulate the disorder of the other, both offensive to the State, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* had letters to settle their sick brains to this effect.

Ministers ordered in preaching.

The Kings Letter to the Arch-bishop.

Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and intirely beloved Counsellour, we greet you well. That the extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been reformed in the Realm by some Act or Council of State, with the advice of learned Prelates. Insomuch that the very licensing of Preachers, had beginning by Order of Star-chamber the eighth of July 19. H. 8. And that at this present divers young Students, by reading of late writers, and ungrounded Divines, do broach unsound and seditious Doctrines, to the scandal of the Church, and disquiet of the State, and that hum-

Anno
1622.

ble representations have been to the King of these inconveniences by the Arch-bishop, and other Reverend Prelates of the Church, besides his Princely zeal for extirpation of Schism and Dissention, proceeding from those seeds; And for the settling of a Religious and Peaceable Government in Church and Commonwealth, does by these charge and command you, to use all possible care and diligence, that these limitations and cautions herewith sent you, concerning Preachers, be duly observed by Each Bishop in their Jurisdictions to be communicated to each Minister in Cathedral and Parish Churches, of which we expect strickt account. Windsor August 4. 1621.

The Directions sent with the Letter in six Articles.

By 6 Articles

1. That no Preacher under the degree of Bishops or Deans, fall into any set discourse or Common place, which shall not be warranted in Essence, Substance and Effect, or Natural Inference with some one Article of Religion set forth anno one thousand five hundred sixty two, or in some of the Homilies by authority of the Church of England.

2. That none shall preach after noon, on Sundays, or holy days; but on some part of the Catechism, or of the Creed, Decalogue, or the Lords prayer; and to incourage such Preachers as exercise children in their Catechism, which is the most laudable custome of teaching in the Church of England.

3. That no Preacher under the Degree of a Bishop or Dean, do preach the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility of GODS GRACE, but leave these Theams for godly and learned men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of use and application rather then of positive Doctrines, being fitter for the School, then simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher soever shall presume in any Auditory, to declare, limit or bound out, by way of positive doctrine, the Power, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, authority, or duty of Sovereign Princes, or meddle with matters of State, and the differences between Princes, and the people, but rather confine themselves to faith and good life, which are all, the subject of the antient Sermons and Homilies.

5. That no Preacher shall causlessly (without invitation from the Text) fall into bitter invectives, undecent railing Speeches, against the persons of Papists or Puritans, but rather free both the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, from the aspersing of either Adversary.

6. That the Bishops be more wary in the choice and licencing of Preachers. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom (a new body severed from the antient Clergy, as being neither Parson, Vicar, nor Curate) be licensed henceforth in the Court of faculties, but only from a Recommendation of the party, from the Bishop of the Diocess under his hand and Seal, with a Fiat from the Arch-bishop

bishop of Canterbury, a Confirmation under the Great Seal of England.

Anno

1622.

The misbehaviour of the Pulpit.

I well remember these times, the invectives of the Pulpits, which truly the wisdom of State thought fit to suppress. The Non-conformist nestled himself into a *Lecture*, by that means depending onely upon the devotion of the Parish, was that way preferred without the favour of the Bishops. And first insinuating into the women, Wife, Daughter and Maid, infusing at their homes such doctrines as might easily catch their weak palates, and thereupon begat the frequent writing of Notes from their preaching in publick, as it would astonish the indifferent Reader, to meet with their Blasphemies and miserable Nonsense Notes. And truly, those Lectures, wondrously haunted by such people, in after Noon Sermons on working days, with such Stuff as favoured nought but railing against the Papist, or our Church discipline.

The looseness of Servants took liberty almost every day in the week to be eased in their Labour and Callings to pretend devotion in this Ordinance of hearing Lectures in some or other Church, untill their Masters complained of that Custom.

These Articles therefore were seasonably published to regulate the Ministry, and to order the catechising of children and Servants, which Godly and effectual Way of teaching, the King had often hinted heretofore, but could never sufficiently reduce the *Lecturers* to obedience thereto, See Anno 1603. pag. 300.

Catechising again commanded.

What could the care of the King do more, to destroy the seeds of Dissentions? Yet herein how captious Our Author observes.

[That these directions were to be observed with Caution, peaceable comportment, that is (saies he) Papist and Puritan's quiet, being Equilibero, the Papist in the prime scale.]

Hist. Gr. Br. p. 201.

[That the Lecturer is not to be endured, unless he pass the Bryars through all Courts to the Broad Seal (a pingeant Ordial Trial) with his Teste me ipso, and so becomes Orthodox, So that (saies he) the Lecturers are implicitly forbidden, by the inaccessible charge and trouble to come to it.

That the Preachers by an Order of Star-chamber in Heaven were licensed, Ite predicate before any Henry's time, and so bids them learn, least that Spirit (from whom they receive the Spirit) bind not them up.]

And indeavours to perswade [That the Papist did foment the Animosity of the King against Puritans; That Bishop Lawd his Agent, though in Religion he had a Mothy form (and quotes a Priest

Papist and Puritan coupled.

Anno
1622.

Regians and
Republicans,
page 202.

Priest in *Flanders* that told him so) was now become *Buckingham's Confessor*, under the Court Livery, and (assures the Reader) that the King once thought him so; though now he became the bellows to blow the fire for the Papist, to put the King upon all Projects and Monopolies, to sow the seeds of division between Puritan and Protestant (for all were Puritans with the high-grown-Arminian-popish party, that held the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches.

And it is somewhat true as he remembers Us [That the Courtier (Minister, or Lay) they called Regians. who (saies he) swell up Prerogative even to all, that the people had but a bare being, which in mercy was left to them poor Republicans. That more reverence was done by the Clergy to the King than to God. And that the Judges to inslave the people gave sacred and Oraculous Titles of the King as of God.]

But (saies he) the well-affected by writing and discourse sought to warm the Kings cold temper with fresh spirits into his chilled veins in this divided Kingdom. So he.

This stuff smells rank of the Doctor, that refined our dead Historians work, and put it out in print as we have it. Certainly he had heretofore passed the Pikes to be a Preacher, and run through this Ordial-Tryal of his Text-ship; who in those daies might well deserve a Duns-ship, but of late went out Doctor, to arm his Republicans (if any such men are) to be as ar- rant Rebels as himself, in what estate soever they shall chance to be lodged.

A modest de-
fence.

But because the Reader may have better satisfaction of those times, and Ecclesiastical policy then towards the Lay-Recu- sants (for such only was it needful to favour) the King was so Popishly addicted (as our Calumniator would inforce) that to the incredible exhaustion of his Treasure, he most zealously in- treated for refreshment and favour unto all the Protestants in Europe (His Crown and Dominions and Denmark excepted.) The Swedes having lately provoked the Pole, had no other hope of Peace, those of France for the exercise of their Reli- gion, those of the Palatinate, and all the neighbouring Pro- testants, the least conveniency to say their prayers, but by the Kings Mediation, And being advised by the late Assembly of Parliament, into this Milky way of Intercession and treaty a- broad, what a preposterous Argument would it have been to desire those Mighty Princes, crowned and victorious, to grant clemency to them, and for himself to execute poenal Laws a- gainst the Papists.

The English Jesuit in France did design to frustrate this pi- ous indeavour of the King, by writing a most malicious Book to the French King, inciting him and his three Estates to exe- cute their Statutes upon the Hugonotes, as the like (they said) were

Anno
1622.

were here enacted against Catholiques. I would therefore advise with the most subtil States-monger, to chalk out a way for his Majesty to have mediated for grace to the Protestants, by executing at this time the severity of lawes upon the *Papist*. But hat this favour should amount to a Tolleration, is a most dull, and yet a most divilest construction.

A Tolleration looks forward to the future, this favour backward, only to offences past; and the *Lord Keepers* letter to the Judges is so to be understood; whereby if any *Papist* by them should be set at liberty, and should offend the laws again, the Justices may, nay, must recommit him, and leave favour only to the King, to whom only belongeth Mercy.

Nay, more, let these two writs directed to the Judges be perused, by any rash censurors (as they were resolved by grave and learned men; to whom the King committed the penning) and it will appear the *Papists* were no more out of Prison, then with shackles about their heels, sufficient Sureties, and Recognizances, to present themselves at the next Assizes. So they being grasped in the custody of law, or rather imprisoned still, than with any liberty.

And in truth they were by this tender favour, to be reduced into a better behaviour, or otherwise upon tryal, the King was to recall his writ, and leave them to extremity. But if a *Critique* will conclude an *Argument* from the *Devils Topicques*, a *converso ad abstractum*, from a favour to some well-minded *English Catholique*, reasonably to be distinguished from others, what therefore, is the King turned *Roman Papist*, whose wise discourses, learned Writings, pious Exercises, Acts of Parliament, late Directions for catechising, Preaching, and all other professions, hath manifestly declared himself to all the World, an *Orthodox resolved Protestant*.

But the Spirits of wisemen are now satisfied that (those airy Representations of ungrounded fancies set aside) this Island of all the Countreys of *Europe*, was then the sole Nest of Peace, and true Religion, and the inhabitants most unhappy now, that they looked not up to Heaven, to give thanks for those mercies then.

Thus much the King had to do to keep these Men in obedience at home, being intent also upon his honour abroad; And having yet in this time of Treaty, assisted *Holland* in an open way of Men and Money to ballance them with *Spain*, and Recruits dayly sent over; so plentiful, that sale was made of our men, more than they used. The *Spanish Lieger* took exceptions (and that justly) that in time of Confederacy, Treaty, and Union of a Match, such partiality was afforded to the Enemies of *Spain*, and no more interest of Confederacy with
out

Calumnies
against the K.Spanish match
goes on.

Anno
1622.

Hist. Gr. Br. P.
203.

our King, than we with his Master. To balance both the King grants freedom alike to his Subjects to be called by Drum to either service, when it was evident that only one Regiment went away with the *Lord Vaux* to re-inforce the Army in *Flanders*, and seven thousand were carried to *Holland*. Besides, it was intended more policy to the one, then equality to both, to be rid of the Papists, (which he sayes) infected the Kingdome. And whilst the Commissioners on both sides argue the Articles, the Pope no doubt meddled with *Spain*, in the Matters of Religion proposeable on that part.

It was prudence in the King to permit an active Man Mr. *Gage* his own subject, though *Romish* Catholique (for in businesses they are not such Bug-bears) to be at *Rome* to pry into the Popes actions; and did recommend the affair unto the Cardinals *Bardino* and *Lodovico*, as the passages might correspond with disputes and differences in points of opinion, Moral and Divine. But in his letter to the King of *Spain*, disclaims any Treaty with the Pope, or to observe his rules in reference to his Son. Was it not an oversight (tro you) that some better affected Puritan was not put in for an Intelligencer: What mad Work such an one made once at the Popes Altar?

But not to spend Paper to answer such a Cutter of Cumminseed, *Digby* had express commands,

Digby ordered by Letters how to proceed.

Not to waste time with the Spanish Delaies, either for dispensation of the Match from *Rome*, or cessation of Arms in the Palatinate; *Heidelberg* being then besieged, and the English Garrisons blocked up; Of all which the English Ambassadour, Sir *Richard Weston* at *Bruxels*, disputing with the Infanta, had no redress as the Copies of the Dispatches intend; for he was commanded to represent the merits of his Master for sincere proceedings with the Emperour and *Spain*, upon protestation of their Extraordinary respect. However the Palatine had deserved, That the way is now prepared, that the English may have the honour to hold those places which are not in dispute, untill the general accomodation, without more amuze, or further treaty of Cessation, and before the whole Countrey be seized, or our Treaty ended. Refers him to the Dispatches, to be furnished with Arguments of unkindnesses, there notwithstanding the Spanish forces, but leaving the business to discuss with the Emperour and *Bavaria*.

That the Infanta's Answers, with Recrimination altogether Minister jealousy of the Emperour and Spaniard, if he consent not; for if those things be not forthwith remedied, the King of England will recal his Ambassadour from *Bruxells*, as an unkindness, deserving from the Emperour. Not to be interpreted, as to reflect upon the intire affection, between those two Crowns of Us and Austria, being mutually promised, That as the King expects his Son

in Laws dependance on his advise, or to be forsaken, so in the same measure it is just for Spain to decline the Emperour.

And concludes with this honourable Item; To carry things fair, without cause of distrust, if reality be perceived on their part in the Match, wherein the King expects against their dull diligence depending only upon the Dispensation, and in returns of Queries and Objections.

But as the King will not be wearied with patience, so Digby is warned to be wary and watchful in the Overtures of the Pope, as a Postil unto the Articles of Spain (which Gage got, and gave warning of here.) And to admit of no more respite then two Moneths, and no more at all.

That so their resolution will be before Christmass.

Wansted 9. of September 1622.

Thus much to Digby.

But whether Digby pressed these particulars, the Palatinate, was at the brinck or last cast, in Frankendale, now blocked up: The Popes captious capitulations in reference to the Dispensation, obtruding and intruding Novelties, never as yet disputed.

Yet he plainly tells the Spanish Council (the old King lately dead) If these Offers of his Master be not ballanced with the like from theirs, without loss of more time, he is commanded to take leave and return home.

But ill news hath wings; the loss of the English Men, and the Palatines Country, came faster to the King, then could be supposed by Digby, who it seems was loth to leave the employment in suspence, for any other to negotiate; or, by discovering the Spanish deceit, to give end to any absolute breach; for here at home he was somewhat suspected not to deal fairly abroad, which as yet the King was loath to see; And therefore quickens him again, with the particular relations of the losses of the Towns in the Palatinate, Heidleburgh forced, the Garrison put to the Sword, Manheime besieged, and the Infanta not commanding Cessation, wherein she had absolute authority, and that these effects give the King reasons to recal all his Ambassadors.

Weston (now Chancelour of the Exchequer) and the Lord Chichester from Bruxels, having trusted to Treaties, which probably might have secured the remainder of the Palatinate, the English Garrisons being rather maintained in honour to keep footing until the General Accomodation, more in assurance of Friendship by Treaty, then of force by fighting.

And therefore to put the Spaniard to it, he was to demand,

Bbbb

un-

Digby is faulty.

Second Letters peremptory.

Anno
1622.

under hand and seal, either the Rendition of the Town and Castle of *Heidleburgh*, (seventy daies after audience) in condition as when the *Palatine* had it; and the like for *Manheim* and *Franckendale*, if either be taken whilst this Treaty, as also cessation there for the future upon the Articles of Sir *Richard Weston*. The Treaty which the Emperour propounded by Articles in *November* last, to which the King of *Spain* then condescended. If not in all these. Then, that the King of *Spain* join with the *English* for recovery thereof, thus lost upon this Trust; and to permit *English* forces to pass the *Spanish* Territories into *Germany*; and in every particular herein, *Digby* is peremptorily enjoined to be assured under hand and Seal within ten daies after Audience, or else immediately after to take leave and return.

October 3. 1622.

Thus the King fights and treats, not as in love with a match absolute, upon any uneven Terms then, as our mad World would make us believe them now, from whose pens and Pasquils, the Kings mind is pretended to be unmaskt, [*as mean and fearful*] for he being heightned with hopes of powerful assistance from his Parliament and people, the King to satisfie in some measure, the suspicion of the world, and well-minded-men, that he withdrew not his affection from his children for fear of any Enemy, to cosin himself with a *Spanish Cheat*, never meant him in a Match, these proceedings will unmask.

Reign of K.
Charles p 3, 4.

And why to be characterized [*Studious of Peace somewhat over-much*] truly not so for a Christian King, and therefore not to be [*imputed to Pusillanimity*] admitting [*His Son-in-laws extirpation from his Patrimony*] which himself was justly the cause, not the King. Nor is it handsome to say to his dishonour confessed [*That the Austrian Family cojol'd him in delusory chat, with specious falasies*] whilst the Author is pleased to abbreviate that tedious Treaty, and loss of three Towns, and afterwards the whole *Palatinate* into three lines, with this Observation [*That the moiety of the Money spent in Ambassyes would have modelled an to have mastered the Imperious Eagle.*]

And so the short Relation, with unskillful Surgery to cauterize, not truly to characterize the Wisdome of this King, in such difficult designs as were intent, more against him, than against many other Princes his Predecessors.

But these proceedings (I say) will unmask all; for from outward Force, he was left in the lurch, even by his own people that put him forward, and yet having more desperate conditions to work out at home, then was urged abroad; He in this *Dilemma*, bringing all his possibilities to this exigent and ending, sends suddenly after his Pacquet, this *Item* to *Digby*. In Case
of

of Rupture (which the King was to mannage with most advantage) not instantly to return, but privately to advertize hether, to the King himself, and publickly to give out the contrary, that accordingly he might deal with his Parliament, who stood at gaze to entertain the bad effects, not to welcome good fruits of this tedious Treaty.

What ere the King commanded, ten daies expired, and no satisfaction, yet Digby, created Baron 1618. and now by Patent Earl of Bristol, spins on the Treaty, willing to accept of any trifles to animate the King, whom he fed with certain hopes of real intention in Spain, till all was lost indeed; And yet the Articles of marriage handed to and fro, with such copies as each fancy led him to falsifie; of which one inserts them in print (besides sundry others his excellent Authors) *The fabulous French Mercury*, and Mr. Prinns Hear-say (though his ears were cropt) and saies,

[That this onely came from the Neast, kept at this time with scarce a Eeather amiss, and so humbles them to the Readers acceptance, onely to tell us, what pains was taken to little purpose, where no Intention meant performance.]

And this he intends to prove out of the yong King of Spains Letter to the Count Olivares.

The King of Spains advice to Olivares.

That the King his Father at his death declared his intent, never to marry the Infanta with the Prince of Wales, which Don Balthasar, Uncle to Olivares understood, and so treated with intention to delay it. Yet being now so far advanced, he wishe him to direct the Treaty, but in all things to procure the satisfaction of the King of Great Brittain.

Novem. 5. 1622.

It is true that the King writ this Letter to Olivares, and likely enough, that in the first Motions, the State of Spain might heretofore unsettle. But now, that the Treaty had brought their Negotiations to some concernments; therefore Olivares, within three daies after (so suddenly) returns Answer to that King; wherein posterity might apprehend the several true Interests of all, and more cannot be surmized, than that which Olivares himself does herein confess, which it seems escaped out of Mr. Prinns hidden works of Darknes, and thus it follows.

Olivares

Digby made
Earl of Bristol.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
212.

Anno

1622.

Olivares Answer to the King of Spains
Letter.

SIR,

Concerning the Estate, which we find in the Treaty of Mariage between Spain and England, and being well assured how the Ministers understand it, who treated in the time of Philip the third (that is) that their meaning then was, never to effect it, but only by enlarging the Treaties and points of Mariage, thereby to make use of the Friendship of the King of Great Brittain, as well in matters of Germany, as those in Flanders. And suspecting that your Majesty is of the same opinion (although the Demonstrations do not confirm it) and that the Infanta Donna Maria, is resolved to put her self into the Descalcas, when she shall be pressed thereto.

An Order of
Religion, bare
footed.

I have therefore thought fit to present to your Majesty what my zeal hath afforded me; the time most necessary, for your Majesty with your Ministers to resolve what is fit.

The King of Great Brittain, finds himself equally ingaged in two businesses to this Marriage; moved thereto by conveniencies of your Majesties Friendship; in making an Agreement with such Catholiques, that he thinks are secretly in his Kingdom, and so to be assured of them, as likewise the honour in Mariage, with one of the House of Austria, and the best born Lady in the World.

The other is the Restitution of the Palatinate, in which he is yet more engaged; for besides that his Reputation is at stake, there is added the love and interests of his Grand-children, Sons of his only Daughter: which in nature and reason of State are to be preferred, whatsoever conveniencies might follow by dissembling what they suffer.

I dispute not, That that Kings concernments herein are to be Governed with Art and Friendship. He hath used both; but (as precisely, not necessary) I omit it. But, as a Maxim, I hold these two Engagements (to him) are inseparable. And for us, though we make the Marriage, we must fail in the other (most necessary) the restitution of the Palatinate.

Thus much supposed. Having made the Marriage in the form as it is treated, your Majesty and England, will be ingaged in a War against the Emperour and the Catholick League, and so to declare with your Arms. Or declaring for the Emperour and the League, (as certainly you will) you will be forced to a War against England, and yet your Sister married to his Son, with the which all conveniencies whatsoever that were formerly thought upon, will cease.

If your Majesty shall shew your self Newtral, the first will appear
very

Anno
1622.

very scandalous. and with just Reason, since in matters of less opposition than of Catholiques against Heretiques, the Arms of this Crown hath taken part with the Godly against the convenient party. And though at this time the French have taken the part of the Hollanders against us, your piety is such to send your Arms against the Rebels of that Crown of France, leaving all the great considerations of State, only because these men are enemies to the faith of the Church. It will oblige your Majesty to give good occasion to those of the League to make use of France, and other Catholick Princes ill-affected to this Crown, as necessary for them so to do; and these men against their own Religion will sement, and assist the Heretiques for hatred to us; and follow the contrary party only, to leave your Majesty with that blemish that never hath befallen any of your Predecessours.

Besides, the King of England will remain offended and disobliged, seeing neither interests nor helpers do follow; the alliance of this Crown, is likewise the pretext of particular resentment, for having suffered his Daughter and Grandchildren to be ruined in respect hereof.

For the Emperour, though he be well affected and obliged to us, in making the Translation at this time, as business now stands (the Duke of Bavaria being possessed of all the Dominions) and though he would dispose all to our conveniencies, it will not be in his power to do it; as your Majesty may see by the Memorial, the Emperours Ambassadour gave you yesterday who make it certain. Since in that List of the Souldiers, that every one of the League is to pay, Bavaria alone will pay more, all than the rest joined together. Which shews his power and intention not to accommodate matters, but to keep to himself the superiority of all in this broken time; the Emperour is now in the Dyet, and the Translation is to be made in it.

I propose then for this Estate, to conserve the means for a Conference with your Majesties Ministers; for the Difficulty will be to find a Way to make the present Distracted Affairs straight again; which with Lingring, both the Power and the Time will be lost.

The Emperour (as your Majesty knows by his Ambassadors) desires to marry his Daughter with the King of Englands Son, and I doubt not, but he will be likewise glad to marry his second daughter with the Palatines Son.

Then I propound that these two Matches be made, and set on foot presently, giving the King of England full satisfaction in all his propositions, for the more strict Union and Correspondence, that he may agree to it.

And so all the conveniencies of alliance with us, will be as full in this; for it accommodates the matter of the Palatinate, and the Success-

Anno

1622.

Succession of his Grand-children, with his honour, without blood or treasure, together with the interest of the Emperour, the conveniencies of England and the Palatinate, and to reduce the Prince Elector, that was an enemy to the obedience of the Church, by breeding his Sonnes in the Emperours Court in the Catholique doctrine.

To conclude, the business is great the difficulties greater, than perchance have been in any other Case.

I am obliged thus to represent it to your Majesty, and shall further shew what I think fit for disposing of the things, to the great Ministers of State if your Majesty please; being helped with the good zeal of Count Gondomore, and God his blessing therein: so much for his Honour, and your Majesties service.

Madrid Novem. 8. 1622.

Olivares.

Princes journey to Spain.

A wonder to some, why this Bird was not hatcht in our Historians nest, for it was fledged with the rest, and writ (you see) but three daies after for Answer, and might have been nestled in Mr. Prinns Cabal, if either of them had been so honest, as to preserve a truth.

Some reasons besides, which animated King James to proceed, having wasted much time of Tryal by his Ambassadors in Spain, and with theirs here Gondomore, a Man of subtile wit, yet prevailed more with us by the advantage of time and our own distempers, than by the virtue of any worth in him, who having done here, as you have heard, was called home the last year, and Don Juan de Mendoza Marques Inojosa, with Don Carlos de Colonna, sent hither Extraordinary, with whom here passed more narrow overtures in the Match, besides what was acted beyond Seas, with such effects as are before remembered.

And being a mixed business of Love and State, and yet in them the common good and quiet of Christendom involved; standing upon desperate terms, had the more need of desperate Cures: It was therefore resolved here, to intrust it wholly and secretly to the Suitor himself; the Prince with his Confident the then Marques of Buckingham for a journey to Spain.

And the seventeenth of Febr. 1622. disguised with their single Attendants, Lndimion Portor of his Highness Bed-chamber, and Richard Graham, Master of the Marques Horse; meeting Sir Francis Cottington the Princes Secretary at Dover; These only hazard a journey by the way of France, land at Boloign, post to Paris, and had sight of a Mask there, and the

Anno

1622.

the first view of the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, his after Queen and Consort, in anno 1625. From thence in haste, and some difficulty to *Bordeaux*, and after to *Bayon*; the Confines of *France*: and from thence, no sooner gone, but that the Governour *Count Gramont*, had notice by the *Currier* (who carried the advice from hence to the King of *Spain*) that the *Prince of Wales*, was gone thither.

Where he arrived at *Madrid*, fryday the 7. of *March* at eight a clock at Night, in thirteen daies from *Paris*, seven hundred fifty miles, and alighted at *Bristols* house, the Extraordinary Ambassadour, and Sir *Walter Aston* Lieger, intrusted underhand to overlook the others actions, in this particular, being hitherto, suspected of the Prince, to be too much Catholique there. So that this sudden arrival, startled *Bristol*, that was a stranger to the Journey; which met with such success afterwards, as the measure of his Malice did meet out; Together with *Gondamores* regret (on the *Spanish* party) who with all his wisdom, more by estimation then merit, was abused also at home to credit what was commanded to him, who thought nothing more sure then now to be effected.

The next morning the Arrival of *Buckingham* was willingly discovered to *Gondamore*, and so to the *Conde Olivares*, the *Spanish* Favorite, and by him to the young King *Philip*, who gave him leave to visit the Marquess, and Order to be brought to the King in private to whom he delivered King *James* his Letters; and discovered that the *Prince* was come; and therefore with the Ambassadors was returned, *Olivares* with the Kings salutations of honor and welcom. Where it was observed that *Olivares* would not be covered, though the first *Grande* of *Spain*, who are not bare to their own King.

The next Sunday afternoon, though in *Lent*, upon Design for the *Princes* desire to take view of his Mistress, The King, Queen, the *Infanta*, and the *Infantes* (*Don Carlos* and *Don Ferdinando*, his two Brothers) with a great Train of Coaches, took air upon the *Prado*, a publick place of Recreation, where the Prince likewise (disguised) in the Duke of *Ceas* Coach with his *English Train*, made divers turns, and so had sight of the *Infanta*, not refraining though, to salute each other with seemly congies.

The King desired to visit and imbrace the Prince at the Earl of *Bristols* House. But to avoid that disadvantage, the Prince would not be denyed to pass to the King, who therefore appointed half way, where he stayed, and there they met.

The King got out of his Coach first, and imbracing the Prince with wonderful Kindness, made incomparable professions of love and honour.

In

Anno

1622.

In the strict Obligations which the King his Father, and His Highness Himself had cast upon him, by that singular act of Confidence and Favour.

To which the Prince replied,

That he was Royally recompenced by the honor he receives, to be his own Advocate in this His High Design to visit His Majesty and His Princely Sister.

And taking Coach together, He forced the Prince therein first on the right hand. *Bristol* interpreting between them (for the Kings of *Spain* do not descend to give honour to the *French* tongue) and return home by Torch-light.

On *Munday* the Prince was visited by *Olivares*, to let him know, the Kings Publique Devotion unto the Monastery *La Merced*, attended on Horse-back with a glorious Train of which the Prince had sight, and so passed that day in Recreation abroad.

The next day the King sent two *Dukes* to visit the Prince, with this Complement,

That seeing the good service of the *Conde Gondamore* had imprinted such a singular Character in the K. of Great Brittain's affection, to trust so excellent a terasure into *Spain* as his Highness, therefore he could not suffer any Subject of His unadvanced, who had been so graciously accepted in *England*; For which cause he was resolved to make him a Counsellour of State, though he accompted him indeed as an *Englishman*, Nay, rather for that respect, that they might be the more confident of his proceedings, and Privy to the Inmost actions; and the Prince was impowred to establish him therein.

For which *Gondamore* falls down at His Feet, and being by His Highness addressed to the Court was instantly sworn.

Not long after was proclaimed a General Pardon, of all Offences, and all Prisoners within the Continent of *Spain* released; and

General Pardon proclaimed.

and all English Slaves for Pyracry or Mortal Crimes, were set at liberty, and manifested to be done in contemplation of the Prince.

The 16. of March appointed for the Princes Triumphal Entry through *Madrid*. The day before, were presented two *Barb-Gennets* of excellent value, for the Prince to choose, and the other for the King.

The Morning come, four Counsellours of State were sent to attend, and to conduct him to the Monastery, *St. Feronimo*, neer *Madrid*; from whence the Kings of *Spain*, make their solemn Entries of *Coronation*; where he was feasted privately at Dinner by the Kings appointment.

After Noon, was sent by the Prince in giving *Audience* to the *Inquisitor General*, and to all the several bodies of *Counsels* (which continually reside in the Court at *Madrid*) except only the Council of *State*, which never makes visit in *Corps*; the rest did; being of *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Militia*, *Indies*, *Treasury*, and *Exchequer*, &c.

The *Corrigidor* and *Regidores* of *Madrid* (the Governours) had audience likewise.

About four a Clock in the even, comes the King, whom the Prince receives at the Gate, and all things in Order they dispose to be going; They came in Coaches, but now all Mount on Horse-back in Magnificent manner, and riding to the entry of the Liberties of *Madrid*, there attended twenty four of the *Regidores* with a large *Canopy* of *Tyssue*; rich imbossed (being their office to bear it) were apparelled in rich Cloath of *Tyssue*, lined with *Crimson Cloath of Gold*; They both came under the *Canopy*, the Prince alwaies on the right hand; Before them the Courts and Ministers of Justice. Then the *Grandies*, and all the principal Noblemen in excellent Bravery, attended by their Followers in rich Equipage and Liveries (a custom in that Kingdom wherein they have excess.)

Next after the *Canopy*, followed the Marquess *Buckingham*, and the *Conde Olivares*, as Masters of the Horse to them both, with eithers cloath of State; which *Canopy* was presented to *Buckingham*, as a Fee to Him in that Office, and serving for the Prince, in whose honor, that daies action was performed. Then the Earl of *Bristol*, between two of the eldest Counsellours of State, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; Sir *Walter Aston* following them, in like manner accompanied. The rest of the Council of State and Bed-chamber, next after. Then that goodly Guard *de los Archeros*, bravely clad in gallant manner; then numbers of gallant youth followed, being of the glory of that Court and Kingdome.

The windows decked (you may believe) with the painted beauties of the most famous *Donna's*, the Houses outwardly furnish-

Anno

1622.

His entry in
Triumph.

Anno

1622.

The Queen is
visited.

furnished with hangings of *Arras* and *Pictures*; the Streets scaffolded, and here and there in more eminency were raised Temporary buildings, whereon the several bodies of the Councils sate, to see and do reverence, and by the way several *Pageants*, *Representations* of the rare *Comedians* and *Dancers*; and all to give content to that *Royal Pair*, as they passed by untill they came to the *Court-Gate*.

The *Queen*, and *Infanta* were Spectators, but soon retired to the Pallace to receive the visit; the King and Prince embracing, passed up to the Queens Quarter, whom She received at her *Chamber Door*; and conducted him to and under the Cloath of State; they sat on three equal Chairs, the Queen in the midst, the Prince on the Right hand, the King on the Left.

The Room richly furnished, but more, by those excellent beauties, the living Tapistry of *Ladies*, *Noble Mens Children*, called *Menines*.

The Comple-
ment.

Madam (*said the Prince*) the Honour of this Dayes Solemnity is due to your Majesty, which conveys Me hither to kiss your Princely hand.

And so stooped to her Knee.

Sir (*said she*) It is to your Highness, and in such manner as to the Royalty of *Spain*, due and done to your excellent merit.

And so passing half an hours complement in *French*, which is natural to her, she brought them back to Her Chamber-Door.

The King conducting the Prince to his Lodgings, a quarter of the Court, prepared for him with all magnificence. At the entrance, stood the *Infantes* his two Brothers, and so all three conducted the Prince into His Bed chamber. And then the King took the right hand, *Because* (*said he*) *your Highness is now at home*; and so left him to his peculiar attendants, and other Officers of honour, especially *Grandeess* mixt amongst them to wait the Princes pleasure.

Rich Presents
to the Prince.

And within an hour comes the *Conde de Benavente*, as *Mayor Domo* to the Queen, with a present.

A Fair Balon of Massy Gold, born by two Men,

A

Anno

1622.

A Curious imbroidered Night Gown laid double in it. Two great Trunks bound with bands of pure Gold, studded very thick with nails of Gold and Locks and Keys of the same. The Coverings and Linings were of Amber Leather, filled with several Delicacies, curious Linnen, rich Perfumes. A rich fair Desk, full of rarities in each Drawer.

And *Buckingham* was remembred by a Present from the Countess *Olivares*.

Fire works were made, and Torch Triumphs in all Houses, and Windows for three Nights together by Proclamation, with wonderfull acclamations night, and day crying *Vive el Principe de Galles, Vive el Principe, &c.*

And thus settled at his home, attended with all the like Officers as the King, and of the same ranck and quality, with the one half of his Guard with golden Keyes of the Court to dispose to such *English* as the Prince was pleased to intrust. Great Triumphs in preparation, and the principal Nobility in *Aragon* sent for to honour the Court, and for the glory and lustre of the same. the Edict for restraint of all excess in point of apparel was suspended.

Some daies after invited to run at the Ring, in presence of his Mistress, he took it at the first course, with acclamations of joy and honour; The glory of which challenged fate to finish his desires with good success in the *Infanta's* favour. And although some daies had passed with utmost extremities of gallantry, yet saw he not his Mistress, but at those distances; which was excused by *Olivares*, *That the custome of the Nation in Princely Overtures with Infanta's, was not to take view of neerer affections, till the Dispensation from Rome should come to admit them Lovers.* Yet (as a Prince) he had access often in presence of the King (*for privacy is not admitted between Brother and Sister of Royal descent*) yet the Prince at these interviews, spake to her by *Bristol* his Interpreter.

By this time the Court of *Spain*, was changed into *English* Lords, and *Buckingham* created Duke by Patent, carried over by Viscount *Doncaster*, lately made Earl of *Carlile*, and every day brought thither the affluence of fresh Gallants of *English* Nobility, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Viscount *Rochford*, the Lord *Kensington*, *Cacils*, *Herberts*, *Howards*, not a Noble Family that failed to tell posterity what he had seen in *Spain*.

There is one who will have the Prince soundly beset for fair hopes to turn Papist] a scandal not worthy the confutation, for

Triumphant
Fire-Works.

Takes the
Ring in pre-
sence of his
Mistress.

Buckingham
created Duke.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
230.

Anno
1622.

I have heard it discoursed oftentimes afterward, when the Duke, *Kensington*, (after Earl of *Holland*) and *Denbigh* with others avow, to the world that there were never any proposals or designs to alter the Princes Religion; for indeed it was so unlikely that in it self, it might be sufficient reason to hazard his succession. Though I may be easily drawn to believe (and do know some particulars) that the Arts and Engines at *Rome*, were set on work and vainly whetted for that advantage; and that the outward acts of *State* in that Negotiation, might mix secret workings, with circumstance and respects to the *Romish Religion*; and might thereafter through that Expedition amongst free Wits, and *French Gazets*, under divers censures since, not proper for me, in these our last daies, so to dive into as to convince the malice of Libellers, *These our Authors*, Mr. *Prinn*, and the *French Mercury*, and other such stuff.

The Pope
writes to the
Prince.

Tis true too that the Dispensation moulded at *Rome*; induced the *Pope Gregory*, to write to the Prince, not improper so to do; and as handsome for his Highness to afford an Answer; both are in Print and common (such as they are) and of custom may be somewhat corrupted in the truth of what was writ, and by the answer we may understand the other.

The Princes Answer to the Popes Letter.

Most Holy Father,

His Answer

I Received the Dispatch with content, and as the respect and care, wherewith Your Holiness writes, doth require; Being unspeakable the Delight I had to read the generous Exploits of my Noble Predecessors, to whose memory Posterity have not sufficiently given due Elogies of Honour. I believe your Holiness sets their Examples before me for my imitation, and the courage which they had to exalt the Cross, hath not been more than the care which

which I have, that the peace of the Church might be bounded in true Concord, and as the glory of God requires our endeavours to unite.

I do not esteem it greater honour to be descended from such Princes, than to imitate them in true zeal of Piety: in which it assures me much to have known the Mind and Will of *Our Thrice Honoured Lord and Father*, to give concurrence to so laudable a design; for it doth not a little grieve him to see, that great Evil grows from Division of *Princes Christian*, which if this Marriage between the *Infanta of Spain*, and my *Self*, may procure, I shall the rather conclude my happiness therein.

For as I have been far from encouraging *Novelties*, or to be a *Partisan* in any *Factions* against the *Catholique Religion*; so shall I seek occasion to take away suspitions, that I desire but *One Religion*, and *One Faith*, seeing *We* all believe in *One Jesus Christ*: Having resolved in my self to spare nothing, that I have in the *World*, my *Estate* and *Life*, for a thing so pleasing unto God, whom I implore to give your *Holiness* health and happiness.

Charles Stuart.

[A]

Anno

1622.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.

234.

Dispensation:
is come, and
Articles sign-
ed there.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.

236.

and here.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.

238,

239.

240.

[*A fatal Letter (saies one) whether this profession of the Prince did not rest upon him at his death?*] was it such a sin in the Prince to wish and endeavour unity of faith and profession in *Christ Jesus*. But thus he carps at every clause, and descants on each syllable, adding the words *Apostolick Roman*, for *Catholique Religion*, as shews he took time and leasure to leave his Book large, and which inforces my Replies to this bigness of a Bulk.

And now arrives the Dispensation from *Rome*, and there-upon the Articles signed by that King, and Our Prince, were sent over to *England*, for our King and Council to consider. When *Abbot Arch-bishop of Canterbury* (in suspension of his function as you have heard, and not comming to the Council Table) somewhat factious to foment errors of State. Our Author saies [*had the badge of a Puritan clapt upon him*] and undertakes to join with the jealousie of fools [*That hereupon a Toleration must needs follow*] and so as a chief Stickler, having no Office, nor much esteem to hazard undertakes a long Letter to the King, which perhaps was penned to please his Disciples, with copies to publish in print after his decease, we never heard tidings of it till now our last daies, for *Abbot Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England*, was the first Man that signed to the Post-script, which attested those Articles of the marriage, and so did all the Privy Council. If not he: than none at all.

O! [but the good old man is excused, *Being much against his mind, and swore with as little zeal to observe it: such power (saies he) have Kings over Mens consciences*] And I can tell him that there were two other Bishops, *John Bishop of Lincoln*, and *Lancelot Bishop of Winchester*, Men of far greater merit, and high esteem, and everer Conscience, that subsigned with him.

These Articles were concluded with a sumptuous Feast at *White-Hall*, and the *Spanish Ambassadors* invited that day to Dinner; but what to do?

[*That after Dinner they might take a private Oath of the King.*]

For what? [*Marry, in favour of Papists for free exercise of their Religion in all his Dominions, and that the Parliament should confirm that Oath.*]

Tis strange; That the Oath never came to light; but is it lost? Nay, for the Author had the Articles in keeping, but not the Oath.

[*Hereupon (he saies) followed disputes of Religion frequent; Doctor White, and Featly, against Fisher and Sweet, and sets down thirteen points of Popery, which they are not able to prove.*

And

And that presently thereupon a Chamber-floor at *Black-Fryers* fell down flat with the weight of the Auditory three hundred at a *Popish Sermon*, and a hundred killed out-right; besides many maimed; as the immediate hand of God a great Judgement, or an unfortunate Mishap, through their wilful stupidity.]

Abating his numerous Hearers also, there was indeed fifty found dead, and dying. It was in truth a miserable Spectacle for doctrine and use to all. Not as the fall of the Tower of *Shilo* was apprehended, of such as mistook the Justice of God, as peculiar only to those that suffered, but ought to be example to all, to amend their lives also; yet see our Hypocrites charity to himself, and censure of others.

In this while the Articles signed are sent to *Spain*, and some outward preparations here anent the *Infanta's* entertainment, if she should come. A Chappel new built, adjoining to *Saint James*, the place for her Court.

Those Articles returned and signed.

In *Spain* she was wantonly stiled *Princess of England*, and more frequent Meetings, afforded Her Suiter. In an instant Pope *Gregory* dyes, so that the dispensation not made use of as yet, was invalid, and a new License must now refer to *Urban*, that succeeds to the Chair.

Winter quarter was come, the weather foul, unfit to travail and might indanger the Princes Return, by rough Seas, and therefore was invited to stay till after *Christmass*, and so to take his Consort with him.

The Prince, and his Council doubting more delaies; sent word to *England*, for the Kings consent to return speedily, and had accordingly warrant, by the next Expresse, to take leave of *Spain*.

The Prince resolves his return.

This news so sudden startled that State; to have the Sister of so great a Monarch, and the best born in *Europe*, to be left by her Lover; with much regret that they had gone thus far forward, which *Olivares* took upon him to quarrel, and in heat of discourse hereabout, with the Duke urged their sudden resolve of parting to be hastened by him, without the Princes intention.

The two Favorites quarrel.

And Sennor Duca (saies he) you have not done well with us, to represent our affairs to your Master in evil sense.

Buckingham told him, His information came far, but wished the Intelligencer there present.

It cannot be denied (saies Olivares.)

It is false, (saied the Duke.)

The other starts back, in mighty passion, seeks for the Prince and tells him all.

And had this Answer, He might not believe it, without just cause given or (otherwise) much mistaken.

The

Anno
1623.

The *Condies* choler not abated, he finds out an *English Gallant*, Sir George Goring, and in Language of a Challenge complains,

That did not his own sense of suffering come in competition with his Masters honour, the Duke should know the danger of the Ly.

But he was told the others temper;

Whom no threats could ever make afraid: and since your Grace seeks me out for the honour, I shall do your errand and bring the Dukes Answer.

Which was, *That he had the like regret by being a Guest, but had rather to suffer under the power of the others Sword, than to injure truth with consent to a contrary sense.*

But the King made them Friends.

Olivares character.

This great Favourite was named *Gasper de Gusman*, a third Brother, born in *Rome*, and upon the fall of his Predecessour-Favourite, and his Family, the Duke of *Lerma*, under *Philip the third*. This Man crept into esteem with the Prince at that Kings death; he managed all, and was in hasty time created, *Conde-Duke de Olivares*, an excellent Minister of State, with much zeal and passion to aggrandize his Master and His Dominions. So that the excess became his vice, to his loss of the affections of the Princes, Nobility and People; and in time might have turned to the hazard of the whole Monarchy; The revolt of the *Catalonians* first, and the whole Kingdome of *Portugall* following, in anno 1640. The *Islands* and *Indies* after, having been sixty years under the *Spanish Yoke*, with several other considerable plumes, pluckt from the *Eagles* wings; caused this same King *Philip* the fourth, afterwards to turn him off to his solitary home, where of grief he soon dyed.

Buckingham comes away.

The Prince hastens his return, the Duke staid not that time but instantly took leave to attend the *English Navy* at *St. Anderas*, and ere the Prince departed from the King, promises were made each to other, to make *Esponsals* ten daies after the *Arrival of the next Dispensation*. And accordingly a Procuracy was left by the Prince in *Bristols* hands to empower him therein.

The Princes parting Presents.

And to bear the Marks of Magnificence, the King presented his Princely Guest with high and eminent gifts of value, and also to his Train: So did the Prince, if not more to the Court of *Spain*, especially to the *Infanta*, A *Pearl Neck-Lace* of incomparable value, which was returned after the Breach of the Business (Mr. *Prinn* takes the Pains to catalogue these presents not intending it I dare say for the Princes honour in the bounty.) And after this he takes leave.

The Queen and Prince in *French*, wherein she was natural; but *Bristol* took the *Infanta's* in *Spanish*, and turned it into *English*,

lish, which if not changed in the Dialect by his Art, she seemed to deliver up her own heart, in as high expressions, as that language and her learning could (with her honour) set out.

But to put the Prince to his complement, a Notary was present, who in honour of his Highness took it upon Record, the antient custome from the Mighty Empires of the East, the Scribe to lift up his right leg, and rest the heel upon the left Knee, and so writes.

The King accompanied the Prince to the *Escorial* in his way to the Sea, a most Magnificent Structure, the eighth Wonder of the World, and Descriptions come short.

I shall satisfy Curiosity with the Princes accompt thereof, at his return home, when he advised such as would thoroughly be acquainted to take the pains as he did, *To go and see it*. Leaving the Relation to *Coriats* Discription, whose pilgrimage thither, some years ago, was perfected farther upon his Ten-To; for he died about *Ganges* in the *East-Indies*.

After a Feast here; in his way to the water side, a *Stag* was roused, and (as if trained up to the chase) he leads the hunt directly for the Journey, and also (as if by consent falls down in a *Copice*, where at hand, in a full grown wood, they were refreshed with cool air, and a curious Banquet, seeming rather by *Destiny* than *Design*, seeing all accidents agreed in the impossibility of any prefixed plot.

This *Holocaust Sacrifice* concludes their parting, which the very beast express'd in tears.

And truly a Sudden sadnesse and murmur amongst them all.

In which general silence, the Kings complement came breathing out.

Sir (*said he*) Men most eminent are famed by their Adventures, and that your Person might give President to after times, Your Highness hath taken hazard by the hand in comming hither. Such Attempts in high Born Princes are without example; which hath tyed up **Two** in mutual conjunction of Love and Honour, and on my part with exceeding Obligation.

The Prince replied,

Under protection of *Your Sacred Maje-*

D d d d

sty

Anno

1623.

Escorial.

Hunt a Stag
by the way.

Their parting
Complements

Anno

1623.

sty all Difficulties turn to Delight, so great influence flows from You as to bind up My observance to honour Your Person; Espccially in preserving My Memorie with Grace and favour to me, the most devoted to *My Dearest Mistress*.

The pillar of parting.

The Rubrick of the day shews it the twelfth of *September*, Anno 1623. when with imbracings they parted, and a Pillow of Marble forthwith erected there, with inscriptions for perpetual memory; the Princes departure.

And therefore a false scandal on the King to have any Design to stay the Prince [had he not outstript the rest.]

The Prince hastens to the Sea-side, waited on by numbers of the *Spanish*, *Cardinal Zapata*, the *Marquess Aytone*, the *Condies* of *Barajos*, *Montare*, and *Gondamore*, newly created, the height of all his preferments for all his Dissemblings. And *Don Mendoza de Alcarnes*, had commission to the King of *Great Brittain*, and command to wait on the Prince, and so to congratulate his adventurous Journey into *Spain*, and his safe return into *England*.

And from hence into *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy* to make known to all those Princes and Potentates, Allies and Confederates, the neer approaching and consummation of the marriage, and unity of both Nations.

The beauty of Our gallant Navy (for in bigness of bulk theirs exceed) occasioned an invitation of them by the Prince, aboard his Ship, then called the *Prince Royal*.

Danger to be drowned.

The pleasant evening invites the Prince to accompany his Guests in his Barge, back to the Shore; they had day enough, and coolest when latest, the best recreation. Besides, they gave it as a complement to take a Round of the whole Fleet, which took up more time, that had like to have been their last, for they were all almost lost.

It becomes a Story of Princely hazard to tell out the Tale; when the Recovery takes delight from the danger.

The Storm.

The Barge-men have a custom at the Oar to be cheered up by the Boat-swains whistle, to which *One and All*, with courage and force strain their brawny Limbs, untill they crack again, with such a gird, as might seem hazardous to divide the Barge, and pull themselves asunder. This over-wantonly done, with too much daring, put them to want it, when they came to danger. For now the damp fog fixes, and descends to the deeps, the

the Sun in shame fincks down to she Sea; the winds begin to whistle, and ere they apprehend danger, death seems to seize them with several distractions. A monstrous shower of Rain thickned the face of Heaven, so dark as Hell; and yet the Stars were seen, affording but light to discern more dread. The Sea with flames do burn, and yet sad clouds do sink down shores (of tears) as if to quench them: Yon would have thought the waves to heaven had wrought, and heaven to seas had sank, No place for Art or force. The Sea-men inured to Tryals, yet now grow fearful, horror possesses all. No Card or compass aboard; They steered to and fro, doubtful what to do but to drown, and first to pray, which they did; and thereby were directed with wondrous chance to the glimpse of a candle, being the Lanthorn of an outlying ship. Hope helpt the worn-out Rowers to recover their faint hearts, and yet with difficulty, doubling the former danger, it was impossible to clap aboard, so mighty were the billows to bulge the Barge. But up they get, and all safe, for his sake, the Prince of men, and of such a mind above the Power of all (but fortune) Seas or Wind.

And in their company departs Mr. Clark, the Dukes Attendant, sent by the Prince to see the *Spanish* Train safe at home, and to bring back that good News to *England*.

Mr. Clark returns to Madrid.

This complement had more of business, for he carried commands under the Princes hand to *Bristol*, not to deliver the Procuracy left in his charge till further Order from *England*, upon the extremest peril to his person; It seems the Prince was not then over-earnest in the Match.

Bristol bounded with this Restriction, by which he foresaw the fraction, having (by agreement) ten daies limited after the Dispensation, should come, and so time to consider what to do; for *Clark*, having no order to return, with any answer; *Bristols* actions were by him narrowly observed, and advice thereof sent home to the Prince, by whose intelligence, the jealousy upon *Bristol* was heightened to crimes, almost to his after destruction.

Bristol is to forbear the Espousals.

The fifth of *October* lands the Prince at *Portsmouth*, and the next day posts to *London*, with unspeakable Love in the Peoples welcome; and therefore expressed in feasting and Bonfires; with little refreshment, he hasteth to *Royston*, the Kings usual abode, for the air in *Autumn*; who receiving the particular and just accompt of the Devices of *Spain*, and communicated to the Council, it was concluded to acquaint a Parliament with all the proceedings, which was resolved with speed, *February* following.

Prince lands, October 5.

Then Letters were sent to the Earl of *Bristol*, intimating the

A Parliament designed in February following.

Anno
1623.

true sense in the King and his Council, of the *Spanish* Forms and delaies, which the Wisdom of the Prince, by his own presence and conversation discovered most abusive. But to meet in the jussling, and yet to bring theirs to maturity. He was to suspend the Proxie till *Christmass*, though the Dispensation should come, the power mentioned in the Procuration being no longer of force, the Execution after that time would prove invalid; and because the honour of *England* shall be preserved throughout, he was to review his former Instructions concerning the *Restitution of the Palatinate*, and his Son-in-Laws *Electoral Dignity*, and to presse them as inherent with the Marriage.

But all these *Items*, he was to reserve to himself without discovery, untill the *Dispensation* should set those Demands on foot.

Bristol bound up by this Express durst not break out the least limits to discover his own dislike to his Overlookers *Aston* and *Clark*, but in publick set out the Preparations of *England*, in more expensive proportion than those Provisions of *Spain*, for accomplishing so glorious a Marriage; which put the *Spaniard* into a firm opinion how powerfully he had captivated the *English* credulity. That the Ambassadour for *Poland*, then at *Madrid*, Seeing the Corrivall of his Masters Son had got assurance of his Mistress, took leave of his woin, and went home with the Willow Garland.

For now the Dispensation come, Bone-fires, and Bells-jangling, were signals through *Spain* of the mutual joy of Prince, and people.

And few daies after the Marriage was prefixt, with all possible preparations of State and Solemnity; both for the present dependance, and future reference, even to the Ordering of her voyage to *England* in *March* after.

When in the interim fresh commands confirming the former by severall Expresses for failing; *Bristol* opens to King *Philip* his Masters resolutions,

That having with vast expence, and infinite patience, expected the effects of his just desires, with hazard of the Prince his Person, to consummate his part in the Treaty, that nothing might lodge upon the King of *Englands* honour, so highly preserved with all Potentates of *Europe*, and therefore unless the *Restitution of the Palatinate*, and the *Electoral Dignity* were included, the Treaty of Marriage was instantly to take end.

The King troubled to be over-reached, and to see it without remedy fairly answered,

That those Demands were not in his power to effect, the one under the command of the Emperour, the other in possession of the Duke

Bristol hath
Audience.

Duke of Bavaria, and if those could not be reduced with reason, he would with Arms assist the Kings part against them, or others in that behalf.

And not long after, the Spaniard taking it in earnest, and Bristol having no motion to any further address, had order (in honour to the King of Spain) to expect no more audience, nor to send conveyance of any more Letters to the Infanta; and by publick command, none should call her hereafter, Princess of England, as in honor to the Match, they had usually stiled her; and Bristol prepared to return home.

The twelfth of February the Duke of Richmond dyed, that morning being found dead by his Dutches, whom she left slumbering, as she thought somewhat early, when she arose; and therefore forbore his disquiet, until the late hour seemed necessary to call him up to the Parliament; but gently withdrawing the Curtains, he was found dead, without the least Symptomes of any warning to shew distemper in his body. This sudden amazement to all, caused the King instantly to adjourn the meeting till the 19. day after.

Various conceits were rumoured of his hasty end, which according to the peoples fancies, suffered several conjectures some attributing his death to an Apoplexie, to a Surfeit, to Poyson, [which served (saies one) as a forerunner to the King] for he will have him impoisoned also.

The Parliament meet at the day assigned, and the King greets them.

In effect thus.

That to justify himself and willingness with frequency to advise with his people. He urges it by way of Parable in Christ and his Church, so he saies, as Husband to them, his Spouse, the effects of communion with Man and Wife is often visiting each other.

There being two waies of Love in a King and his people, ordinary and particular administration of Justice; and by communicating with his Parliament. For the first, that his Government hath been without error, he cannot say, but does truly avouch it before God, and his Angels, that never King governed with more pure, sincere and uncorrupt heart, from intention and meaning of Error, or imperfection in his Reign.

The other part he imparts as a secret importance to his estate and children; These waies, as they procure love of his People, and of them, he acknowledges the effect, whom the Parliament represents; so he desires, That they would effectually present the Peoples Loves to him, as a true Mirrour, not as a false Glass, otherwise than it should be.

Anno
1623.

Duke of Richmond dies suddenly.

Hist. Gr. Bri. p. 258.

The K. speech in Parliament.

Anno
1623.

In a word, he falls upon the Matter; The match of his Sonne, wherein they cannot but know, his time spent his cost.

His Reasons; Advancement of his Estate and Children, and Peace of Christendome, depending too much upon fair hopes and promises; with the necessary hazard of his Son to prosecute his desires in Spain; and with him Buckingham to wait his Commands, who are returned, not with such effect as was desired; nor altogether without profit. For it took forth a point of Wisdome; Qui verfat in universalibus, &c. is easily deceived, the Generals affording others, ways to evade, and means to avoid effects.

The particulars too many for him to relate, he refers them to the Prince, to Buckingham, and the Secretaries; that so Super totam Materiam, he may receive their Assistance and advice for the good of the Commonwealth, Religion, His Son, and His children of the Palatine.

And for his Estate, it is considerable, as consisting with theirs; And as Res Integra is presented to them, so he professes himself free to follow their best advice.

By Metaphor of good Gardiners, that plant good and pluck up bad, weeds choak their Labours, but jealousies are to be rooted out; for they are of a strange depth.

And cleers himself in the presence of God, of either Remissness in Religion, or maintenance of Toleration; what suspicion might be, was when he connived at some things, which hindred weighty affairs, but never to overthrow or disagree with Our Laws; For a good Horse-man spares the spur, and sometimes suffers the Reigns; so a Wise King (as his age and experience informs) to quicken, and execute Laws, and upon just occasion to be remiss.

And closes with that, which he would have take best impression, as most averse from their faith; their Privileges. He never restrained Lawful Liberties, antiently warrantable, therefore he forewarns them (as Saint Paul did Timothy) to avoid Genealogies and curious Questions, quirks of Law, idle Innovations. And his prayers to God for them, and a happy Conclusion of this Parliament.

Concluding with serious and Christian Protestations before God, That never way-faring Man in the burning Desarts, more desired water to quench his drought, than he thirsted and longed for happy success of this Parliameut. that the good issue of this, may expiate and acquit the fruitless of the former,

A M E N.

This the effect; His occasions were alwaies to speak much; and his excellent abilities to speak well; worthy of print as they are other where *virbatim*; which the bulk of this History craves leave to breviate.

The Lord Keeper, as Speaker to the Peers, whose place there usually

usually adds to the Kings mind and meaning, and excuses himself,

After his Eloquence to be silent; not to enamel a Gold Ring with studs of Iron. And as One saies of Nerva, that having adopted Trajan, he was immediately taken away, Ne post divinum & immortale factum, aliquid Mortale faceret; So he durst not after his Majesty, Divinum & Immortale dictum, Mortale aliquid addere.

Of this one complains, as the temper of those times onely, [Men make themselves Beasts, by making Kings Gods] and advances highly the Spanish and French [not idolizing their Kings with Sacred, Sovereign, Immortal, Oraculous Expressions, but in their Title Sir, tells the business and demands Justice.]

When both houses had well digested the Kings excuses, and given some hopes of their good satisfaction, and so cleerly to go on to business of the time; It was thought fit for the King to perform his promise in reference to further Relation of the Mysteries in the Match.

And therefore after five daies breathing, the Duke of Buckingham, with the Prince, gave particular remonstrance to both Houses of such Transactions (or so many as is necessary) as before remembred, especially those which were mannaged by Sir Richard Weston, with the Arch-dutchess at Bruxels, in reference to the K. of Spain, and both their jugglings, viz.

That thereupon the King sent Porter to Spain, and was abused with hopes to credit Bristol; till Olivares told him plainly, That they meant neither the Match, nor the Restitution of the Palatinate.

Bristol in private, discovers this freedome to Olivares, who incensed with Porter, refuses to speak with him any more. And so Bristol orders his return, with a dispatch and assurance of both Demands; but being of slow performance, the Prince undertakes it himself in Person, where the Spanish deceits, and Bristols connivance, being with some intricacy discovered, by the Prince; He is now returned through all these hazards, to deserve thanks from us all.

The Duke having satisfied the curiosity of a searching Parliament, was highly esteemed as the Preserver of the Nation, contrary to that natural custome of incompatibillity of affections, between the vulgar and the Sovereigns favour, and so he kept it to the Kings last breath (eighteen Moneths after) a long course, calm and smooth prosperity, without any visible ecclipse or variation.

Though an Author seeks to scandal his Memory [And brings Bristol his Accuser hereafter (I know not when) That the Duke carried the Prince purposely into Spain to be better instructed in Popery, and

Anno

1623.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
262.Buckingham's
Declaration
to both Houses.Hist. Gr. Br. p.
264.

Anno
1623.Parliaments
advice.The Kings
Speech.His Necessi-
ties.

and gave hopes of the Princes conversion; and professed himself a Papist, heard Masse, adored their Sacraments, and received a Bull from the Pope to incourage him to pervert both the King and the Prince.]

These imputations so feigned and false, need no confutation but neglect and scorn, though some Articles since seem to say so much.

The Parliament had other opinions then, and thereupon advised the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open Warre against Spain, but in such General terms as gave his Wisdome cause to suspect; and therefore thinks fit to propound such cautions to them, as should advisedly draw to Resolutions, and not leave him in the lurch,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have cause to thank God, that my last Speech takes this effect, that with unanime consent you have so speedily given advice in this Businesse; to break off the Treaties of the Match, and Palatinate.

And now give me leave, as an old King, to propound my doubts and hereafter give me your answer.

It is true, I have been all my life a Peaceable King, my Titles, and Impress Rex Pacificus give me that Honour; and should I now imbroyl my self in War against my Nature, and mine honour, to spill more blood, of which too much had been shed? unless it be by Necessity, *Malum Necessarium*; Besides He tells them, Some hopes of better conditions hath been offered since this sitting. But to take off their Fealousies, that while they advise he rejects. It is therefore left to their consideration, as a matter of weight, that the course may agree with his conscience.

In the case of his Children, he being old, would be glad (as Moses saw the promised Land afar off) if not to see the Restitution, yet to be but assured it shall be, and so to sing, *Nunc Dimittis Domine*.

He hath heretofore said, as now, not to desire a furrow of Land in all his Dominions without Restitution of the Palatinate; but then take the Difficulties of the Case. It is unchristian to advise a King to War by blood which may be had by Peace. And to consider the Requisites anent his Necessities, for he tells them plain, Parliaments have afforded him least helps of any King. His disabilities increased by his Sons journey to Spain, Ambassadors, maintenance of His Children, assisting the Palatinate, his debt to Denmark for the Low Countries, who, if not assisted by him cannot subsist of themselves.

The Princes of Germany that should help, are poor, weak, disheart-

Anno
1624.

heartned, and expect from hence. Ireland as a back-door, must be secured; The Navy though well, must be repaired for securing it self, and the Coasts.

That his children abroad eat no bread but by him. His customs the best part of his Revenue in effect the substance of all are farmed with conditions if war follow, their bargains cease, and Subsidies ask time to bring in, unless he take them up upon credit, and so lose of their value.

In these cases he would be loath to shew his Teeth, and cannot bite. And refers the condition of his own Estate to his Treasurer.

And thus freely he opens his heart; for their Hearts and Help, let them shew the means, and he will do what they direct, referring the dispose of monies to their own Deputies and Treasurers; and upon the offer of their Means, he makes War; he will wave the Prerogative of Kings, of War and Peace, and be advised by them in either for weapons breed peace.

He desires to be in Love with Parliaments to make good Laws, reform abuses and maintain good Government, and so blesses their labours to the end.

Thus far the King.

Here was plainness. He had cause to fear, for he foresaw his own hazard to be left in the lurch. So that to set him forward, without despair, they soeak as they should mean, and not long after give him this Declaration.

They first render thanks to his sacred Majesty for accepting their humble advice, to assist him in a Parliamentary way with their persons and abilities.

And whereas his Majesty was pleased to descend to particular propositions for advance of so great a Business, upon his Majesties Declaration for dissolution and discharge of both Treaties, and for defence of the Realm, the securing Ireland, the assisting the Netherlands, and other his Majesties Friends and Allies, and for the Navy. For these they will grant him three intire Subsidies, and three fifteens, to be paid within a year. The money to be in hands of Committes and Commissioners by them to be expended, as shall be agreed upon this present Session.

The King was well pleased, and tells them,

He is willing to dissolve the Treaties, their Gift being sufficient to begin a War, but when it will end God knowes. That he will ingage his Successor, his Son, for the recovery of the Palatinate, and in his old age will assist in Person, if need be. That as he is pleased the Committes should direct the disposing of the monies, so the Design must not be acted by publick councills, that is, whether two thousand or ten thousand, by Sea or Land, East or West by Diversion or

Eeee

Invasion

Anno
1624.

Council of
War.

Spanish Amb-
bassadour ac-
cuses the
Duke of
Treason.

Co. & Ch. K.
James p 150.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
278.

The Truth of
the Story.

Invasion, upon the Emperour or Bavaria; these be hopes must be left to the King.

Hereupon a Council of War is chosen of some antient Actors in the Militia of *Ireland*, and other Nobility, the Meeting at the *Savoy*, at the Lord *Caries*, President of that Council, who resolve of six thousand to be sent for the present into the *Low Countreys*, to join with their forces, against the *Spanish* under command of *Spinola*, and so have a freer passage into *Germany*, if need were hereafter.

The *Spanish* Ambassadour Marquess of *Inojosa*, much perplexed at the even proceedings between the King and *Parliament*, resolved to put in practice a Jesuite trick upon *Buckingham*, by that means to distemper the Calm proceedings of this State.

We are told the Manner [*That Inojosa sent one Padre Majestre a Spanish Jesuit, a great Statesman, to King James, that he under confession had found the King was by Buckingham, or by his procurement to be killed, but whether by Poison, Pistol, Dagger, &c. he could not tell. Then that the King should say to Buckingham, ah Stenny, Stenny, (a term of favour) wilt thou kill me? the Duke in high passion, being told that Padre Majestre had been with the King, who being questioned by the Duke, Inojosa undertook the quarrel, and told the Duke, he would maintain him the Traytor, &c.*]

Another saies [*That the Ambassadour sent one to the King to let him know, That the Duke of Buckingham had some dangerous Machination on foot, that tended to his Destruction, and the best He could expect would be a Confinement to a Country House in some Park during his life, the Prince being now ripe for Government, &c. and the Author concludes, That such an attempt could not be done without the Princes privity, and yet the King was willing to have the Brat strangled in the Womb; though there was cause to suspect, that the great intimacy and deerness between the Prince, and Duke (like the conjunction of two dreadfull Planets) could not but portend the production of some dangerous effect to the Old King.*]

What horrid infamy is here cast on them both?

But this was the story and the truth, for not a day passed then, but that I was present, and acquainted with all that transaction to the end. It was well known how much it concerned the Ambassadour for his Masters honour to disimprove the value of *Buckingham*, with the King and *Parliament*, and cunningly meant to do it home, and to involve the Prince too in one and the same act.

And therefore aspersed abroad a suspicion (which really also *Inojosa* devised to the Kings ear) *That Buckingham should have plotted*

Anno
1624.

plotted this Parliament to over power the King, which if resisted, then by that authority to confine the King, and to transfer sovereignty upon the Prince.

And thus (*Machevils* rule) lay the scandal high enough, no matter to prove it.

Himself the Brocher, to be free from Examination, being qualified an *Ambassadour*.

A great noise there was (I remember well) more in the peoples resentment than any way considerable at Court. And yet the Duke was not so dull to neglect the means of satisfying Others. Himself and Prince needed not, nor truly did it any way interfere (as it was devised) to startle the King.

And being generally cryed down as a false scandal, the power of all three could not question an *Ambassadour*, though it was scanned at the Council Table, and put to vote in the house too, how to proceed with him: *That the Shield of his Ambassy was too weak to defend him from the Sword of Justice, for then he resolves into a private man.*

The Duke not satisfied, had the opinion of a learned Antiquary, who with much circumstance advised and directed a tedious Ceremony of State to be used therein.

Both Speakers to remonstrate to the Ambassadour the crime, and if he reveal not the Informers, then is he Author Scandali, and so the Houses to petition the King to confine him, and restrain his person till his Master know his offence, and satisfy Justice. If he does not; then is it Transactio Criminis, upon himself, and draws a denounce of War.

But the wisdom of the King would have none of this Geer. Yet the Prince and Duke complained hereof to *Spain*, and a command returned to *Inojosa* to crave forgiveness, which he did; and the Duke in confidence of his own Innocency, suffered it to passe without much more trouble to seek satisfaction in publique: for he would always say, *Lyes are not long liv'd.*

And indeed more he could not have; Examples vary, some *Ambassadours* in like cases have been secured and punished, others freed by privilege; for in the times of the *Scots* Affairs, with *Us* and *France*; frequent Presidents have been used, by *Throgmorton*, *Randolph*, *Tanworth*, and *Bishop Ross*, according to the power of the Princes where they have been committed, as hath been before mentioned.

The Earl of *Bristol*, this while in *Spain*, received command to take leave of that King, and to return; and had intelligence from hence in what hazard he should appear after such Complaints in Parliament against him. And indeed he delayed it so long that it was suspected he would stay there, being so advi-

See before pa.
74.See before an-
no 1571.

Bristols return

Anno
1624.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
272.

Co. & Ch. p.
163.

sed by the King of *Spain*, who gave him assurance of all Civility and kindness in his Court for security, rather than adventure his head at home.

But these branglings here, feigned there to be high Distraction, gave him courage to return [*where no sooner appeared but was clapt up in the Tower (saies one) and the next day set at Liberty, nor durst any bring him to farther Tryal*] He was committed by the Lords in Parliament, and might have lain there longer a Prisoner; but the Duke made means for his release, least it should move jealousies, that it was his design thereby to delay his Tryal; and this to my knowledge, for I acted in his release. He being earnestly pursued by the Duke, and had the Parliament lasted, it might have proved his destruction, who afterwards humbled himself, and gained favour to retire into the Countrey to *Shirbone*, that fatal seat for succeeding Offenders.

But the *Spanish* Ambassadors practice failing, some Lords, set on work a Petition to the King against Papists, as intending it necessary to go on with the compliance of the Publick Affair, now happily proceeding, or to hazard all, and nothing would serve to satisfy these Men, but several Conferences of both Houses, untill they had with consent framed their Propositions, and presented them to the King in two Petitions alike.

We your Majesties most Humble and Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons do in all humility offer unto your Majesty
These two Petitions.

Petition of
both Houses
against Pa-
pists.

That for the more safety of your Realms, and better keeping your Subjects in obedience, and other important reasons of State, your Majesty would be pleased by some such course as you shall think fit to give present Order that all the Laws be put in due execution against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and others, having taken Orders of the See of Rome, and generally against all Popish Recusants; and as for disarming, that it may be done according to the Laws, Acts and Directions of State in that Case.

And least the Jesuits and Priests here, may pretend to be surprised that a day certain may prefix their departure, and neither they nor other to return or come hither, upon peril of severest Penalties of the Lawes now in force. And that no Subjects, receive, entertain or conceal them upon penalties, &c.

Seeing we are thus happily delivered from those Treaties, and
the

the use which your ill-affected Subjects made thereof, and yet we foresee the like hereafter. We therefore are humble Suiters to your Majesty, To secure the hearts of your good Subjects, by your Royal word, That upon no occasion of Marriage or Treaty (or such other Request, from foreign Prince, or State whatsoever) you will slacken the execution of the said Laws against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants.

And humbly pray a gracious Answer.

The King doubting this double Petition, intended as a check to the main business, resolved yet to satisfy them.

That he commends both Houses for their Petition, but wonders at their suspicion, to spur him on to his conscience and duty. That his Religion, Profession and behaviour, his own Books declare; nor will swerve from them, for he that dissembles with God, will be distrusted by Men.

That his heart bleeds at the increase of Popery, as thorns in his eyes and pricks in his sides. He hath alwaies desired to hinder the growth as a Martyr; As in the sense of Isaac, persecuted by Ismael by mocking words, as no King ever suffered more of ill tongues. Yet he hath been far from persecuting, believing that rule, Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiae.

As for the Petition, he grants in substance what they ask, and adds of his own. Their Treaties being annulled their desire is granted, and will declare by Proclamation to banish Jesuits and Priests by a day, but a Proclamation here extends onely to this Kingdom.

He will do more, command his Judges in circuit to put the Laws in Execution against Recusants, as before the Treaties, the Laws being in force, and never dispensed with by him; but as he told them heretofore, as a good Horseman to use sometimes the Reins, not alwaies the spur. He promiseth by Declaration to disarm them; which indeed is done by the Laws. Nay, will disorder the Papists frequenting to Ambassadors Masses; for though he cannot break their privilege, yet the Lord Maior, and Officers may seize them as they come out. And resolves to order the Education of Recusants children, as he hath advised therein with his Bishops and Council.

The second part of the Petition is the best advice in the World, being against the Rule of Wisdome, that Subjects should transgresse a Law by Intercession of a Foreign Prince, and foist in such conditions in such a Treaty; which he will avoid in any whatever.

This his answer so satisfactory as pleased the Parliament.

(Saies Calumny) [He promised much, and performed little.]

Anno
1624.

The Kings
Answer.

The Prince
Marriage with
France, was
settled by the
King.

Medals
Charles

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
275.

See

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And because it was necessary to feel the pulse of that State, *Sir Henry Rich Lord Kensington*, was sent over singly, and at his own time and discretion to mannage the discovery of the *French* affections. and then to present himself, with his credence.

He arrived (in no publique splendour) at *Paris*, on Sunday after Noon, and was informed that the King intended the next morning a journey for five or six daies to *Shantelie* a House of *Memorancies*, and therefore in private *Kensington* gave visit to the Duke of *Chevereux*, who with his Lady, were appareling for instant Actors in the Queens Mask, and within an hower came the Queen Regent and *Madame*, and in an hours view might have this chataeter.

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The Sweeteſt Creature in France, her growth as her age little, her Diſcourſe diſcreet and quick, and had the report of Wiſdom beyond her years, and for additions of grace, ſhe was ſaid to dance and ſing moſt ſweetly, I am ſure ſhe lookt ſo.

My Lord had reaſon to ſuſpect the Queens reſerve towards him, ſhe being *Spaniſh*, and ſo not well pleaſed with the breach of her Siſters match. But ſhe was changed ſo much *French*,
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Madames
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I doubt not, but some counterfeit, or else you might have suspected the wealth of that nation on their backs.

The presence of a Stranger, somewhat publique, presented to each persons cares made most men (acquainted with State) to judge the plot of his Journey, was rather to set an edge upon *Spain*; to cut off delayes, than to cut the throat of that business.

The Kings weakness or indisposition to affairs, gave leave and time to *Queen Mother* to mannage all; who receiving an humble visit by *Kensington* to kiss her hands, she entered discourse of the *Spanish Alliance*.

The Treaty (said he) had suffered many Delaies, and was annulled. Though the *Spanish* Ambassadour there, had given it out to be concluded, on purpose to prevent conjunction with *France* which he suspected, and his design got credit with some persons of power, seeing *Kensington* had no Credentials positive to speak to the purpose. Yet from others, and not the meanest, he apprehended the affections of that State, generally prepared to receive offers of *Amity* and *Alliance*, when the dissolution of the other shall be declared.

France how
affected.

Indeed the *Savoy* Embassadour there said, That the intention of the King of *Spain*, was for a Cross Match with *France* for himself.

But the late abuse upon the *English* in that way, made the *French* wary, and hastily to bite at that bate. Yet the reasons of State were not unequal. Our Design was double, both Marriage and League against *Spain*. And if the *French* should match with *Spain*, and so hold us to hard conditions, they have the safer ground; for they may expect restitution of the *Valto-line*, as we do demand the *Palatinate*, these two being the open quarrels on both parts to ground.

And these doubts were suspected to draw on a tedious Treaty and therefore it was thought fit by the *English* to insist upon the Match, and bring on the League, necessarily to follow, and to

Anno

1624.

See what he did by the sequel. Order was forthwith to inroll the chiefest Recusants, you see he spares none, nor were the Parliament so nice as to leave the best of them out.

The *Earl of Rutland*, *Sir Thomas Compton* (the Dukes two Fathers in Law) the Countess his Mother, *Earl Castlehaven*, the *Lords Herbert, Rivers, Peter, Morly, Windsor, Eure, Wootton, Teinham, Scroop*; and of *Knights, Courtney, Brewdnel, Somerset, Ireland, Stonners, Brown, Howard, Powel, Lacon, Lewkner, Awbery Gage, Shelly, Carvel, Wiseman, Gerrard, Filpot, Russel, Bedingsfield, Wrey, Conwey, Jones, Conyers, Lamplow, Savage, Mosly, Beston, Riddal, Wyrall, Townsend, Norris, Knevet, Tasborough, Selby, Tichburn, Hall, Perkins, Penruddock, Sands*, and divers Esquires and Gentlemen, either by themselves or their Wives.

These men were all at Mercy, and who ever else the Parliament would pick out, with lime and baited Hooks to catch them; for the King not minded to interrupt them (having done his part) withdrew to *New Market* cold air, for his Northern conditions the most healthy.

The Prince increasng in years, and in affection of the People, it was most convenient also to speed him a marriage. The *Treaties* with *Spain* being thus far annulled. Some *Overtures* were hinted from *France*, of their willingness for a Match with *Madam*, the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, the *French Kings* youngest Sister, the two others being preferred to *Spain* and *Savoy*.

And because it was necessary to feel the pulse of that State, *Sir Henry Rich Lord Kensington*, was sent over singly, and at his own time and discretion to mannage the discovery of the *French* affections. and then to present himself, with his credence.

He arrived (in no publique splendour) at *Paris*, on *Sunday* after Noon, and was informed that the King intended the next morning a journey for five or six daies to *Shantelie* a House of *Memorancies*, and therefore in private *Kensington* gave visit to the Duke of *Chevereux*, who with his Lady, were appareling for instant Actors in the *Queens Mask*, and within an hower came the *Queen Regent* and *Madame*, and in an hours view might have this chatacter.

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Anno

1624.

to have reasonable conditions concerning *Catholiques* in *England*.

Indeed the necessity of the *French Affairs*, least *Spain*, that hath begirt them, should in time swallow them up, was like to make this Match easie enough for the *English*; the alarm being fresh in Court, from the *Spaniards* raising a fort upon the ruin, to command the Town of *Liege*.

Queen Mother, suspecting that *Kensingtons* errand was in earnest, by degrees, gave him encouragement to speak plain though it was his part to plead and wo too, without any signal.

The Duke of *Chevereux* and *Le Grand*, of credit and power both, were the men this Design most affected. *Kensington* bore the Princes Picture tackt to his Breast, limm'd in little in a Case of set Diamonds, which the Queen would offer to open, as to shew the Ladies, which they would as often desire, to please her Majesty, who (me thought) did love to look on it, She wishing that some good occasion might make them meet, and she might see him like himself. But because *Madam* could not in modesty or honor get a glance of his shadow, she in private delt with a *Madamoselle*, that had some interest in one of the Lords Family, to borrow the Picture, and so in secret to gaze her fill, where in much hast she opened the Picture, and discovered her passions, her blushes not concealing her inward affections to his person, which she prized by praising his Picture in presence of him that saw her.

Two mouths calmed the way unto the Mother, she and *Le Grand* advised to move the King, if this business were fitted to the full.

But *Kensington* declined, as not to deliver the King his Masters inclination, unless he might receive the return, answerable to a due respect and value of the Proposition. Of which being assured, he took his opportunity to withdraw the K. towards the window, and told him,

That his journey to France was singly his own inclination to honour and serve him, and therein to discover how the Prince of Wales would be free and disingaged from the Spanish Treaty, not finding them to his expectation in such particulars as principally should invite a Conjunction. And therefore the Duke of Buckingham had exercised his interest with the King and Prince to convert those thoughts towards his Majesty, from whom it was perswaded, nothing but truth and honour would be returned, as an advantage to both Nations; And believed that if the King would shew a disposition inclineable, the effects would soon confirm the end of his comming, free from other Designs, than what he now expressed.

The King (often uncovered) said,

He

He had not heard, that the Match with Spain, was as yet broke, the just cause for him to be reserved. But assured him in general, That any propositions from the King of Great Britain should be heartily received.

This was short, for his Imperfection of extream stammering by nature, made him usually speak very little, whose affection (if one might Guess by his courtesy) would have said more, as most of the Ministers of that State did, And that nothing to them was more equal than Amity and Alliance with England.

This entrance encouraged Kensington to discover himself and letters of Credence to the King, and so was qualified to treat further.

And to increase more than Jealousies in the young Count Soissons, who had some hopes of pretensions towards Madame, but now discouraged, and the more upon discourse of the Cardinal Rochfalcourt with his Mother, to take off all expectation, That in this Conjunction of Affairs, the King would no doubt prefer his Sister into England, with advantage of his Dignity, and her Honour, and (though he loved the Count) he would counsel his Master to the contrary with him.

Soissons encountring Kensington, had his salute due to his rank, a great Peer of the Blood, who disdainfully turned aside, and so a second time; in presence of Grandmont, he told it to the Marquess de la valesse, a Confident of the Counts, who conveys it to Soissons, and was answered, That he affords no better Countenance to Kensington whom he hates not, but his errand, which he resented so ill, as were it not the behalf of so great a Prince, he had a heart to cut Kensingtons throat; And so retires out of Town.

This boldness of him, to aver Corrival with our Prince, and abuse of his Minister, made Kensington begin the quarrel with a Challenge, which the Count accepts, but the former passages were so narrowly observed, with the publick interest and honour of that State, so neerly concerned, that the Count was secured, and Kensington seized into several Courtships, as made it not possible to try the Combate, but were both made Friends by the King.

The Treaty on foot, and the Match mannaged most by the Constable, Monsieur de Vieuxville, who after some disgusts upon the peoples interest, was for that secured from their rage by a seeming imprisonment, and after rewarded by publique preferment, being the Queen Mothers Instrument also, to enter her neerer Favourite Cardinal Richlieu her Confessor, and great Confident, and now introduced him also into the Cabinet Council, composed of the Queen Mother, the Cardinals Rochfalcourt and Richlieu, the Constable, and the Guard de Seaux.

F f f f

To

Anno

1624.

His Resentment.

Count Soissons a Pretender to Madame,

Encounters a quarrel with Kensington.

Cabinet juncto.

Anne

1624.

The Earl of
Carlisle comes
over Commis-
sioner, and
treat.

To assist *Kensington*, comes over *Carlisle*, with joint Commis-
sion to ballance the *French* Council.

The first difficulty likely to be insisted upon was *Religion*, wherein they were told the course that King *James* might be driven unto, to banish *Jesuits* and *Priests*, and quicken the Laws against other *Catholicks*, in necessity of reducing them within the bounds of obedience, correspondent to the expectation of *Parliament* now sitting; for without them this work of weight could not proceed, which with much altercation was at last resented as reason, upon hope of Moderation hereafter, which was all they pretended unto.

And that the Grace thereof might the rather flow from the mediation of that State (so much stood upon by *Spain*) to save their honours therein, who otherwise would be held *Hereticks*.

And their good inclination forthwith appeared in the publick Treatment of the Ambassadors, for some time, at the Kings charge; which so heightned them thereafter, that their Expence so Magnificently profuse, was never matched by any.

Many subtilties lengthened the Treaty, the *French* following the former way of the *Spanish* delay, from their several *Overtures* to cross ours; and ministred an excuse, Of unseasonable concluding in this conjuncture of time, when such great changes are apt to beget jealousies from neighbour States.

And this was cunningly fomented by the *Spanish* Ambassador, who vaunted, That there is not a greater change in *La Vieuxville* his preferment (who governed all) as there is in the General affections, which follow the stream of his greatness and credit.

Casting in the Kings mind the Seeds of doubt; whereto *Olivares* in *Spain* did contribute his *Rodimentado* to *Bristol*, not yet come home,

That if the Pope should grant a Dispensation for France, his Master would march to Rome, and sack it.

However, *Kensington* (who was more interessed to press the Princes affection, than his Colleague *Carlisle*) had leave to make Address unto *Madame*, at some distance, yet neerer than before, with such commands as the Prince had intrusted to him, which *Queen Mother* would know.

No (saies the Baron) that were in example to the like prejudice, which the Spaniard put upon the Prince.

She replied, The Case is different, there he was in person, here but by Deputy.

But yet such a Deputy (saies *Kensington*) that represents his Person.

Mais

Mais pour tout celas, (dit elle) qu'est ce, que vous direz? Rien (dit ille) qui ne soit digne, des oreilles d'une si vertueuse Princesse. Mais qu'est ce? said she.

Why, if your Majesty will needs know, it will be much to this effect, and so in a way of freedom, exprest it thus,

That your Majesty hath afforded me liberty of free Discourse, presenting his Highness service, not by complement, but by passions of affections; which both her outward and inward Beauties, the virtues of her Mind hath so inlightened his resolve, as to contribute his utmost to her alliance, as the greatest happiness here upon Earth, if the Success might minister occasion to manifest his Devotion in adoring her.

And going on.

Aller aller (said she) il ny a point de danger en tout cela, je me fie en vous, se me fie.

But I dare say, he said more to Madame, who drank down the joy, and with a low courtesie acknowledged it to the Prince adding her extream obligation to his Highness in the happiness of meriting such eminent place in his good graces.

Then turns he to the old Ones that guard her, Ladies, saies he, Since the Queen grants me these freedoms, It would not ill become your Ladyships to speak and do suitable; Letting them know that the Prince had Madames Picture in the Cabinet of his heart as well as in his hand, and so fed his Eyes and Soul with sight, and contemplation until he should be blessed with her person.

This serving as a second Courtship to Her self, who no doubt took up each syllable as it fell from him; and such success followed, that Carlile had the Garter of Saint George sent him, and the Baron converted to an Earl and called Holland.

The Princess appearing more in publique, Her Court and Train enlarged, and though our Embassadors had to do with harsh and subtile Clergy, and the rest, resolute Statists, yet so reasonable were the conditions on both sides, as that the Articles were received by King James, not long before his death, but not sworn unto (as some do say that he did) and worse would make us believe [That Carliles coming was to delay the Treaty in hope of renewing that with Spain.]

A scandal devised to make the King odious, and the Prince inconstant; for the copied Articles of several Transactions, and the original Dispatches are to be produced in answer to all.

And thus was the business managed abroad until she came over to be Queen of England.

These were times of Tryal at home, Inquisition upon all Mens actions, the King being willing to expose his greatest Ministers, who escaped not the censure.

Anno
1624.

L. Treasurer
Cranfield
questioned in
Parliament.

The Lord Treasurer Cranfield is questioned for mismanaging the Exchequer. I find him of no mean Family in Gloucestershire, as by their Cote Arms in the Heraulds Office, Or, on a pale azure three flower de luces of the first. He was brother to Sir Randolph Cranfield, who inherited their Fathers possession there and in other Counties of good value. This Man was bred a Merchant in London, and by his extraordinary qualities and blessings of God upon his endeavours, in that laudable way of Adventure, besides his understanding in the affairs of the customes, became useful to the State.

And first had the honour of Knighthood, Master of the Requests, then made Master of the Kings Wardrobe, afterwards Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Privy Counsellour, Baron Cranfield, and lastly succeeded Suffolk in the place of Treasurer, and in that time created Earl of Middlesex, 1622.

And in all these Offices of trust I never knew him then, nor can find sithence any suspition, unless in that of the Treasury [the Ground whereof is hinted to us by our Pamphlet, but in truth in this he hath but scummed the pot to cleer the broth. For who more fit for the reasons of a necessitated Exchequer than this man of experience, in stating the Accompts for the Revenues of the State, which I know he improved, and not unlikely thereby purchased envy for his eminency therein.

And to say truth, according to the duty of his place, he did endeavour to husband the same to piece out the expence, which the necessities of the Kings affairs had heightned (as himself told the Parliament) and the Princes journey into Spain, had wonderfully and unnecessarily exhausted, as by the printed accompt thereof lately devulged by Parliament doth appear.

Then which no better evidence can be produced to acquit the Treasurer together, with what the Pamphlet publishes as a supposed crime in him [his refusal to supply the Princes expence and Buckingham's folly and prodigality.]

And this he did deny, as the duty of his Office required, and which he well understood, as being of Council, and acted as a Counsellor to my knowledge in that undertaking, and indeed being then the Statesman at the Council Table.

But his refusal of supplying Buckingham upon that score only, wrought him no doubt, at his return home the Treasurers deadly Enemy. And whom he opposed [A small accusation might serve the turn to turn out of all] as he did him; and yet to the honour of his Memory, though they raked into all his actions, and racked all Mens discoveries to the height of information, the eminency of his place, exposing him unto much observing and opening the way to all kind of complaints (as they did) examining nothing upon oath (as they never do) yet that there

Co. & ch. p.
166.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
278.
Mr. Prin, &c.

Anno
1624.

there should be no more matter gleaned: And where there are such boltings, there was expected a great deal more Bran. Yet the power of *Buckingham* could never produce any crime against his exact Accompts in that boundless trust of the tempting Treasury. And in spite of Malice (he was envied also) though they divested him of that office, yet he lived long after in peace and honour, and dyed since these last times of enquiry, 1650. leaving to his heir, his honour untaint, enabling them to bear up the character of their Fathers merit.

We are told [*That the Duke got Chelsey house out of him for his part of his fine.*] what shift the Author makes to patch up his Stories with falsities, when to my Knowledge that Seat was in treaty to be sold to another, and the Duke wanting a House neer hand to retire for a Nursery to his children, (his *Duchess* teeming) that other party, concluded for the bargain, and to him the Duke paid the money, valuable to the utmost penny.

And the like Tale he tells [*That the Lady Finch corrupted him with Copthall, a Noble Seat in Essex, to procure her to be Viscountess of Maidstone.*] when the talk of the Town was, he had so dear a bargain as occasioned the saying, *That it was cheap enough to him, being bought with the Kings Money*, there needs much dung to stop a wide mouthed Oven.

Cranfield indeed was in this Kings life, the last of that Office, and the meanest of birth, lately altered from the Trust of Nobly-born persons. The Treasury of antient Spring-tides was of late sunck into neap-ebbs of *Revenue*, and enforced a necessity of providence in collecting, and judgement and practice in disposing: Neither of these could be found by experience suitable to our latern Lord like-breeding, ignorant and careless.

Yet in honour to the Office, the King raised other Men to Titles for countenance against the outward beseechings of the Mad-headed multitude of Suiters, as it happened to his Successor *Lee*, by the rudeness of the Sea men, and all to little to support a Treasurer without prejudice of publique esteem, even with the best Suiters by unhandsom treaties, between their necessities, and an empty *Exchequer*.

Besides, succession inherited the obloquies of former Predecessours, which happened frequent in this, and other places of Trust; not out of inconstancy in the Kings affections to his Ministers (the misreport of his wisdom) but to make Tryal of the chiefeft Mistress of Instruction, to meet with the best.

And in such a change or remove he left them not unrewarded being never well himself, till his Servants were wealthy, least being cripled in hit life, they might want an Hospital after his death.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
279.

The late Treasurers more useful than others better born.

Anno

1624.

death. A mischief not seldom; much like a Lords well-managed Horie for his own saddle, comes often; afterwards to the Hackney-Coach, nay, and sometimes dyes in drawing a *Dung-Cart*.

He knew Men, and had them to his Mind or made them so; able capacity not bare measure; rather with surplusage equal to the business he employed them.

Yet he had easy natures neer his person too, because more manageable, than abler men, in such matters where their hands were more useful than their brains.

But say some, the King raised men to preferment of honour and dignity, whose birth and Gentry were extinguished by being Apprentices.

Hence they start their Opinion, *That it is a kind of Bondage;*

I deny to be either vera Servitus, or omnino Servitus, the Contract is but Civil Permutatio or Exchange. The obligation is mutual, Master and Man; only Freemen can make contracts, and Challenge the benefit.

The Oath of a Freemans admission is, To take no Prentice but freeborn, no Bondmans son.

It were madness to imagine that Jacob served his Uncle Laban seven years in the honourable contract for a Worthy Wife, and for an Estate to maintain her, to be therefore a Bondman.

By which example in Scripture, it is undeniable, That Servire to serve, is laudable for good and honest purposes; but our Apprentice does but deservire, obey, and his Master does docere, teach him his Trade; and of late the Apprentice comes commonly more like a Wife with a large portion to his Master.

Indeed Erasmus Roterodamus his Etymology makes of our Apprentices to be pares emptitii, as with the Romans, but they differ. Servus with them, was of Servando, saving, not of Servi-endo, of serving.

Our Apprentice comes of Apprenti, the French Word; a Raw Souldier, or to learn, or of the Latine apprehendo.

So then Sir Tho. Smiths Repub. Angl. does them injury, terming them Bondslaves.

Bondmens bodies, were vested in the Lord interminable, but only by Manumission, and that by the Will of the Lord, without any condition in behalf of the slave.

Servus with the Romans, Nullum caput habuit, and were reputed, civiliter mortui: servi pro nullis habiti.

There was a voluntary bondage, de jure gentium as by the Romans, a Man might sell himself, ad participandum pretium. And also de jure divino positivo, So the Hebrews Bondmen. Yet they had not jus in corpus, they could not violate her chastity.

By

Digression.
Apprentishipp
is no bondage

By our Law only two sorts of Bondmen, villains in gross, and villains regardant to a Mannor.

A Master in London hath not despoticum imperium over his Apprentice, but only quasi curaturam, a Teacher, ut Pater, non Tyrannus, immoderate Correction looses his Apprentice, who is by Statute to be free from him, 5. Eliz.

But of late our City discipline, had more need to be reduced to antient severity, than to be abduced from it.

The final Cause of every Ordination quallifies the course; and determines the Means and action, tending to it, though abstracting from that consideration, the work wrought in the proper nature be servile; as for a Souldier to dig, or carry earth to a Rampire, a Student to be bare, or a Novice to do servile Offices, and so an Apprentice to do, does not extinguish Gentry, and what ever he does, as not sui juris, yet he does nothing Servile, but propter finem nobilem, to God, Country and Calling.

But Apprentices are so far from being bondmen, that then they begin habere caput, to be aliqui, and by degrees to be free, then of the Livery, and by after degrees become Wardens, Masters, Common Council, Aldermens Deputies, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Lord Maiors.

And by further merit, Counsellours to the King, and Lord Treasurers of England, and so if it be rashness to cast a scorn upon a renowned Corporation unjustly, let it be iniquity to lay it upon London, which in the Empire of Great Brittain, amongst their other Cities,

Velut inter ignes

Luna Minores.

And though the Schools and Camp are most proper for Honour and Arms, yet the antient wisdom and bounty of Sovereigns, left the Gates of honour open to City Arts, and honest gain, as fundamentals to common-wealths, by example of rising Rome under her first Dictators and Consuls. By which they avoided Tyrannical appropriation of Gentry, to some certain old families, as in Germany, and the Confusion of allowing hereditary Nobleness or Gentry to none at all, as in Turkey, &c.

And with us Cotes of Arms, and Title of Gentlemen being the most familiar part of Honour, Our Adversaries would overturn, and tax our policies in that point, which being once gotten and given by Merit or Favour, cannot be lost or extinguished.

No man in England looseth his right to bearing Arms, or Title of Gentleman, unless attainted in Law.

Jura Sanguinum nullo jure civili devinci possunt.

Anno

1624.

Not to be aliened to another, no more than to pass away any habit or quality of the Mind, Virtue or Learning.

Queen Elizabeth was descended lineally from Sir Godfrey Bullen, Lord Maior of London, by Queen Anne Bullen her Mother.

Sir Martin Calthrope, her Kinsman also, and Lord Maior of London.

Citizens of London have been called Barons, Hen. 3. Londinenses, Quos propter Civitatis Dignitatem & civium antiquitatem Barones consuevimus appellare.

London sends Knights and Citizens to the Parliament, not Burgeses.

And sundry of our Sovereigns have daigned to be of their Freedome.

But the opinion of bondage, and extinguishing birth-right of Gentry, hath filled England with more Vices, and sacrificed more bodies to odious ends, and more souls to sinful life, than perhaps any other uncivil opinion whatsoever. Holding it better to rob than to labour, though they dayly see, that out of Our Apprenticeships rise such Ministers of Justice, as sit upon Malefactors, when they (a shame and sorrow to their Kindred) undergo a fortune too unworthy the basest of Bondmen. May not his Sons fall into the same fate, by the Fathers prejudicate opinion? So much in honour of truth, not interest.

Cruelty of the
Dutch in
Amboyna.

The *Hollanders* in these times rich and proud at home, increased so mighty in power also in the *East Indies*, that by insensible Incroachments at first, they went on to quarrel particular rights and interests in several places there, for sole trading from the *English*.

And complaint being sent hither by the Governours of our Factories there. A Treaty was demanded by the King, and accordingly Commissioners appointed to dispute their differences in London 1613. The next Treaty was at the *Hague*, 1615. The last was at London 1619. And by *Amnesty* then, a Solemn Composition of all differences, and Orders were concluded for the future between us and them. And in regard of their bloodshed and vast expence, in reducing the Trade of the *Islands*, *Molucca*, *Banda* and *Amboyna* from the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and their buildings and Forts; therefore the *Hollanders* should enjoy two thirds, and the *English* the other third; and the charge of the Forts to be levied by Taxes and Impositions upon the Merchandize, and so were settled in those places.

The Island of *Amboyna* lies neer *Seran*, about forty Leagues in compass, and hath relation to other Factories, the chief Town called

called also as the Island Amboyna, the Rendezvous for the gathering and buying of Cloves, the chief Commodity; the smaller Factories are Hitto, Larica, Loho, and Cambello. The Hollanders Forts there are four, strong and well manned, with two hundred Dutch Souldiers, and a Company of free Burgers, four hundred Mardikers, or free Natives, so called. And here the English lived in the Town, and under protection of the Castle in an House of their own.

During two years the Dutch very cunningly wasted too much upon their Fortifications and Garrisons, and yet drew their Account so chargeable to the English, that instead of the third part, they contributed two thirds, and their complaints were examined by the Counsel of Defence of both Nations, residing in Jaccatra in the Island Java Major, and they disagreeing, the differences, were to be sent home to be decided herein by both Companies, or by the King and their States, according to an Article, 1619.

But disputes breed delay here, and increased jealousies there, and in February One thousand six hundred and twenty two, A Japoner Souldier discoursing with a Dutch Centinel of the Strength of the Castle, was suspected and tortured, and confessed sundry of his Countrey-men contrivers with him of surprizing the Castle, who were also tortured, and one Price, an Englishman and Prisoner with them, who also accused others of the Factories, Captain Towerfon, Tomson, Beomont, Collins, Webber, Ramsey, Johnson, Farde, and Brown; and these being sent for, from the other factories with horrid Tortures either in truth, or for pain of Torment, some of them confessed,

That two Japoners should have gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Governours chamber door, and when the Mutiny or Alarm should cause the Governour to come out, the two Japoners to kill him for the reward of 1000 Royals a peece.

Towerfon was tortured and confessed, That he swore all the English at Amboyna, to be secret to his plot, with the Japoners, to surprize the Castle, and to kill the Dutch; to this effect divers were accused, condemned and suffered Death, viz. 10. English, 9. Japoners, and 1 Portugal.

The manner of the torture was thus:

First, they hoised the Examinant up by the hands with a Cord on a large door, fastning him upon two Staples of Iron on the Top, as wide as the arms could stretch; his feet hung to the ground stretched out at length and wideness, fastned beneath the Door. Then they wrapt a cloath about his Neck and face so close that no water could go by.

That done, powring the water leasurely upon his head, and filling the Cloth up to his Mouth and Nostrils that he could not draw breath, but

Anno
1625.

must withall suck in the Water, and so continued till it forced his inward parts to come out of his Nose, Eyes and Ears, stifling and choaking him into a Swound or fainting, but being taken down, they make him vomit out the Water, and so somewhat recovered, they torture him again four or five times; his body Swoln three times bigger, his cheeks like Bladders, his eyes staring out beyond his browes; yet still Colson denyed their accusation; then they burn him under his Paps, arm-holes, elbowes, hands and feet, till the fat dropt out their Torches, lodged him in a Dungeon, his flesh putrified, Maggots ingendred to an horrid and loathsome condition, till at the eight daies end they were executed, in March 1623.

At which instant a sudden Darknes and tempest, two of their Dutch Ships were forced from Anchor in their safe harbour, and almost perished.

One Dunckin their Accuser, stumbled at their Grave (all buried in a Pit) fell stark Mad, and dyed so within three Dayes after.

A sickness followed at Amboyna of 1000 Dutch, where 30 dyed, not usual in that space.

And in time the Relation is sent into England, by the next return of the Ships, which appeared so horrid, that a Defence thereof was imprinted and sent hither out of Holland. And Sir Dudley Digs undertakes for our East Indie Company to publish the truth and answer that Pamphlet; and the Governour of Amboyna, leaving his Command, was forced by fowl weather upon our Coast his Ships seized on, and his person brought to give an accompt hereof before our Admiralty; Some Assistants Delegates appointed Judges; but then the Examinations and Confessions under their hands, comming hither, before any returned on the part of the English viva voce, to confute them.

And (though suspected yet) for the present set aside, till further confirmation. In the meantime the Description of the English in their severall tortures, was lively put in draft and painting; so horrid as that the King and Council, thought fit to burn it, least the monstrous appearance should incense the English to a National Quarrel.

So great force and resemblance hath that Art with Nature that the effects thereof fell upon Towersons Widow, who at sight of the Picture fell down in a Swound, with hazard then in that Trance, to follow her Husband, which the often Relation before, did not so much astonish.

The disparity of a Poetical pen, with the powerful art of painting, may thereby be distinguished.

But to return to the Design of the Parliament, which went
on

on (in their manner) for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, by War, and as the King feared to imbroyl him in the businesse with pittiful effects, which themselves meant to mannage. And now they provide four brave Regiments under commands of the Earls of *Oxford*, *Southampton*, *Essex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, elected by the Parliament, who afforded (forsooth) favour to the King to present them their Officers most *Scots*. But indeed for number of Men, fifteen hundred in a Regiment, and well armed they were compleat, the King hastening these away, and with them, wished (no doubt) more of their mind, that sent them, for these were discontents, and transported into *Hollvnd*, to join with the States *Army* intentionally to divert *Spinola*, who was in arms for the King of *Spain*. The *English* no sooner landed, and quartered into Garrisons, hardly drilled to obedience, were suddenly called out to Service, for *Spinola* was in the Field, fitted for Enterprize, lay hovering in *Brabant*, sends Count *John Nassaw*, of the House of *Orange*, (but alwaies faithful to his Sovereign) with a flying *Army* towards *Cleve*, and after him Marches the Prince of *Orange* up the *Moze*, first to *Ginnegen* to the Rendevoise, where his *Army* mustered twenty five thousand; thence to *Mastrick* in deadly fear of a Siege, and so to the Town of *Cleve*, lately taken in by the Connt. which was now soon rendred to *Maurice*, and he was watch all this way by the other. In this time *Spinola* with freedome to choose his Design, began with *Spade* and *Pick ax*, and fell to digging about *Breda*, the twenty sixth of *August* 1624. and had earthed suddenly so large and deep as *Maurice*, the craftier Fox that way, yet knew not how to unlodge him, but returns down the River to *Guitrudenburgh*, and incamped at *Mede*, some houres journey from *Breda*; and there besieges the Besiegers. The wonder of which was so famous then, as deserves particular Remembrance now.

This Barony and Town of *Breda* with eighteen Villages belonged to the Dukes of *Brabant*, and fell to the Family of *Nassaw*, by a Wives Dowry 1404. and so remained for one hundred sixty three years, till by revolt of *William* of *Nassaw*, the Duke d'Alva possesst it for the King of *Spain*, 1567. from whom Count *Holloch* took it for *Nassaw* 1577. and from them surprized 1581. and then again regained by Stratagem in a *Turfbote*, where lay hid seventy Souldiers (like the *Gracians* in the *Trojan* horse) and wan it for *Nassaw*, 1590. who held it to this Siege.

It is scituated in the uttermost part of *Brabant*, adjoining *Holland*, pleasant, strong and wealthy, most convenient for either Nation.

Anno

1624.

Parliament
design for war
and raise four
Regiments.

Land in Hol-
land, and join
with the P. of
Orange a-
gainst Spino-
la.

Who besieges
Breda.

Maurice en-
camps at Mede

Breda some-
time the D.
of Brabant.

Pleasant sci-
tuation.

Anno
1624.

Arch-duchess
Governess of
Flanders.

The condition
& strength
of Breda.

Justin Nassaw
Governor.

The siege be-
gins 26. Aug.

The territory about by Sea-tides or inundation of waters, may be made unaccessable. And therefore the Prince about two years before, had with some additions and fortifications made it invinceable, against all but hunger, and with much delight called it his *Tempe*.

The Arch Duchesse *Isabella, Infanta* of *Spain*, and dowager of Prince *Albert*, now Governesse in *Flanders* under the King of *Spain*, gives Commission to *Spinola*, Lieutenant General of the *Spanish* Forces, who in *July* 1624. departs from *Bruxels*, with an Army of eighteen thousand, divided into three parts, the more to distract the *Dutch*, who in some doubt, re-inforces *Breda*, with twenty foot Companies, and dismist three Troops for better freedom of Forrage. Two Rivers run through the Town, a Tower three hundred sixty two foot high, fit to discover a far off; the houses twelve hundred.

The form of *Breda* seems three square, but that the Castle bears out with several Fortifications of *Bulwarks* and *Bridges*, and an *Armory* of double ditches a mile in compass, makes another side; and so beautiful with *Galleries*, *Pillars*, *Walks*, and *Gardens*, that it seems to excell the strength. The Town Walls are all of *Turf*, with a continued row of *Oaks*, and at three Corners, are three several Ports, and the Castle Port, fourteen *Bulwarks*. with Artillery upon the Walls, and several Windmills. Two Platforms raised, whose Artillery played afar off; beneath these, two lesser *Bulwarks*, to which there is a passage under ground, the Ditch one hundred and fifty foot broad in some places, and in other seventy foot. In the Ditch fourteen *Ravelins* triangle, and the River encompasseth all; five great Outworks, secure the Counterscarfs, being cast up before the four Ports of the Town and Castle, the longest curtain of the Town, cut round with Ditches thirty foot broad; the level sides of these works, are 210 foot long, one hundred and fifty foot broad; and the largest of them before the Castle, is two hundred forty paces long. Other fortifications, strengthen this outwork, and with such excellent order, are all disposed most admirable.

Justin Nassaw base brother to Prince *Maurice* was now Governour, *Artsen Lord Wermont* made *Drossart*, to dispose the victual and restrain mutinies; Town Collonel and of the Council: it was reinforced with eight companies, eighteen hundred Townsmen of Arms, excellent sufficient provision of all sorts, and each Townsman furnished himself with Corn for a twelve Moneth.

In one night the two sides of this Town was beseiged, *Don de Medina*, a *Spaniard* took up the village of *Gineken*, and *Paul Balli-*

Anno

1624.

Ballion an *Italian*, with some Strangers, and *Arguile* with *Scots*, settled at *Terheyde* a village opposite; and at Noon, came *Spinola* with his whole Army. This first day intercepting 12. Boats carrying provision to *Breda*; an Omen of success to regain many Boats, what was lost by One. Then was fortified *Titeringen*, and *Hage*, two other Villages, opposites on the other side.

Each quarter intrenched with Earth, eight foot high, and a eleven foot thick, and a Ditch about all seven foot deep, and bottomed, but four foot broad; above water 10. foot broad. Then from those quarters began their first inclosure, to beguirt the Town, with a continued Trench, containing three thousand six hundred paces; the inward Trench against the Town was distant from the outward two hundred paces. In which space, they passed from quarter to quarter, being in compass 5 hours going. The Trenches five foot high and seven foot thick, at the bottom, on the outside a ditch, sunk six foot deep, and seven foot broad, on the top of the water, Forts and Redoubts belonging to these Works, seventy.

And thus with four quarters, like four Armies, this excellent service was designed and perfected by *Don Jo. de Medices*, Marquess of *St. Angelo*, in eighteen daies.

Spinola's provision came far, from *Antwerp* to *Mechlin*, four hours and a halfs journey (as they reckon their distances) thence to *Lime* three hours to *Herentals* four hours; to *Turnhout* four more, to *Hogstrought* three and a half, in all, above twenty hours journey to his Quarters, much about, when in truth *Antwerp* lyes but ten hours direct from *Breda*, but *P. Maurice* at home had his with ease and plenty.

The first Sally out of the Town, with much loss was repulsed by *Count Isenbergh*; this ill beginning made them less hearty to hazard often sallies; which would have been troublesome to the Besiegers to fortifie and fight; yet so busie they were, with their own works as kept them in health, all old Souldiers, inured to hardship. But *Maurice* had many new men without, with more idleness, which brought sickness and infection to all.

The Town of *Breda*, industrious with singular defence, the *Burgers* and Souldiers firmly united. Every man by Oath lends his store of money to the States; all the Officers did so too; whose good example brought one hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, which paid the Souldier, and for their Works, and their coin was cryed up.

About the end of *September*, the Prince of *Poland* came from home, through the fame of this siege to see it; conducted from *Bruxels* into *Spinola's* Camp; and entertained with three Vollies of Artillery, and small Shot, Drums and Trumpets; which

Provisions
from several
places.

Sally out of
the Town, &
ill success.

Prince of Po-
land comes to
Spinola.

Anno

1624.

which at first put us in doubt in Prince *Maurice* quarters, that the Enemy was in storm, but the Town felt some of those Bullets with little hurt; and the next Morning the besieged bestowed as many on *Spinola's* Troops, conducting the *Poland* to see the works, whose opinion was, *That the Dice were cast between two Matchless Generalls, and their Reputations were at take.*

Eight *French Nobles*, unwilling to be cooped up, adventured to quit the Town, and to get through the Enemies Camp, but were taken, and either to go to *France*, or be returned in to *Breda*, they in honour accepted the later.

The Prince of *Orange*, with his Army in this time, being come down by water and land to *Gytrudenberg*, and so incamps at *Mede*, a village three hours journey from *Breda*, and there besieges the Besiegers, without any attempt upon *Spinola* (though at this time weak, and his horse absent to convey back the *Poland*) who therefore with seven thousand foot, and thirty Troops of horse, marches out of his Trenches to meet *Maurice* neer *Ousterholt* within three miles of his Camp, and got possession of that place before him, the very mischief to *Breda*, for betwixt *Titrengen* and *Terheyde*, lay vast, void places, dry land and standing waters, by which Waggon and flat Boats, might relieve *Breda* with victual; so much advantage is expedition, though but some hours; and here he raises a great Fort, levels the ground and dares the Prince to Battail.

Who not accustomed to *Ostentation*, but military circumspection, made more use of fore-cast than force, and gave his Enemy time, to raise five Forts more, separate, to keep all passage.

It hath been usual, with Armies in Camp, to allow of *Combates* single, or equal numbers, with their Enemies. And now one *Briante*, a *French Gallant*, weary of looking on, that came to fight, besought the Princes leave to send a challenge to young *Grobendouck*, the Son of his Fathers murtherer (as he stiled him) who slew him, long since, at such a meeting; *Grobendouck* accepts; but *Spinola*, giving much value to the Man, secured his person, and denyed the challenge. *Bryante* the more fiery, by being refused; tacks about to be revenged on any; and by his Trumpet, summons *Count John Nassaw*, single, or with numbers. He indeed without dread of any Mans daring, and above the quality of asking leave, accepts the challenge, and three more, the next Morning, at a fair distance, between the Camps. His seconds were Captain *Steenhins*, and two horse Lieutenants. *Bryante* and his *Comrades*, furious *Frenchmen* (we need not name them, they would be disguised) advance forward

Spinola takes
in Ouster-
holt.

Combating
between each
Camp.

Bryante a-
gainst Count
John of Nas-
saw.

Anno

1625.

ward, and at a convenient distance, a half Troop of Horse, behind the Combatants to see fair play; and a hundred further off, lookers on.

In like manner came on *Count John*, who upon the carrier, passes *Bryante*, and discharges so close upon a *Frenchman*, that the Pistol flame fired his Shoulder, but had received before the others Bullet in the brow of his Saddle, indangering the *Counts Codpiece*, for it pierced through, and grazed his flank; angry *Bryante*, having lost his aim, wheels short on any, and cries out, *Charge Moy! charge Moy! be what thou darest, I am Bryante, revenger of my Fathers blood*; and as fate would fixes upon him who indeed was *Lieutenant* to *Grobendouck*, that for his *Captains* cause chose the quarrel, and both spurr'd, *Bryante* fires, too far off, and mist his deadly aim; the other came closer, and clapt his bullet through *Bryantes* belly, who dying, catcht hold of the others Saddle pommel, but sank down to the ground. Thus was it the fortune of father and Son, to be the cause of eithers ruin.

Bryante killed

Steenhius was hurt, and another killed. But *Bryante* his deadly case, the cause of all, gave occasion to withdraw the Combate, whether by consent I cannot say, but as my eyes conceived at a distance, though the *Spanish* say, the *Dutch* came in to part them. Indeed *Count John* retired, unwilling to engage Forces, which drew up on both sides, and therefore the *Count* made hast away, and was out-rid by one of his own, at getting the start, the hilt of whose Sword, (pressing close) caught hold of the *Counts* bridle, and snapt it out of his hand, and therein the others Sword so fast intangled, that it drew out of the Scabbard, prickt the horse and scared the Rider, but astonishment to the Beast to be ill used, and yet his reins so loose, made him suddenly to leave pransing, pause and stop, for the *Count* to recover all.

Steenhius hurt.

All retire.

At this encounter *Count Maurice* was Spectator, and I believe *Spinola*; but not so publick, either of them as to be well guarded, for I am sure the Prince put his dapple Nag to a dangerous leap, and ever after was displeased with this Duelling, that might have endangered eithers Army.

Yet one *Bouteville*, such another *Beaufeseau* as *Bryante*, with five more, set upon the Baron of *Beauvoix*, of like Number, and forced them into a Grove, within their Guard.

Bouteville against Beauvoix.

Bouteville boasting what he was, advanced alone, and challenged any one, confiding more in his own valor, than his secret *Goslet* (for indeed he was daring enough, though by chance he had it under his Coat) but he was bidden begon, with a Musket ball in his Breech, which made him let fall his Pistol and retire with raging pain. This was he that had fought as the

French

Anno
1624.

French say, twenty Duels, and therein killed a dozen, and was now hunting counter for an Enemy in *Holland*, who was fled from *France*, and to beard *Bouteville*, had worn a slip of his *Mistresses Riband*. He killed him here, and afterwards returns home again, fought so frequent in *France*, that at last for a desperate Duel, in the midst of the *Pallace Royal*, and the death of his adversary, with much ado had his head taken off by the Hangman.

These were all the Recreations the resty Gallants used to imploy their Spirits, whilst the Camps faced each other, at gaze only, and in truth it became the Pastime of the Centuries, *Perdues*, and *Out-guards*, oftentimes a dozen, or more, horse or foot, went a birding (as the *English* termed it) to meet with booties, or broken Pates; not a day past, but some hot spirit advanced from the Guards, and dared the Enemy at these duellings, and one or other kist the ground.

Design to surprize the Castle of Antwerp.

Prince Maurice, not idle of designing, set on foot an Enterprize, better than *Breda*, which had been in his deliberation from the first time of the Siege, to surprize the Castle of *Antwerp*, and to that end all our *Out-guards* at *Bergen-op-zome*, *Rosendale*, and *Mede*, kept strict watch for this Secret, that so *Spinnola's* Camp little dreamt of it. The *Stratagem* committed to a *Dutchmans Command*, one *Brouchen*, *Drossart* of *Bergen*, and Captain of a *Horse Troop*, that for the assurance and ease of it, the honor might not fall upon any other Nation. Out of all quarters, he pickt out a thousand foot, and two hundred Horse, *Dutch*, with Waggon and Engines suitable. The Souldiers out of either Guards, amuzed to march to several places, untill at distance gotten out together, they had order to alter the *Orange Colours* into the *Red Scarf*, and *Colours* of *Spain*, and their *Waggon Canvas* marked with the *Burgundian Cross*, to pass unsuspected of the *Pesant*; and (if demanded) to answer, they marched to *Antwerp* for Provisions, whether indeed the Enemy had designed such an errand, and at dead and a dark night, they arrived neer the Castle, forthwith seizing *Out-guards*, pulling down three or four stakes of the *Pallasado* for a passage, and already gotten upon the Bridge; the Wind so assisting as carried away all noise of the Waggon, neys of the Horses, or clattering of Arms; and so having let down their Boats into the Ditch, fastening their scaling Ladders, making ready their *Pinsers*, *Hammers*, *Leavers*, and *Engines*, to break *Baracadoes* and to lift Ports off their Hinges. And thus as silent as might, yet coming too near, an *Old Souldier Centinel*, one *Andrea Cea*, a *Spaniard*, he listened to an unusual murmuring noise, and like a tryed Blade discharged his Musquet, which alarmed *Juan Bravo*, the *Spanish Governour* and Guard, who got to the walls, and

and the *Dutch* to their Heels, left all their Instruments and Engines, evidences what they ment to do.

In our Camp at *Mede*, we had a flying report of the good successe of some excellent Enterprize; which no doubt our General himself, too much assured of good effects, had revealed. But when it was blasted and better known, the Prince to excuse his Countrey-men, complained only of their quick Spirits, confidence, and too much hast in the execution. It was my chance to be there when *Brouchen* came in to yield up the accompt of his miscarriage; and with him an *English* excellent Engeneer, one *David Collet*, who over a sip or two of *Brandwine*, protested to me that he by Boat and wading was got up on the Bridge-end, and fixed his *Pittard* upon the Castle-Gate, that the *Century* called (indeed) *qui-va-la*, as but suspecting, for after a good while silence, he seemed satisfied, when (said he) the cowardly *Dutch* scared at his voice only, left the Enterprize, and ran away, leaving him to wade and swim back again in cold weather, with a hundred shot, by guess, about his ears, for then the *Century* discharged his Piece, and not before.

Another such design afterwards committed to the charge of *Statenbrunk* Governour of *Grave*, which intruth, failed by the hand of heaven; the monstrous showers of Rain, moistened their powder pans, made their Muskets unserviceable, and some fires upon the Walls of the Castle, gave suspicion of Discovery, and so they retired in Confusion.

Then we endeavoured to relieve *Breda* by Boats, flat bottomed, strong and able to brook the tyde ebbs, and Danger of *Sands* or *Shelves*, armed with six Cannon of Brass, with *Iron* and *Fire Balls*, laden with Corn shut up in Pots, with *Cheese*, *Bacon*, *Lard*, &c. and filled with choise Musqueteers. They of the Town, forewarned of the time, furnished fourteen Boats also, six of them armed with six pieces of Artillery and Fireballs; the other six with three hundred Musqueteers. These should drive with the Ebb upon the Boats of Provision; and six hundred men by land should sally out neer the River side; *Spinola* by quick intelligence fortifies the Black causey, crosse the drowned *Meadows*, over flowing twice in twelve hours, and so by passage to the Town; and after the ebb to wade through on foot. The wind was at first very favourable for the Boats, to bring them out, but suddenly quite contrary, and so languishing for a change, our provisions taking wet and purloyned by the Souldier, the whole Enterprize was frustrated.

Anoaher Design of *Maurice* was, to draw neer unto *Spinola's* quarters, by dispossessing the Enemy of *Ousterholt Steeple*,
H h h h kept

Anno

1624.

Misreport of it
at the Camp.

A second Design.

Enterprize by
Boats to relieve
Breda.*Spinola's* prevention.Design to
draw neer *Spinola*.

Anno

1625.

kept by twenty two of their men for discovery, back by an Horse Troop. The *Dutch* with a Pittard blew up the Steeple, and retired; the fire ascends to the place of their Powder, which with great difficulty they removed, and flung away; and with stones from above (their best weapons) killed some below, but the poor *Spaniards* above burnt to death, except three or four escaping with wonderful hazard, scrambling down without the Steeple, and horridly scorched, with honourable scars, under their black patches all their lives after.

And (another Design, not the least) so they set fire on *Ginne-gen* Church, where *Spinola* had six thousand Sacks of Meal, with a Granary of *Oats*, and much other Magazine provision, which put the Enemy to the inconvenience of Recruit.

These and such like were endeavours to have done more.

After thirty daies encamp at *Mede*, the Prince very pensive and sad, fires his quarters, leaving the place to the Enemy, and warily retreats in two divisions, Himself and *Count Ernest* to *Rosendale*, from whence he retires home to the *Hague*, never appearing in publick to his death, not long after. His Brother *Henry* with the other division fortifies *Sprang*; some hopes were surviving if cold weather, and want of provision to inforce *Spinola*.

And besides the good hap of *Count Mansfield* was come out of *Germany* into the Skirts of *Brabant*, with his roving Regiments, and scattered troops of the Duke of *Brunswick*, both beaten out of *Germany* by *Tilly* and *Cordona*. And these men (God knowes) more like Travellers than Fighters, were rather rumored than numbred to be ten thousand, in truth not six thousand, without Arms, Money or Provision, and as outrageous, where relieved which unwillingly was every where, to berid of such Guests; necessity inforced them into those ways, which hath taught that practice of late daies to the Duke of *Lorain*. But in fine they having no means nor maintenance their Men forsook their Masters, and *Mansfield* and *Brunswick* became Courtiers at *Hague*.

And thus at leasure the *Count* was invited by Projectors in *England*, and promises out of *France*, slender enough on all sides to seek an Army to seize the Palatinate; and imbarquing at *Zealand* in the depth of Winter and foul weather, split upon the Sands at his setting out, but himself and some Followers escaped in the long boat; got aboard of a Pinck, and came safe to *England*, the Ship, Captain and Seamen swallowed in the Sea.

He was carested here by hearsay of his Honourable fame, and shortly a Press for twelve thousand foot; His Horse were conditioned from *France* and *Germany* (as he said) whither his Design

Design was to journey. And six fresh Regiments soon raised by young Collonels, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Doncaster*, (son to *Carlisle*) the Lord *Cromwel*, Sir *Charles Rich*, Sir *John Burrows*, (late Governour of *Frankendale*) and Collonel *Grey*, an old *Scotch* Commander, a tuff tryed old Buff-blade.

The Earl of *Lincoln* for more honour, had a Troop of horse, and to accompany him, Mr. *Gunter*, an active Horseman, and professed Rider raised the other Troop, and of him a Writer is much offended [*as if none could command Horse* (quoth he) *but such as can make them curvet in a Riding house.*] belike he meant to prefer *Lincolns* Lordship of greater ability, who truly till that time, had never bestrid a mannaged horse, nor durst for fear of falling.

And in *February* they mustered in *Kent*, attending for shipping and readiness of his *French Horse*, to receive him at *Calais*, but lying here over long, the raw Souldiers not well disciplined, that Marshal law could not keep them in aw, and at last shipped for *Calais*, one hundred and twenty Sayl, lay there hovering to have leave to land, the *French Horse* not being ready, nor that State willing to hazard such raw and unruly men through their Countrey, that were so ill tutored at home, and so upon likelier hopes, were forced to sail for *Zealand*, and for the former reasons, anchored at *Ramekins*, till the States could better consider what to do with them, rather wanting provisions than men; and weighing anchor, up they sail to *Guitrudenberg*, but not permitted to set them ashore, pestered on Shipboard with small provision, and such as putrified, stench begat pestilence, and to be rid of general infection, the sick were flung overboard, ere half dead; nay some of them floated to shore, and lived long time after. And at last of their whole number, there landed not six thousand, and those well aired, were mingled with the other *English*, serving to recruit their weakned Regiments. Yet the very noise of this new Army put *Spinola* to procure great succours from the *Arch-Duchess*, till he was 38000 horse and foot, and wrought another outward Trench about his former works of fifty two thousand paces, much larger than the other, which before was but three thousand six hundred paces.

Indeed after ages may make it too monstrous to be true; for *Cæsars* at *Durace*, was but fifteen thousand, and *Pompeys* but nine thousand paces. This Trench was ten foot high, and fifteen foot thick at the bottom, and six at the top, rising five foot high; the ditch seven foot deep about it, and fifteen foot broad, and again each several quarter, with new Trenches. In all a very labyrinth of Trench and fortification, expecting to be forced. Thus far was subtle *Spinola* deceived with fears of foreign

Anno

1624.

With six Regiments and two Troops.

Hist. Gr. Br. p. 283.

Spinola procures fresh Forces,

and makes double larger Trenches.

Anno

1625.

Mansfeld desires passage to the Palatinate.

Breda's holy day.

P. Maurice dies, Apr. 1625

P. Henry Generalissimo.

E. of Oxford's Enterprize upon Terheida.

forces to join with the Prince. And Mansfeild, (to amuze the more) took upon him to write to the Arch-ducchess) To permit him leave to pass (towards the Palatinate as he pretended) and to victual his supposed Army) through the Spanish Provinces as (to comply with the King of England his Masters commands) he must of necessity pass unto.

But he had no answer.

On the sudden at Sprang (the Dutch Quarters) we heard three several volleys of shot, great and small, from Breda; but the English, strangers to the design, were told that it was the Holyday Triumph, the Anniversary fourth day of March of the surprize of Breda from the Spaniard by the Turfeboat 1590. which was now done saies Herman Hugo this year very solemn, more like the funeral than the birth, as being their last day.

When yet (though lost a little while after) it was regained by the Dutch in anno 1654. and remains to the States this day,

The next Moneth gives up the Audit of Prince Maurice, who died at the Hague, full of years and honourable fame, in April 1625. and his Brother Prince Henry gon thither to solemnize his Obsequies, returns back with ample powers as the other enjoyed over the whole Army Generalissimo.

King James lately dead, the Earl of Oxford being sent for, into England, moved Prince Henry, the new General, to have the honour of an Attempt, to break into Spinola's quarters. The design was by the Causey, that leads from Guirudenberg to Treheida, which was fortified with two dry ditches, a Redoubt, a breast work, and a large Fort. His forces were six hundred foot choice English, assisted with the person of his Uncle, that tryed excellent Souldier Sir Horatio Vere, with fifteen hundred more English the Vanguard, and some Germane and French following, in all four thousand. In the Rear the Artillery and some Troops of Horse. The Enemy got warning, and prepared to receive us that way, but where to fall he knew not. But whilst we gave them of Spinola's Camp, false alarms, we immediately fell upon the Italian quarter Carlo Roma, and surprized a foot Centinel per du, and so got to the Redoubt, which we forced with fire Balls, and drove them to retire, and placing our men about the Redout in dry Ditches, with undaunted courage we won the half Moon before the Fort; labouring with hands and feet to scale the Rampire, upon which Oxford's Ensign fixt his colours, and with therest leaped into the Fort, where the Italians fought well ere they were beaten out. Those also of the other causey, which leads to Sevenbergh adjoining, quit their Trenches and fled.

The English (saies our Enemy) maintained their Fight with that

that fury and resolution, as if no other occasion could make proof of their worth and valour.

The Enemy thus engaged, began to disorder and fly into the face of a fresh company of Foot sent to their Relief, and so mixing routed the rest to a plain retiring, proving a means to make their danger greater than before; untill *Carlo* himself with his Sword and Target forced them back, and getting before, led them on again, with such Fury on either part, as till then had not been seen since the first of this siege; and so overpowred by fresh men, wrought the *English* out again, who indeed could not mount the second Fort so soon, but with wondrous difficulty, the Waggon not able to march with our scaling Ladders, the Canon playing continually upon us in the windings and turnings of the causey, with great disadvantage to the *English*, and so narrow, that the Rere could not advance timely to our Succour.

Oxford in the head of all gave excellent testimony of his valour, and in mishaps, impossible to be releived he retreated as punctual and orderly as his onset, each Souldier observing his rank, not stepping one foot a side, as if duty and obedience, could oppose the Canon, which had advantage on us all with certain execution, to the loss of some hundreds on all sides. And this, though daringly done, as was possible for men, proved not successful, and the last Attempt on this wondrous Siege.

The Earl and his Uncle untouched, returned with much honour, and *Oxford* two daies after, in the heat of the day, took leave of the Army, riding hard upon a great Horse, to several Quarters, himself very corpulent, came home to the *Hague*, but with heat and cold got an *Ague*, and died there in a Fortnight after.

And the Winter before, dyed the Lord *Wriothsey*, Son to the Earl of *Southampton*, at *Rosendale*, and the Father at *Bergen-op-zome*.

This was the ill success of the Last Attempt, whereof the Prince acquaints the Governour of *Breda* by a Spy, who proved false.

And that the Town should not delay too long to hazard all, by too much obstinacy; That if he received these letters, then to give a sign by shooting off three pieces of Canon; which he did at Midnight after, and by shewing as many lights upon their Tower as they had yet daies to feed upon provision, which was eleven. And this letter was brought by the Spy to *Spinola*, as many others had been before by this fellow; which were all copyed, and sent in for Answers, and evermore returned to *Spinola*, being deciphered by one *Michael Rowter*, Secretary to *Spinola*.

Up-

The Reign and Death of

Upon which a Trumpet is sent by the Enemy to the Governor, and the doubt of all deciphered, by which he was assured his secrets were made publick, and having honourable conditions, the Town was surrendered the second of June 1625.

The Infanta made her entrance into Breda at Haughe Port, upon which was fixed this Programma.

PHILIPPVS Hispaniæ rex.
gVbernante IsabelLa CLara eVgenia
obsIDente spInoLa.
hostIbVs frVitra In svppetIas ConIVrantIbVs
breDa
VICtor potItVr.

This which followes, alluding to the year, was placed in the Church.

AMbrosI spInoLa
VigILantia
breDa
eXpVgnata.

And Concluded with this Chronographicum.

rex
breDaM CepIt
qVInta
IVnII.

And seeing we are in discourse of War and Death; it will not be much different or disagreeing, to remember the decease, or violent death of the *Marquess Hamilton*, a gallant Noble Person, but a man intemperate, which hastened his sudden death, by his high feeding very late at Nights, and at all times most diseasonable. Which Physicians did forewarn, as impossible for his constitution, enclining to humours, long to continue; insomuch, as feasted late at the Lady *Udalls*, a place of too much good fellowship, he was coached home slee-
py, and so put to bed.

And though he awaked yet slumbering without any account of himself after, and dyed before Noon the next day, not without *Symptomes* very unusual, unless of distempered Bodies.

But why poisoned? because [*Doctor Eglesham* a Scotch-
man was something bitter against the Duke, whose Neece had lately
married

Marquess Ha-
meltons sud-
den death.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
285.

married the Marquesses Son, for the Marquess was averse to the Marriage.]

A very stout reason. Certainly had the Duke been but at *Breda*, all our *English Lords* had been im-poisoned there too, and so might have saved that Authors labour to story their several diseases.

But I can tell him (as the Town talk then) that a new *French-mode Cook* with his *Quelque choze* and *Mushrom Salads* at that Supper, surfeited the Marquess to the death, and for the Ladies sake, the tumourous discourses were then cast upon any body else, which thus long after we see falls upon the Duke.

And although King *James* died some time after, yet Death followes him close at the heels in this mans account [and im-poisoned also] Marry, his disease that brought his sickness, is far fetcht [Care for his Grand-children, danger of his own person, at home, or Ingagement of war abroad, or full feeding, or sweet Wines, or what other accident he knows not.]

But a *Tertian Ague* he had, which by several violent fits brought him into a Feaver, and so expired on Sunday Morning the twenty seventh day of *March*, the year of our Redemption 1625. at *Theobalds*.

Our Pamphlet having tumbled the King hitherto, blowes his death at parting, which he saies [began with a Feaver, but ended with a poisoned Playster applyed by Buckingham, for which being questioned the next Parliament, it was hastily dissolved for his sake, only to save his life.]

In the entrance of the Spring, the King was seized with a *Tertian Ague*, which to another constitution was not pestilential, but rather might prove Physical. But all men then knew his impatience in any pain, and alwaies utter enmity to any Physick; so that nothing was ministred to give him ease in his fits, which at length grew violent; and in those Maladies, every one is apt to offer advice, with such prescriptions as have been helpful unto others, and in truth, those as various as the disease is common.

In this time of the Kings rerire, the Duke got leave to visit his Estate at *New-Hall* in *Essex*, where the Earl of *Warwick* told him, that a neer Neighbour, Dr. *Remington* at *Dunmow* had cured many and him also, of a *Quartane Ague*, which had lasted a long time. The King being told this, commanded the Duke to send for the Medicine; which was a Plaister of *Mithridate*, made and spread upon Leather, and delivered from his hand to One Mr. *Baker*, a Servant of the Dukes then, and now living neer to the Earl; and so by that Messenger brought to the King and shewed to the Doctors, and lay ready prepared upon the Table untill proper time to be applyed to his stomach; Together

Anno
1625.

K. James
dies March
27. 1655.

His sickness
and disease.

Anno

1625.

ther with a Possit-drink of milk and Ale, Harts horn, and Mary-gold Flowers, ingredients harmless and ordinary, which the Duke gave him to drink, and so took leave and went to London.

The King fallen into slumber about Noon, the Physicians took opportunity to retire, having watcht all night till that time. When in the interim of their absence, the King awakes, and falls from a change of his fit, unto timelier effect, then usually it had happened before; which to allay, this Plaister was offered and put to his Stomach. But it wrought no Mittigation, and therefore was removed by the Doctors, who were much offended, that any one durst assume this boldness without their consent. But by after examination, all men then were assured of the composition, and a piece thereof eaten down by such as made it; and the Playster many moneths afterwards in being, for further tryal of any suspition of Poyson; which if not satisfactory now, it must and ought to lodge upon their scores, Sir *Matthew Lister*, Doctor *Chambers*, and other Physicians worthy men, who were herein examined, with very great satisfaction to cleer that calumny, and are yet living to evince each ones suspition.

Co. & Ch. p.
174.

Otherwise to blame was *Montgomery*, that precious Earl, of successive merit towards the Kings Posterity [*whom (it is said) the King trusted above all men, and imprecates him, for Gods sake look I have fair play, which he mistrusted*] that this careless Earl should neglect his duty, falsify his trust, or connive with the composition of any poison, if it were so.

It was indeed remembred the following Parliament, and whereof the Duke was questioned, as a boldness unpardonable, but in the charge (which I remember *Littleton* mannaged at a Conference in the painted Chamber) it was not urged as poisonous, but only in him criminable. The Duke asked of me the effect of his Speech, and answered me, *Well, In that as other things, my innocency is so cleer, that their malice does the more rivet me into good mens affections*; and truiy the Lords thought the Commons, more busie then needful, to spend time in the examining.

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
287.

Oh! [*But the Physicians muttered, and others made a great noise, and were forced to fly for it.*] It is thus far true. There is a Doctor yet living, from that time discontent with the Court; and perhaps to colour his own demerit; would now insinuate to easie men, his too much resentment of the Kings death, which he is willing any one should suspect.

Eggletham his
scurrilous
Pamphlet.

And to boot *Eggletham* ran away, writ a scurrilous Book at *Bruxells*, vain and false, as full of lyes as lines, which was reprinted in the times of freedom for such like Pasquils, purposely set

let out to renew the memory of the Dukes crimes, and to taint others with infection; but as the surface thereof, at the first sight is frivolous, so be it examined to the full, it will be found malicious, and lastly laid aside as impossible.

I was told by Sir *Balthaser Gerbier* (though his testimony be odious to any man) that *Eggletham* dealt with him in *Flanders*, for a piece of money (not more then four hundred Guilders to defray the charges) to imprint his recantation; of which the Duke bid *Gerbier* join Knavery together, and spit their Venome till they split, and he would pay for printing that also.

But of these enough; and yet what will our Monster of man pursue [*It will be a hard task for any Man (saies he) to excuse the King his successor, for dissolving that Parliament to preserve One that was accused for poisoning his Father*] he means *Buckingham*, who was never accused of any such crime.

Trace this Authors Steps in your reading as we have done his writing, from his first taint towards King *James* [*of suspicion to imprison Prince Henry*] and now concludes that his Son, his only Heir and Inheritour of his Crown and Kingdoms, should connive (an equal guilt with the Principal) at the im poisoning of the Father; what can be more horrid infamy, for a Traytor to surmize to publish, nay to imprint in *odium* of his two Sovereigns, for he lived their sworn Subject.

And now to conclude in Answer of their Characters, who cauterize K. *James*. As also of such another, *Nuper Natus & Notus; Cumini cultor*, who hews the King into chips, and then shreds them. We refer them to the *Encomiums*, *Divine* and *Humane*. The one by Mr. *Bolton*, a Reverend and Judicious Writer, which he had preached to his People. The other by Sir *Francis Bacon*, that learned and most accomplished Judge of all Knowledges, *Divine*, *Natural* and *Humane*, which he offered up a *Panegyrick* to the King himself.

Bolton

l i i i

Hist. Gr. Br. p.
287.

See before of
the Kings
sicknels and
death.

Anno
1625.



Boltons Religious Contemplation of King James.

Boltons Le-
ctures, pa. 15,
16, &c.

ANd here (saies he) I cannot hold, but must needs
most justly complain, of the hateful intollerable un-
thankfulness of Us in this Kingdom, the happyest people,
under the Cope of Heaven, had we hearts aright to conceive
of Gods extraordinary love, and such miraculous Mercies,
as never Nation enjoyed! walk over the World, peruse the
whole face of the Earth, from East to West, from North to
South, from one side of Heaven to another, you shall not
find such another enlightened Goshen, as this Island, where
besides doth the Gospel shine with such Glory, Truth and
Peace: &c.

We have lived in a time of Miracles; Our posterity will
hardly believe the wonders done in Our daies, &c. Was it
not a miraculous mercy to have such a King? &c. who hath
already, next under that Almighty God, by whom Kings
reign, continued the Gospel unto us, and preserved us from
the destroying Sword, all his blessed Reign over us? and
what do you think were so many years Peace worth, were it
to be bought? with the Enjoyment of the Gospel to boot; He
hath enobled this Kingdome for ever, by his excellent Wri-
tings in the cause of Religion against Antichrist; which
would have created a great deal of Honour to a private Man,
minding nothing else. How illustrious then do they make Our
King? The child unborn will blesse King James, For his
Premonition to all Princes and free States of Christen-
dome, and that Royal Remonstrance against the rotten and
pestilent Oration of the French Cardinal, to the utter and
Triumphant overthrow of it, penned in that Stile that none
can possibly reach, but a learned King? his Golden Pen hath
given

given such a blow to that Beast of Rome, that he will never be able to stand upon his four Legs again. He hath shot out of his Royal Bow, such keen Arrows taken out of the Quiver of Gods Book, which will hang in the sides of that Scarlet Whore, and make her lame as long as she lives. Hath he not most happily and seasonably stopt the hasty torrent of the Arminian Sect, and the domineering Rage of bloody Duels? &c. And was not the discovery and delivery from the Powder plot, that great Astonishment of Men and Angels, one of the most unparallel'd and merciful Miracles, that ever the Church of God tasted, &c. And to crown all with wonder of greatest Astonishment, do not we all (that are of the Kings faithfullest Subjects) almost fear still lest we be in a dream, That King Charles the flower of Christendom, &c. And concludes, Away then with all sorrow, melancholick, causeless, sinful discontent. And praise ye the Lord, sing unto the Lord a New song, and his praise in the Congregation of the Saints: Let Israel rejoice in him that made him. Let the children of Zion be joyful in their King, for the Lord taketh pleasure in his People: he will beautifie the meek with salvation. Let the Saints be joyful in Glory. Let them sing aloud upon their Beds, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon in honour of K. James.

Wherefore representing your Majesty many times unto my mind, and beholding you not with the eye of presumption to discover that which the Scripture tells me is inscrutable; but with the observant eye of duty and admiration, leaving aside the other parts of your virtue and fortune; I have been touched, yea and possessed with an extreame wonder at these your virtues and faculties which the Philosophers call Intellectuals. The largeness of your Capacity, the faithfulness of your Memory, the swiftness of your apprehension, the penetration of your Judgement,

Anno
1625.

and the facility and order of your Elocution. And I have then thought that of all the persons living, that I have known, your Majesty were the best instance to make a man of *Plato's* Opinion, *That all knowledge is but Remembrance*, and that the Mind of man by Nature knoweth all things, and hath but her own Native and Original Notions (which by the strangeness and darkness of the Tabernacle of the Body, are sequestered) again revived and restored; such a Light of Nature I have observed in your Majesty, and such a readiness to take flame, and blaze from the least occasion presented; or the least Spark of anothers knowledge delivered. And as the Scripture saith of the Wisest King, *That his heart was as the Sand of the Sea*, which though it be one of the largest Bodies, yet it consisteth of the smallest and finest portions. So hath God given your Majesty a composition of understanding admirable, being able to compass and comprehend the greatest Matters, and nevertheless to touch and apprehend the least; wherein it should seem an impossibility in Nature, for the same Instrument to make it self fit, for great and small Works. And for your gift of Speech, I call to mind what *Cornelius Tacitus* saith of *Augustus Caesar*, *Augusto profluens ut quæ principem deceret eloquentia fuit*. For if we mark it well, Speech that is uttered with labour and difficulty; or Speech that savoureth of the affectation of Art and Precepts: Or Speech that is framed after the imitation of some pattern of *Eloquence*, though never so excellent. All this hath somewhat Servile and holding of the Subject. But your Majesties manner of Speech is indeed Princelike, flowing as from a Fountain, and yet streaming and branching it self into Natures Order, full of facility and felicity, *Imitating none, and imitable by any*. And as in your Civil Estate, there appear-
eth

eth to be an emulation and contention of your Majesties Virtues with your Fortunes; a virtuous Disposition with a Fortunate Regiment: a virtuous expectation (when time was) of your greater fortune, with a prosperous possession thereof in the due time; a virtuous observation of the Laws of Marriage, with most blessed and happy fruit of Mariage, a virtuous and most *Christian* desire of Peace, with a fortunate inclination in your Neighbour Princes thereunto. So likewise in those *Intellectual Matters*, there seemeth to be no less contention, between the excellency of your Majesties gifts of nature, and the Universality and perfection of your Learning. For I am well assured of this that what I shall say, is no Amplification at all, but a positive and measured Truth, which is, *That there hath not been since Christs time, any King or Temporal Monarch, which hath been so learned in all Literature and Erudition, Divine and Humane.* For let a Man seriously and diligently revolve and peruse the succession of the Emperours of *Rome*, of which *Cæsar* the Dictator, who lived some years before Christ, and *Marcus Antonius*, were the best learned. And so descend to the Emperours of *Græcia*, or of the *West*, and then to the lines of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, *Scotland*, and the *Rest*, and he shall find this Judgement truly made. For it seemeth much in a King, if by the compendious extractions of other Mens Wits and Learning, he can take hold of any superficial Ornaments and shews of Learning: Or if he countenance and prefer Learning, and Learned Men. But to drink indeed of the true Fountain of Learning, nay to have such a Fountain of Learning in himself, in a King, and in a King born, is almost a Miracle. And the more, because there is met in your Majesty a rare conjunction, as well of Divine and Sacred Literature, as of Prophane and Humane. So

Anno

1625.

So as your Majesty stands invested of that Triplicity, which in great Veneration was ascribed to the antient *Hermes*, The power and fortune of a King, the knowledge and illumination of a Priest, and the Learning and Universality of a Philosopher. This propriety inherent and individual Attribute in your Majesty, deserveth to be expressed not only in the fame and admiration of the present time, nor in the History or Tradition of the Ages succeeding, but also in some solid work, fixed memorial and immortal Monument, bearing a Character or Signature, both of the power of a King and the difference and perfection of such a King. So he.

*Memoria Iusti cum laudibus,
Et Impiorum Nomen putrescit.*

An

AN E P I T A P H on King *James* the sixth.Anno
1625.

THose that have Eyes awake and weep,
For He, whose waking wrought Our slee
Is fallen asleep; and never
Shall awake, till wak'd for Ever.

Death's Iron hand hath clos'd those Eyes
Which were at once Three Kingdomes Spyes,
Both to foresee, and to prevent
Dangers so soon as they were meant.

That Head, (whose working Brain, alone
Wrought all mens quiet, But His own)
Now lies at Rest. Oh let Him have
The Peace (He purchas'd) in His Grave.

If that no Naboth, all His Reign,
Was for his fruitful Vineyard, slain?
If no Uriah lost his Life,
For having had so fair a Wife?

Then let no Shemei's curses wound
His Honour, or profane His Ground;
Let no Black-Mouth, no Rank-breath Cur,
Peaceful James His Ashes stir.

Kings are as Gods; O! do not then
Rake in Their Graves, to prove Them Men.

For His daies toyl, and Night watches;
For His craz'd sleep, stol'n by Snatches;
For Two fair Kingdomes, join'd in One;
For all He did, or meant t' have done;
Do this for Him; write on His Dust;
King *JAMES* the Peaceful and the Just.
Sit Gloria D E O.

F I N I S.

King JAMES the Peaceful and the Just.

Do this for Him; write on His Dust;
For all He does or meant to have done;
For Two fair Kingdoms join'd in One;
For His care, & sleep, & rest by watch;
For His daintiest rest, and Night watches;

Rake in Their Graves, to prove Them Men.
Kings are as Gods; O! do not then
Peaceful James His After life.

Let no Black Month, no Rank-breath Cut
His Honour, or profane this Ground;
Then let no Shewers' curses wound

For having had so fair a Wife;

If no Uria's loss his Life;
Was for his fruitful Kingdom, James;
If that no Naboth, all His Right;

The Peace (the purchase) in His Grave;
Now lies at Rest. O let Him have
Wrought all men quiet, But His own
That Head (whose working Brain alone

Dangers to soon as they were meant
To keep to fight, and to prevent
A high price in once Three Kingdoms eyes

Death's Iron hand hath clasp'd those Eyes
Shall make it work for Ever.

In silent sleep, and rest
For His whole waking thought On the
That that bare Eyes make and were;

And a man on King James the sixth.

James of Great Britain &c.



The Conclusion.

Hitherto, having pursued the Descent, following the Union of the two Roses by Marriage of Henry 7. of England; and the re-union of both Kingdoms Sovereignty, by succesfull inheritance of King James, and then left to a Son and Heir, and also to the numerous issue of a Daughter and her Descendents; and suddenly into the present possession of King Charls of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the first; who though affianced forthwith in Marriage with the Princess Maria Sister to the French King Louis the 13. Blessed also afterward with a numerous Issue, Sons and Daughters, as a full Period (in shew) of all former Mutation and change, through them and their posterity, perpetual.

So indeed it appeared to a State-observer, but not seemed good to the Eye of Providence, whose powerfull Hand hath ordered it otherwise; for He is taken away in the strength of his years and perfections, and none of his (in possibility of Reason) to succeed to any part or portion of his Inheritance.

But, to proceed in the continuation of this History to these Times, and to branch into such particulars, as to draw down to discover Truth to after-Ages, may seem to some very difficult; the common Excuse of such as cannot or will not undertake it; and therefore pretend, that by following the heels of Truth too near, a man may endanger his Teeth. A defect of Reason so to conceive; when an even and unbiassed Narrative of Men and Matters may well become the judicious Historian.

For first, that King Charls was lawfully possessed and crowned Monarch of his Fathers Inheritance; his Peers and People obediently submitting to his Scepter.

That He being necessarily imbroiled into some forrein Engagements against Spain and France, was enforced to summon the assistance of several succeeding Parliaments unsuccesfull; and by too hasty Regulation of Ecclesiastick Discipline upon the Scots Kirk, moved them to an unnatural Insurrection, which caused Expeditions against their Armies already descended into the heart of England; which enforced him to assemble another long-lasting Parliament, wherein he lost himself and his Life also.

What were the true and different Reasons, Grounds and Managements of the late Differences between Him and Them, the Provocations on either side to the first entrance into the miserable War &

K k k k

Their

The Conclusion.

Their several Battels, Sieges, Policies and different Successes of that so long uncivil-civil Diffension.

His necessities enforcing Him to leave his own Party and to resign up himself unto his natural Countreymen unfaithfull Scots.

Their Sale of his Person back again to his English Subjects.

The several Passages, Declarations, Narratives, Treaties, Overtures and Disputes between Them, both before and during his Restraint in order to a firm and lasting Agreement with his Parliament and People for Reconciling Important Affairs of Church and State, with the Presbyterian future destruction of the Hierarchy of Ecclesiastick Discipline.

Their Policies thereupon to be rid of the Bishops, Deans and Chapters.

The Dismission of the Lords House in Parliament and Impeachment and Execution of Ecclesiastick and Lay persons, Bishops and Peers.

And after all, they brought his Head to the Block a sacrifice for the sins of the whole Nations.

The different Dispositions in their eleven years long domination of a pretended Triennial Parliament necessitates another Power to purge them with several Doses, and afterwards to put them down.

Sundry Expedients to prove them by a fresh Assembly, Representatives of the People.

Their time and debates wasted to no good purpose, they are broken up, and in fine dissipated.

And then the last little Assembly rise of themselves, leaving all in Anarchy and desperate confusion.

Untill it pleased the Almighty to raise a Power which resumed the Peoples protection in monstrous danger of utter destruction.

The necessity of the national Affairs introducing, were put under the power of single Sovereignty.

How that power hath managed the Government against divers desperate Designs Forreign and Domestick.

The prosperous effects and issue now settled into an assurance of the Nations future subsistence. And all these in reference to our neighbour States; War with some, Amity with others.

All these particulars, faithfully put together, without captious and presumptuous opinions of partial observers, not to descant private conceits upon the necessity of State. But barely to represent the Narrative, and to leave the Censure to the Readers sentence.

And this way (God willing) is thus intended, and in part pursued, the matter and manner of this monarchical succession and final conclusion to be faithfully performed unto these Times our last Days.

By W. SANDERSON.

Nec magna desiderantur.

kc/+

Folio Inq's Cleopatra Compt —
2 Synopse ony Pallmer —
History of Goths and Vandals
a Monmouth Political discovery
Hanover Poor —
History of Justinian Em
London of R Charles —

2 Catalogue of books —
a Jewish Antiq —

6

20 Baulor's Crucification —
Doonam's Divinity —
Book of Speeches —
Brightman of y^e Revelation
Directions for Health —
Cameron on y^e Passions —
Wilson on y^e Psalms —
Hendon's Tragicall Discourses

8

o L. 60 Patior of Gods Incarnation
Robinson of Truth —
Cotton on the Canticles —
Culpeper's Dispensatory —
Magers Hebrew Grammar —
Esops Fables —
Sharrock of Visudaslos —

7

- 4 H. oneh Schools m^r —
 Janes's Pastorals —
 2 Schenckius Chymistry —
 Fleming's Rogall per:geny —
 3 Sutton's Memento Mori —
 2 Stamp's Sermons —
 Louall's Horbale —
 2 Erasmus de Copia verborum —
 2 New help to discourse —
 2 Digby of plants —
 2 Synopsis of peace —

25

- 8^o M^r. W. Smith's Newer Gosses worth —
 Pluck's paradise —
 Cowley's vision —
 A book of Cookery —
 Burning bush —
 Assertion of Saan policy —
 Rondall's Epigrams —
 Euphrates —
 Rawleigh's Essay —
 Sparks's Mr. Gay —
 English Quaker —
 Lukes's Treasurie —
 Bartol's 2 Sermons —
 Grand Case —
 Tower of Alhism —
 Life of Lorianus —
 Greenwood's Works —
 Two of Antwerp —

Good Mr. Hoby com^o —
Apology for parish —
Apology of ye Church —

26

Contents of this Book

Mary Queen of Scots —
Her Enemies —

The

Sanderson, William,

A Compleat History Of The Lives and Reigns Of Mary Queen of Scotland, And of Her Son and Successor, James The Sixth, King of Scotland, And (After Queen Elizabeth) King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, The First, (Of ever Blessed Memory.) Reconciling several Opinions, In Testimony of Her, and Confuting others, in Vindication of Him, against two scandalous

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